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HISTORY

ENGLAND

CONTINUATION

OF THE COMPLETE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

LONDON:

Printed by Richard Baskin, at the Press of the University of London.

MDCCLXXV.

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By T. SMOLLETT, M. D.

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Non tamen pigebit vel incondita ac rudi voce memoriam prioris servitutis, ac testimonium
præsentium bonorum composuisse. TACIT. Agricola.

L O N D O N:

Printed for RICHARD BALDWIN, at the Rose in Pater-noster-Row.

MDCCLXVI.

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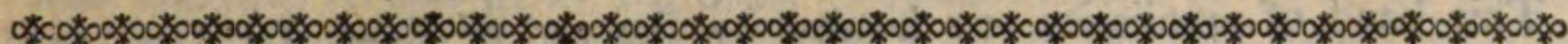
CONTINUATION

OF THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.



GEORGE II.

THE peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, however unstable or inglorious it Ann. 1748.
might appear to those few who understood the interests, and felt for Reflections
the honour of their country, was nevertheless not unwelcome to the on the peace.
nation in general. The British ministry will always find it more difficult to
satisfy the people at the end of a successful campaign, than at the conclusion
of an unfortunate war. The English are impatient of miscarriage and disap-
pointment, and too apt to be intoxicated with victory. At this period they
were tired of the burthens, and sick of the disgraces, to which they had been
exposed in the course of seven tedious campaigns. They had suffered consi-
derable losses and interruption in the article of commerce, which was the source
of their national opulence and power: they knew it would of necessity be
clogged with additional duties, for the maintenance of a continental war, and
the support of foreign subsidiaries; and they drew very faint presages of future
success either from the conduct of their allies, or the capacity of their com-
manders.

To a people influenced by these considerations, the restoration of a free trade,
the respite from that anxiety and suspense which the prosecution of a war
never fails to engender, and the prospect of speedy deliverance from discour-
aging restraint and oppressive impositions, were advantages that sweetened
the bitter draught of a dishonourable treaty, and induced the majority of the
nation to acquiesce in the peace, not barely without murmuring, but even
with some degree of satisfaction and applause.

Immediately after the exchange of ratifications at Aix-la-Chapelle the armies The adherents
were broke up: the allies in the Netherlands withdrew their several proportions of the prince
of troops; the French began to evacuate Flanders; and the English forces of Wales join
the opposition
were in parliament.

Ann. 1748. were reimbarcked for their own country. His Britannic majesty returned from his German dominions in November, having landed near Margate in Kent, after a dangerous passage; and on the twenty-ninth of the same month he opened the session of parliament. By this time the misunderstanding between the two first personages of the royal family had been increased by a fresh accession of matter. The prince of Wales had held a court of stannery, or what is called a parliament, in quality of duke of Cornwall; and revived some claims attached to that dignity, which, had they been admitted, would have greatly augmented his influence among the Cornish boroughs.

These efforts aroused the jealousy of the administration, which had always considered them as an interest wholly depending upon the crown; and therefore the pretensions of his royal highness were opposed by the whole weight of the ministry. His adherents resenting these hostilities as an injury to their royal master, immediately joined the remnant of the former opposition in parliament, and resolved to counteract all the ministerial measures that should fall under their cognizance; at least, they determined to seize every opportunity of thwarting the servants of the crown, in every scheme or proposal that had not an evident tendency to the advantage of the nation.

This band of auxiliaries was headed by the earl of E—t, Dr. Lee, and Mr. N—t. The first possessed a species of eloquence rather plausible than powerful: he spoke with fluency and fire: his spirit was bold and enterprising, his apprehension quick, and his repartee severe. Dr. Lee was a man of extensive erudition and irreproachable morals, particularly versed in the civil law, which he professed, and perfectly well acquainted with the constitution of his country. Mr. N—t was an orator of middling abilities, who harangued upon all subjects indiscriminately, and supplied with confidence what he wanted in capacity: he had been at some pains to study the business of the house, as well as to understand the machine of government; and was tolerably well heard, as he generally spoke with an appearance of good humour, and hazarded every whimsical idea as it rose in his imagination. But Lord Bolingbroke is said to have been the chief spring which, in secret, actuated the deliberations of the prince's court. That nobleman, seemingly sequestered from the tumults of a public life, resided in the neighbourhood of London, at Battersea, where he was visited like a fainted shrine by all the distinguished votaries of wit, eloquence, and political ambition. There he was cultivated and admired for the elegance of his manners, and the charms of his conversation. The prince's curiosity was first captivated by his character, and his esteem was afterwards secured by the irresistible address of that extraordinary personage, who continued in a regular progression to insinuate himself still farther and farther into the good graces of his royal patron. How far the conduct of his royal highness was influenced by the private advice of this nobleman, we shall not pretend to determine: but, certain it is, the friends of the ministry propagated a report, that he was the dictator of those measures which the prince adopted; and that, under the specious pretext of attachment to the heir-apparent of the crown, he concealed his real aim, which was to perpetuate the breach in the royal family. Whatever his sentiments and motives might have been, this was no other than a revival of the old ministerial clamour, that a man cannot

be

be well affected to the king, if he pretends to censure any measure of the administration. Ann. 1748.

The weight which the opposition derived from these new confederates in the house of commons, was still greatly overbalanced by the power, influence, and ability, that sustained every ministerial project. Mr. Pelham, who chiefly managed the helm of affairs, was generally esteemed as a man of honesty and candour, actuated by a sincere love for his country, though he had been educated in erroneous principles of government, and in some measure obliged to prosecute a fatal system, which descended to him by inheritance. Character of the ministry.

At this time he numbered Mr. Pitt among his fellow-ministers, and was moreover supported by many other individuals of distinguished abilities; among whom the first place, in point of genius, was due to Mr. M-----, who executed the office of solicitor-general. This gentleman, the son of a noble family in North Britain, had raised himself to great eminence at the bar, by the most keen intuitive spirit of apprehension, that seemed to seize every object at first glance, an innate sagacity that saved the trouble of intense application, and an irresistible stream of eloquence, that flowed pure and classical, strong and copious, reflecting, in the most conspicuous point of view, the subjects over which it rolled, and sweeping before it all the slime of formal hesitation, and all the intangling weeds of chicanery.

Yet the servants of the crown were not so implicitly attached to the first minister as to acquiesce in all his plans, and dedicate their time and talents to the support of every court-measure indiscriminately. This was one material point in which Mr. Pelham deviated from the maxims of his predecessor, who admitted of no contradiction from any of his adherents or fellow-servants, but insisted upon their sacrificing their whole perception and faculties to his conduct and disposal. That sordid deference to a minister no longer characterized the subordinate instruments of the administration. It was not unusual to see the great officers of the government divided in a parliamentary debate, and to hear the secretary at war opposing with great vehemence a clause suggested by the chancellor of the exchequer.

After all, if we coolly consider those arguments which have been bandied about, and retorted with such eagerness and acrimony in the house of commons, and divest them of those passionate tropes and declamatory metaphors which the spirit of opposition alone had produced, we shall find very little left for the subject of dispute, and sometimes be puzzled to discover any material source of disagreement.

In the month of November his majesty opened the session of parliament with a speech, acquainting them, That the definitive treaty of peace was at length signed by all the parties concerned; That he had made the most effectual provision for securing the rights and interests of his own subjects; and procured for his allies the best conditions, which, in the present situation of affairs, could be obtained. He said, he had found a general good disposition in all parties to bring the negotiation to a happy conclusion; and observed, that we might promise ourselves a long enjoyment of the blessings of peace. Finally, after having remarked that times of tranquillity were the proper seasons for lessening the national debt, and strengthening the kingdom against future events, he recommended to the commons the improvement of the

Ann. 1748. public revenue, the maintenance of a considerable naval force, the advancement of commerce, and the cultivation of the arts of peace.

This speech, as usual, was echoed back by an address to the throne from both houses, containing general expressions of the warmest loyalty and gratitude to his majesty, and implying the most perfect satisfaction and acquiescence in the articles of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

Debate on the
address.

The members in the opposition, according to custom, cavilled at the nature of this address. They observed, that the late pacification was the worst and most inglorious of all the bad treaties to which the English nation had ever subscribed: that it was equally disgraceful, indefinite, and absurd: They said the British navy had gained such an ascendancy over the French at sea, that the sources of their wealth were already choaked up; that the siege of Maestricht would have employed their arms in the Low Countries till the arrival of the Russians; and that the accession of these auxiliaries would have thrown the superiority into the scale of the allies. They did not fail to take notice, that the most important and original object of the war was left wholly undecided; and they demonstrated the absurdity of their promising, in the address, to make good such engagements as his majesty had entered into with his allies, before they knew what those engagements were.

In answer to these objections the ministers replied, That the peace was in itself rather better than could be expected; and that the smallest delay might have proved fatal to the liberties of Europe. They affirmed, That the Dutch were upon the point of concluding a neutrality, in consequence of which their troops would have been withdrawn from the allied army; and, in that case, even the addition of the Russian auxiliaries would not have rendered it a match for the enemy. They asserted, That if the war had been prolonged another year, the national credit of Great Britain must have been intirely ruined, inasmuch as many of the public funds had in the preceding season sunk below par, so that the ministry had begun to despair of seeing the money paid in on the new subscription.

With respect to the restoration of Cape Breton, the limits of Nova Scotia, and the right of navigating without search in the American seas, which right had been left unestablished in the treaty; they declared, That the first was an unnecessary expence, of no consequence to Great Britain; and that the other two were points in dispute, to be amicably settled in private conferences by commissaries duly authorized; but by no means articles to be established by a general treaty.

The British ministry, in the course of their parliamentary contests, have generally injured their own projects, by attempting to prove positions indiscreetly urged in the face of common sense and understanding. Had they rested their defence of the treaty upon the imminent danger to which the States of the United Provinces were exposed, and the certain prospect of their being obliged to withdraw their forces from the general confederacy, the plea would have been perhaps universally admitted; or, at least, it would have served as a plausible excuse for closing with certain proposals, which, in other circumstances, ought to have been rejected with disdain. But in presuming to offer such an outrage to the understanding of the people, as that of declaring, that the disputes which produced the war were not the objects to be discussed in
the

the treaty of peace; and that the national credit of Great Britain would not probably suffice to animate the operations of another campaign; they exposed themselves to the censure and the ridicule of all the world, and even invalidated the credit which their other allegations had a right to acquire. Ann. 1748.

If the public credit had run any risque, or undergone the smallest shock, this misfortune was not owing to the war, but to the shameful practices of the ministers themselves, who endeavoured to make a job of the subscription, for the benefit of their favourites and understrappers. As in every former expedient of this kind the subscription had sold for a considerable premium, they concluded that this would meet with the same eager reception; and in this hope parcelled out the greater part of it among their friends and adherents, though few of them had credit sufficient to borrow money for the first payment of the large sums for which they were allowed to subscribe: a circumstance of which those who were really moneyed men took the advantage. They were determined against submitting to the tyranny of this ministerial job; and they restrained their impatience to purchase, well knowing that the subscription would fall to a considerable discount. The difficulty, therefore, that threatened to clog the operations of government, was owing to a scandalous spirit of monopoly and oppression in the members of the administration, not to the distresses of the public, which we have lived to see in a flourishing condition, under the load of much greater incumbrances.

What the opposition wanted in strength, it endeavoured to make up with spirit and perseverance. Every ministerial motion and measure was canvassed, sifted, and decried with uncommon art and vivacity: but all this little availed against the single article of superior number; and accordingly this was the source of certain triumph in all debates, in which the servants of the crown were united. The nation had reason to expect an immediate mitigation in the article of annual expence, considering the number of troops and ships of war which had been reduced at the ratification of the treaty: but they were disagreeably undeceived in finding themselves again loaded with very extraordinary impositions, for the payment of a vast debt which the government had contracted in the course of the war, notwithstanding the incredible aids granted in parliament. Supplies granted.

Four points of consideration did the committee of supply establish, in their deliberations concerning the sums necessary to be raised; namely, for fulfilling the engagements which the parliament had entered into with his majesty, and the services undertaken for the success of the war; for discharging debts contracted by the government; for making good deficiencies; and for defraying the current expence of the year.

It appeared, that the nation owed four and forty thousand pounds to the elector of Bavaria; above thirty thousand to the duke of Brunswic; the like sum to the landgrave of Hesse Cassel; and near nine thousand pounds to the elector of Mentz. The queen of Hungary claimed an arrear of one hundred thousand pounds. The city of Glasgow, in North Britain, presented a petition, praying to be reimbursed in the sum of ten thousand pounds, extorted from that corporation by the son of the Pretender, during the rebellion. One hundred and twelve thousand pounds were owing to the forces in North America and the East Indies; besides near half a million due on extraordinary expence.

Ann. 1748. expence incurred by the land-forces in America, Flanders, and North Britain, by the office of ordnance, and other services of the last year, to which the parliamentary provision did not extend. The remaining debt of the ordnance amounted to above two hundred and thirty thousand pounds: but the navy-bills could not be discharged for less than four millions. The addition of two millions three hundred and seventy-four thousand three hundred thirty-three pounds fifteen shillings and two pence, were required for the current service of the year. In a word, the whole annual supply exceeded eight millions sterling; a sum at which the whole nation expressed equal astonishment and disgust. It was charged upon the duties on malt, mum, cyder, and perry, the land-tax at four shillings in the pound, annuities on the sinking fund, an application of one million from that deposit, and a loan of the like sum to be charged on the first aids of next session. The number of seamen was reduced to seventeen thousand, and that of the land-forces to eighteen thousand eight hundred and fifty-seven, including guards and garrisons.

Opposition to
a demand of
the Empress-
queen.

Every article of expence, however, was warmly disputed by the anti-courtiers; especially the demand of the queen of Hungary, which was deemed unreasonably exorbitant and rapacious, considering the seas of blood which we had shed, and the immensity of treasure we had exhausted for her benefit: and surely the subjects of this nation had some reason to complain of an indulgence of this nature, granted to a power which they had literally snatched from the brink of ruin; a power whose quarrel they had espoused with a degree of enthusiasm, that did much more honour to their gallantry than to their discretion; a power that kept aloof, with a stateliness of pride peculiar to herself and family, and beheld her British auxiliaries fighting her battles at their own expence; while she squandered away, in the idle pageantry of barbarous magnificence, those ample subsidies which they advanced in order to maintain her armies, and furnish out her proportion of the war. The leaders of the opposition neglected no opportunity of embittering the triumphs of their adversaries: they inveighed against the extravagance of granting sixteen thousand pounds for the pay of general and staff officers during a peace that required no such establishment, especially at a juncture when the national incumbrances rendered it absolutely necessary to practise every expedient of œconomy. They even combated the request of the city of Glasgow to be indemnified for the extraordinary exaction it underwent from the rebels; although it appeared, from unquestionable evidence, that this extraordinary contribution was exacted on account of that city's peculiar attachment to the reigning family: that it had always invariably adhered to revolution-principles; and, with an unequalled spirit of loyalty and zeal for the protestant succession, distinguished itself both in the last and preceding rebellion.

Progress of
the bill rela-
ting to sea-
men.

But the most violent contest arose upon certain regulations which the ministry wanted to establish in two bills, relating to the sea and land service. The first, under the title of a bill for amending, explaining, and reducing into one act of parliament the laws relating to the navy, was calculated solely with a view of subjecting half-pay officers to martial law: a design which not only furnished the opposition with a plausible handle for accusing the ministers,

ters, as intending to inroad upon the constitution, in order to extend the influence of the crown; but also alarmed the sea-officers to such a degree, that they assembled to a considerable number, with a view to deliberate upon the proper means for defending their privileges and liberties from invasion. Ann. 1748.

The result of their consultations was a petition to the house of commons, subscribed by three admirals and forty-seven captains, not members of parliament, representing, That the bill in agitation contained several clauses tending to the injury and dishonour of all naval officers, as well as to the detriment of his majesty's service; and that the laws already in force had been always found effectual for securing the service of officers on half-pay, upon the most pressing occasions: they therefore hoped, that they should not be subjected to new hardships and discouragements; and begged to be heard by their counsel, before the committee of the whole house, touching such parts of the bill as they apprehended would be injurious to themselves and the other officers of his majesty's navy. This petition was presented to the house by Sir John Norris, and the motion for its being read was seconded by Sir Peter Warren, whose character was universally esteemed and beloved in the nation.

This measure had like to have produced very serious consequences. Many commanders and subalterns had repaired to the board of admiralty, and threatened, in plain terms, to throw up their commissions, in case the bill should pass into a law; and a general ferment was begun among all the subordinate members of the navy. A motion was made, That the petitioners, according to their request, should be heard by their counsel; and this proposal was strongly urged by the first orators of the antiministerial association; but the minister, confiding in his own strength, reinforced by the abilities of Mr. Pitt, Mr. Lyttleton, and Mr. Fox the secretary at war, strenuously opposed the motion, which, upon a division, was thrown out by a great majority.

The several articles of the bill were afterwards separately debated with great warmth; and although Mr. Pelham had, with the most disinterested air of candour, repeatedly declared that he required no support, even from his own adherents, but that which might arise from reason unrestrained, and full conviction, he, on this occasion, reaped all the fruit from their zeal and attachment which could be expected from the most implicit complaisance. Some plausible amendments of the most exceptionable clauses were offered, particularly of that which imposed an oath upon the members of every court-martial, that they should not, on any account, disclose the opinions or transactions of any such tribunal. This was considered as a sanction under which any court-martial might commit the most flagrant acts of injustice and oppression, which even the parliament itself could not redress, because it would be impossible to ascertain the truth, eternally sealed up by this absurd obligation. The amendment proposed was, that the member of a court-martial might reveal the transactions and opinions of it, in all cases wherein the courts of justice, as the law now stands, have a right to interfere, if required thereto by either house of parliament: a very reasonable mitigation, which however was rejected by the majority. Nevertheless,

Ann. 1748. theless, the suspicion of an intended encroachment had raised such a clamour without doors, and diffused the odium of this measure so generally, that the minister thought proper to drop the projected article of war, subjecting the reformed officers of the navy to the jurisdiction of courts-martial; and the bill being also softened in other particulars, during its passage through the upper house, at length received the royal assent.

Objections to
the mutiny
bill.

The flame which this act had kindled, was rather increased than abated at the appearance of a new mutiny-bill, replete with divers innovations, tending to augment the influence of the crown, as well as the authority and power of a military jurisdiction. All the articles of war established since the reign of the second Charles, were submitted to the inspection of the commons; and in these appeared a gradual spirit of encroachment, almost imperceptibly deviating from the civil institutes of the English constitution, towards the establishment of a military dominion. By this new bill a power was vested in any commander in chief to revise and correct any legal sentence of a court-martial, by which the members of such a court, corresponding with the nature of a civil jury, were rendered absolutely useless, and the commander in a great measure absolute; for he had not only the power of summoning such officers as he might choose to sit on any trial, a prerogative unknown to any civil court of judicature: but he was also at liberty to review and alter the sentence; so that a man was subject to two trials for the same offence, and the commander in chief was judge both of the guilt and the punishment. By the final clause of this bill, the martial law was extended to all officers on half-pay; and the same arguments which had been urged against this article in the navy-bill, were now repeated and reinforced with redoubled fervour. Many reasons were offered to prove that the half-pay was allotted as a recompence for past service; and the opponents of the bill affirmed, that such an article, by augmenting the dependents of the crown, might be very dangerous to the constitution. On the other hand, the partisans of the ministry asserted that the half-pay was granted as a retaining fee; and that originally all those who enjoyed this indulgence, were deemed to be in actual service, consequently subject to martial law. Mr. P——, who at this time exercised the office of paymaster-general with a rigour of integrity unknown to the most disinterested of all his predecessors in that department, espoused the clause in dispute, as a necessary extension of military discipline which could never be attended with any bad consequence to the liberty of the nation. The remarks which he made on this occasion implied an opinion that our liberties wholly existed in dependence upon the direction of the sovereign, and the virtue of the army. “To that virtue, said he, we trust even at this hour, small as our army is—to that virtue we must have trusted, had this bill been modelled as its warmest opposers could have wished; and without this virtue, should the lords, the commons, and the people of England intrench themselves behind parchment up to the teeth, the sword will find a passage to the vitals of the constitution.” This being the case, vain, fruitless, and unnecessary, must those precautions be, which are so carefully transmitted from one session to another, in order to restrain the military power within the constitutional pale of parliament. At any rate, it cannot surely be adviseable to establish such new regulations

regulations as may possibly be productive of prejudice to national liberty, unless the want of them had been proved detrimental to the service of the public. Ann. 1748.

All the disputed articles of the bill being sustained on the shoulders of a great majority, it was conveyed to the upper house, where it excited another violent contest. Upon the question whether officers on half-pay had not been subject to martial law, the judges were consulted and divided in their sentiments. The earl of Bath declared his opinion, that the martial law did not extend to reformed officers; and opened all the sluices of his antient eloquence. He admitted a case which was urged of seven officers on half-pay, who, being taken in actual rebellion at Preston, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifteen, had been executed on the spot by martial law, in consequence of the king's express order. He candidly owned, that he himself was secretary at war at that period: that he had approved of this order, and even transmitted it to general Carpenter, who commanded at Preston; but now his opinion was intirely changed. He observed that when the forementioned rebellion first broke out, the house presented an address to the king, desiring his majesty would be pleased to employ all half-pay officers, and gratify them with whole pay; and indeed all such officers were voted on whole pay, by the house of commons. They were afterwards apprised of this vote, by an advertisement in the Gazette, and ordered to hold themselves in readiness for repairing to such places as should be appointed; and finally commanded to repair by such a day to those places, on pain of being struck off the list of half-pay. These precautions would have been unnecessary had they been deemed subject to martial law; and the penalty for non-obedience would not have been merely a privation of their pensions, but they would have fallen under the punishment of death as deserters from the service. His lordship distinguished, with great propriety and precision, between a step which had been precipitately taken in a violent crisis, when the public was heated with apprehension and resentment, and a solemn law concerted at leisure, during the most profound tranquillity. Notwithstanding the spirited opposition of this nobleman, and some attempts to insert additional clauses, the bill having undergone a few inconsiderable amendments, passed by virtue of a very considerable majority.

Immediately after the mutiny-bill had passed the lower house, another Bill for limiting the term of a soldier's service, fruitless effort was made by the opposition. The danger of a standing army, on whose virtue the constitution of Great Britain seemed to depend, did not fail to alarm the minds of many who were zealously attached to the liberties of their country, and gave birth to a scheme, which, if executed, would have enabled the legislature to establish a militia that must have answered many national purposes, and acted as a constitutional bulwark against the excesses and ambition of a military standing force, under the immediate influence of the government. The scheme which patriotism conceived, was, in all probability, adopted by party. A motion was made, and a bill brought in, limiting the time beyond which no soldier, or non-commissioned officer, should be compelled to continue in the service. Had this limitation taken place, such a rotation of soldiers would have ensued among the common people,

Ann. 1748. people, that in a few years every peasant, labourer, and inferior tradesman in the kingdom, would have understood the exercise of arms; and perhaps the people in general would have concluded, that a standing army was altogether unnecessary. A project of this nature could not, for obvious reasons, be agreeable to the administration, and therefore the bill was rendered abortive; for, after having been twice read, it was postponed from time to time until the parliament was prorogued, and never appeared in the sequel.

Such were the chief subjects of debate between the ministry and the opposition, composed, as we have already observed, of the prince's servants and the remains of the country party, this last being headed by lord Strange, son of the earl of Derby, and Sir Francis Dashwood; the former a nobleman of distinguished abilities, keen, penetrating, eloquent, and sagacious; the other frank, spirited, and sensible.

Measures
taken with re-
spect to the
African
trade.

It must be owned, however, for the honour of the ministry, that, if they carried a few unpopular measures with a high hand, they seemed earnestly desirous of making amends to the nation, by promoting divers regulations for the benefit and improvement of commerce, which actually took place in the ensuing session of parliament. One of the principal objects of this nature, which fell under their cognizance, was the trade to the coast of Guinea; a very important branch of traffic, whether considered as a market for British manufactures, or as the source that supplied the English plantations with negroes. This was originally monopolized by a joint-stock company, which had from time to time derived considerable sums from the legislature, for enabling them the better to support certain forts or castles on the coast of Africa, to facilitate the commerce and protect the merchants. In the sequel, however, the exclusive privilege having been judged prejudicial to the national trade, the coast was laid open to all British subjects indiscriminately, on condition that they should pay a certain duty towards defraying the expence of the forts and factories.

This expedient did not answer the purposes for which it had been contrived. The separate traders, instead of receiving any benefit from the protection of the company, industriously avoided their castles, as the receptacles of tyranny and oppression. The company, whether from the misconduct or knavery of their directors, contracted such a load of debts as their stock was unable to discharge. They seemed to neglect the traffic, and allowed the castles to decay. In a word, their credit being exhausted, and their creditors growing clamorous, they presented a petition to the house of commons, disclosing their distresses, and imploring such assistance as should enable them not only to pay their debts, but also to maintain the forts in a defensible condition. This petition, recommended to the house in a message from his majesty, was corroborated by another in the behalf of the company's creditors. Divers merchants of London, interested in the trade to Africa, and the British plantations of America, petitioned the house, that as the African trade was of the utmost importance to the nation, and could not be supported without forts and settlements, some effectual means should be speedily taken for protecting and extending this valuable branch of commerce. A fourth was offered by the merchants of Liverpool, representing, that the security and protection of the trade to Africa must
always

always principally depend upon his majesty's ships of war, properly stationed on that coast, and seasonably relieved; and that such forts and settlements as might be judged necessary for marks of sovereignty and possession, would prove a nuisance and a burthen to the trade, should they remain in the hands of any joint-stock company, whose private interest always had been, and ever would be, found incompatible with the interest of the separate and open trader. They therefore prayed, that the said forts might either be taken into his majesty's immediate possession, and supported by the public, or committed to the merchants trading on that coast, in such a manner as the house should judge expedient, without vesting in them any other advantage or right to the commerce, but what should be common to all his majesty's subjects.

This remonstrance was succeeded by another, to the same effect, from the master, wardens, assistants, and commonalty of the society of merchant-adventurers within the city of Bristol.

All these petitions were referred to a committee appointed to deliberate on this subject; and they agreed to certain resolutions, implying, That the trade to Africa should be free and open; That the British forts and settlements on that coast ought to be maintained, and put under proper direction; and, That, in order to carry on the African trade in the most beneficial manner to these kingdoms, all the British subjects trading to Africa should be united in one open company, without any joint-stock, or power to trade as a corporation. A bill was immediately founded on these resolutions, which alarmed the company to such a degree, that they had recourse to another petition, demonstrating their right to the coast of Africa, and expressing their reliance on the justice of the house, that they should not be deprived of their property without an adequate consideration. In a few days a second address was offered by their creditors, complaining of the company's mismanagement, promising to surrender their right, as the wisdom of parliament should prescribe; praying, that their debts might be inquired into; and that the equivalent, to be granted for the company's possessions, might be secured and applied, in the first place, for their benefit.

The commons, in consequence of this petition, ordered the company to produce a list of their debts, together with a copy of their charter, and two remonstrances which their creditors had presented to them before this application to parliament. A committee of the whole house, having deliberated on these papers and petitions, and heard the company by their counsel, resolved to give them a reasonable compensation for their charter, lands, forts, settlements, slaves, and effects, to be, in the first place, applied towards the payment of their creditors. A bill being formed accordingly, passed through the commons, and was conveyed to the upper house, where a great many objections were started; and for the present it was dropped, until a plan more unexceptionable should be concerted. In the mean time their lordships addressed his majesty, That the lords commissioners for trade and plantations might be directed to prepare a scheme on this subject, to be laid before both houses of parliament at the beginning of next session; That instant orders should be given for preserving and securing the forts and settlements on the coast of Guinea belonging to Great Britain; and, That proper persons should be appointed to examine

Ann. 1748. into the condition of those forts, as well as of the military stores, slaves, and vessels belonging to the African company, so as to make a faithful report of these particulars, with all possible expedition.

Scheme for improving the British fishery.

The ministry having professed an inclination, and indeed shewn a disposition, to promote and extend the commerce of the kingdom, the commons resolved to take some steps for encouraging the white fishery along the northern coast of the island, which is an inexhaustible source of wealth to our industrious neighbours the Dutch, who employ annually a great number of hands and vessels in this branch of commerce. The sensible part of the British people, reflecting on this subject, plainly foresaw that a fishery, under due regulations, undertaken with the protection and encouragement of the legislature, would not only prove a fund of national riches, and a nursery of seamen; but likewise, in a great measure, prevent any future insurrections in the Highlands of Scotland, by diffusing a spirit of industry among the natives of that country, who, finding it in their power to become independent, on the fruits of their own labour, would soon infranchise themselves from that slavish attachment by which they had been so long connected with their landlords and chieftains. Accordingly a committee was appointed to deliberate on the state of the British fishery; and upon their report a bill was founded for encouraging the whale fishery on the coast of Spitzbergen, by a bounty of forty shillings per ton of every ship equipped for that undertaking.

The bill having made its way through both houses, and obtained the royal assent, the merchants in different parts of the kingdom, particularly in North Britain, began to build and fit out ships of great burthen, and peculiar structure, for the purposes of that fishery, which ever since hath been carried on with equal vigour and success.

Divers merchants and traders of London having presented to the house of commons a petition, representing the benefits that would accrue to the community from a herring and cod fishery, established on proper principles, and carried on with skill and integrity, this remonstrance was referred to the committee, upon whose resolutions a bill was formed; but before this could be discussed in the house the parliament was prorogued, and of consequence this measure proved abortive.

Attempt to open the commerce to Hudson's bay.

The next proposed regulation, in favour of trade, was that of laying open the commerce of Hudson's bay, in the most northern parts of America, where a small monopoly maintained a few forts and settlements, and prosecuted a very advantageous fur-trade with the Indians of that continent. It was suggested, that the company had long ago enriched themselves by their exclusive privilege; that they employed no more than four annual ships; that, contrary to an express injunction in their charter, they discouraged all attempts to discover a north-west passage to the East Indies; that they dealt cruelly and perfidiously with the poor Indians, who never traded with them, except when compelled by necessity, so that the best part of the fur-trade had devolved to the enemies of Great Britain; and that their exclusive patent restricted to very narrow limits a branch of commerce, which might be cultivated to a prodigious extent, as well as to the infinite advantage of Great Britain.

Petitions,

Petitions, that the trade of Hudson's bay might be laid open, were presented to the house by merchants of London, Great Yarmouth, and Wolverhampton; and a committee was appointed to deliberate upon this subject. On the other hand, the company exerted themselves in petitions, and private applications for their own preservation. The committee examined papers and records; and the report was taken into consideration by the whole house. Many evidences were interrogated, and elaborate speeches made, on both sides of the question. At length the majority seemed satisfied, that the traffic on the coast of Hudson's bay could not be preserved without forts and settlements, which must be maintained either by an exclusive company, or at the public expence; and as this was not judged a proper juncture to encumber the nation with any charge of that kind, the design of dissolving the company was laid aside to a more favourable opportunity. This, however, was but an indifferent excuse, provided the trade was really capable of considerable extension: for the company, having already enriched themselves by their charter, had no right to demand an indemnification; and the expence of maintaining the forts, being trifling in itself, would have been amply refunded by the augmentation of the national commerce.

The government had, during the war, found great difficulty in pressing men for the service of the navy: a practice, which, however sanctioned by necessity, is nevertheless a flagrant incroachment on the liberty of the subject, and a violent outrage against the constitution of Great Britain. The ministry, therefore, had employed some of their agents to form a scheme for retaining in time of peace, by means of a certain allowance, a number of seamen, who should be registered for the purpose, and be ready to man a squadron upon any emergency. Such a plan, properly regulated, would have been a great advantage to commerce, which is always distressed by the practice of pressing seamen; and, at the same time, a great security to the kingdom in dangerous conjunctures, when it may be necessary to equip an armament at a minute's warning. The house of commons being moved upon this subject, agreed to divers resolutions, as a foundation for the bill: but the members in the opposition affecting to represent this measure in an odious light, as an imitation of the French method of registering seamen without their own consent, Mr. Pelham dropped it, as an unpopular project.

Information having been received, that the French intended to settle the neutral islands of St. Lucia, Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago, in the West Indies, the nation had taken the alarm in the beginning of the year; and a motion was made in the house of commons to address his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to give directions for laying before the house copies of the instructions given to the governors of Barbadoes for ten years last past, so far as they related to these neutral islands: but whether the minister was conscious of a neglect in this particular, or thought such inquiries trespassed upon the prerogative, he opposed the motion with all his might; and, after some debate, the previous question passed in the negative.

This was also the fate of another motion made by the earl of E—t for an address, intreating his majesty would submit to the inspection of the house all the proposals of peace that had been made by the French king, since the year which preceded the last rebellion, to that in which the definitive treaty

Ministerial
plan for
manning the
navy.

Fruitless mo-
tions made
by the mem-
bers in the
opposition.

Ann. 1748. treaty was concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle. This they proposed as a previous step to the parliament's forming any opinion concerning the utility or necessity of the peace which had been established. Violent debates ensued, in which the opposition was as much excelled in oratory as out-numbered in votes.

Such were the material transactions of this session, which in the month of June was closed as usual with a speech from the throne; in which his majesty signified his hope, that the parliament, at their next meeting, would be able to perfect what they had now begun for advancing the trade and navigation of the kingdom. He likewise expressed his satisfaction in seeing public credit flourish at the end of an expensive war; and recommended unanimity, as the surest bulwark of national security.

Severities exercised upon some students at Oxford.

While the ministry, on some occasions, exhibited all the external signs of moderation and good humour; they, on others, manifested a spirit of jealousy and resentment, which seems to have been childish and illiberal. Two or three young riotous students at Oxford, trained up in prejudice, and heated with intemperance, uttered some expressions over their cups, implying their attachment to the family of the Pretender. The report of this indiscretion was industriously circulated by certain worthless individuals, who, having no reliance on their own intrinsic merit, hoped to distinguish themselves as the tools of party, and to obtain favour with the ministry by acting as volunteers in the infamous practice of information. Though neither the age, rank, nor connections of the delinquents, were such as ought to have attracted the notice of the public, the vice-chancellor, heads of houses, and proctors of the university, knowing the invidious scrutiny to which their conduct was subjected, thought proper to publish a declaration, signifying their abhorrence of all seditious practices; their determined resolution to punish all offenders to the utmost severity and rigour of the statutes; and containing peremptory orders for the regulation of the university. Notwithstanding these wise and salutary precautions, the three boys, who, in the heat of their intoxication, had drank to the Pretender's health, were taken into custody by a messenger of state. Two of them being tried in the court of King's Bench, and found guilty, were sentenced to walk through the courts of Westminster, with a specification of their crime fixed to their foreheads; to pay a fine of five nobles each; to be imprisoned for two years, and find security for their good behaviour for the term of seven years after their enlargement. Many people thought they saw the proceedings of the star-chamber revived in the severity of this punishment.

The administration, not yet satisfied with the vengeance which had been taken on these three striplings, seemed determined to stigmatize the university to which they belonged. The cry of Jacobitism was loudly trumpeted against the whole community. The address of the university, congratulating his majesty on the establishment of the peace, was rejected with disdain: an attempt was made to subject their statutes to the inspection of the king's council; but this rule, being argued in the court of King's Bench, was dismissed, in consequence of the opinions given by the judges. Finally, the same tribunal granted an information against Dr. Purnel, the vice chancellor, for his behaviour in the case of the rioters above mentioned: but this was

was countermanded in the sequel, his conduct having appeared unexception- Ann. 1748.
able upon a more cool and impartial inquiry.

In proportion as Oxford declined, her sister university rose in the favour of The duke of
the administration, which she at this period cultivated by an extraordinary Newcastle
mark of complaisance and attachment. The dignity of chancellor in that chosen chan-
university being vacated by the death of the duke of Somerset, the nation in cellor of the
general seemed to think it would naturally devolve upon the prince of Wales, university of
as a compliment at all times due to that rank; but more especially to the Cambridge.
present heir apparent, who had eminently distinguished himself by the virtues
of a patriot and a prince. He had even pleased himself with the hope of
receiving this mark of attachment from a seminary, for which he entertained
a particular regard. But the ruling members, seeing no immediate pro-
spect of advantage in glorifying even a prince, who was at variance with the
ministry, wisely turned their eyes upon the illustrious character of the duke
of Newcastle, whom they elected without opposition, and installed with great
magnificence; learning, poetry, and eloquence, joining their efforts in cele-
brating the shining virtues and extraordinary talents of their new patron.

Although opposition lay gasping at the feet of power, in the house of com- Tumults in
mons, the people of England did not yet implicitly approve all the measures different parts
of the administration; and the dregs of faction, still agitated by an internal of the king-
ferment, threw up some ineffectual bubbles in different parts of the kingdom. dom.
Some of those who made no secret of their disaffection to the reigning family,
determined to manifest their resentment and contempt of certain noblemen,
and others, who were said to have abandoned their ancient principles, and
to have sacrificed their consciences to their interest. Many individuals, ani-
mated by the fumes of inebriation, now loudly extolled that cause which
they durst not avow when it required their open approbation and assistance;
and, though they industriously avoided exposing their lives and fortunes to
the chance of war, in promoting their favourite interest when there was
a possibility of success, they betrayed no apprehension in celebrating the
memory of its last effort, amidst the tumult of a riot and the clamours of in-
temperance.

In the neighbourhood of Lichfield the sportsmen of the party appeared in
the Highland taste of variegated drapery; and their zeal descending to a
very extraordinary exhibition of practical ridicule, they hunted with hounds,
cloathed in plaid, a fox dressed in a red uniform.

Even the females at their assembly, and the gentlemen at the races,
affected to wear the chequered stuff, by which the prince pretender and his
followers had been distinguished. Divers noblemen on the course were
intulted as apostates; and one personage, of high rank, is said to have un-
dergone a very disagreeable flagellation.

As the public generally suffers at the end of a war, by the sudden dismis-
sion of a great number of soldiers and seamen, who, having contracted a
habit of idleness, and finding themselves without employment and the means
of subsistence, engage in desperate courses, and prey upon the community;
it was judged expedient to provide an opening, through which these unquiet
spirits might exhale without damage to the commonwealth. The most natural
was that of encouraging them to become members of a new colony in North
America, Scheme for a
settlement in
Nova Scotia.

Ann. 1748. America, which, by being properly regulated, supported, and improved, might be the source of great advantage to its mother country.

Many disputes had arisen between the subjects of England and France, concerning the limits of Nova Scotia, which no treaty had as yet properly ascertained. A fort had been raised, and a small garrison maintained, by the king of Great Britain, at a part of this very country, called Annapolis Royal, to overawe the French neutrals settled in the neighbourhood: but this did not answer the purpose for which it was intended. Upon every rupture of dispute between the two crowns, these planters, forgetting their neutrality, intrigued with the Indians, communicated intelligence to their own countrymen settled at St. John's and Cape Breton, and did all the ill offices their hatred could suggest against the colonies and subjects of Great Britain.

A scheme was now formed for making a new establishment on the same peninsula, which should further confirm and extend the property and dominion of the crown of Great Britain in that large tract of country, clear the uncultivated grounds, constitute communities, diffuse the benefits of population and agriculture, and improve the fishery of that coast, which might be rendered a new source of wealth and commerce to Old England. The particulars of the plan, being duly considered, it was laid before his majesty, who approved of the design, and referred the execution of it to the board of trade and plantations, over which the earl of Halifax presided. This nobleman, endued by nature with an excellent capacity, which had been diligently and judiciously cultivated, animated with liberal sentiments, and fired with an eager spirit of patriotism, adopted the plan with the most generous ardour, and cherished the infant colony with paternal affection.

The commissioners for trade and plantations immediately advertised, under the sanction of his majesty's authority, That proper encouragement would be given to such of the officers and private men, lately dismissed from the land and sea-service, as were willing to settle with or without families in the province of Nova Scotia: That the fee simple, or perpetual property, of fifty acres of land should be granted to every private soldier or seaman, free from the payment of any quit-rents or taxes for the term of ten years; at the expiration of which no person should pay more than one shilling per annum for every fifty acres so granted: That, over and above these fifty, each person should receive a grant of ten acres for every individual, including women and children, of which his family should consist: That further grants should be made to them as the number should increase, and in proportion as they should manifest their abilities in agriculture: That every officer, under the rank of ensign in the land-service, or lieutenant in the navy, should be gratified with four-score acres on the same conditions: That two hundred acres should be bestowed upon ensigns, three hundred upon lieutenants, four hundred upon captains, and six hundred on every officer above that degree, with proportionable considerations for the number and increase of every family: That the lands should be parcelled out as soon as possible after the arrival of the colonists, and a civil government established; by virtue of which they should enjoy all the liberties and privileges of British subjects, with proper security and protection: That the settlers, with their families, should be conveyed to Nova Scotia, and maintained for twelve months after their arrival at the expence of the

the government; which should also supply them with arms and ammunition, as far as should be judged necessary for their defence, with proper materials and utensils for clearing and cultivating their lands, erecting habitations, exercising the fishery, and such other purposes as should be judged necessary for their support. Ann. 1748.

The scheme was so feasible, and the encouragement so inviting, that in a little time about four thousand adventurers, with their families, were entered, according to the directions of the board of trade. In the beginning of May they set sail from England, under the command of colonel Cornwallis, whom the king had appointed their governor. Towards the latter end of June they arrived at the place of their destination, which was the harbour of Chebuctou, on the sea-coast of the peninsula, about midway between Cape Cançeau and Cape Sable. It is one of the most secure and commodious havens in the whole world, and well situated for the fishery: yet the climate is cold, the soil barren, and the whole country covered with woods of birch, fir, pine, and some oak, unfit for the purposes of timber; but at the same time extremely difficult to remove and extirpate. Execution of the scheme for founding the town of Hallifax.

Governor Cornwallis no sooner arrived in this harbour, than he was joined by two regiments of infantry from Cape Breton, and a company of rangers from Annapolis. Then he pitched upon a spot for the settlement, and employed his people in clearing the ground for laying the foundations of a town; but some inconveniences being discovered in this situation, he chose another to the northward, hard by the harbour, on an easy ascent that commands a prospect of the whole peninsula, and is well supplied with rivulets of fresh and wholesome water. Here, on a regular plan, he began to build a town, to which he gave the name of Hallifax, in honour of the nobleman who had the greatest share in founding the colony; and before the approach of winter above three hundred comfortable wooden houses were built, the whole being surrounded by a strong pallisade.

This colony, however, has by no means answered the sanguine expectations of the projectors; for, notwithstanding the ardour with which the interests of it were promoted by its noble patron, and the repeated indulgence it has reaped from the bounty of the legislature, the inhabitants have made little or no progress in agriculture: the fishery is altogether neglected, and the settlement intirely subsists on the sums expended by the individuals of the army and navy, whose duty obliges them to reside in this part of North America.

The establishment of such a powerful colony in Nova Scotia could not fail of giving umbrage to the French in that neighbourhood, who, though they did not think proper to promulgate their jealousy and disgust, nevertheless employed their emissaries clandestinely in stimulating and exciting the Indians to harraßs the colonists with hostilities, in such a manner as should effectually hinder them from extending their plantations, and perhaps induce them to abandon the settlement. Nor was this the only part of America in which the French court countenanced such perfidious practices. More than ever convinced of the importance of a considerable navy, and an extensive plantation-trade, they not only exerted uncommon industry in re-establishing their marine, which had suffered so severely during the war; but they resolved, if possible, The French attempt to settle the island of Tobago.

Ann. 1748. to extend their plantations in the West Indies, by settling the neutral islands, which we have already mentioned.

In the beginning of the year the governor of Barbadoes, having received intelligence that the French had begun to settle the island of Tobago, sent thither captain Tyrrel in a frigate to learn the particulars. That officer found above three hundred men already landed, secured by two batteries and two ships of war, and in daily expectation of a further reinforcement from the marquis de Caylus, governor of Martinique; who had published an ordonnance, authorizing the subjects of the French king to settle the island of Tobago, and promising to defend them from the attempts of all their enemies. This assurance was in answer to a proclamation issued by Mr. Greenville, governor of Barbadoes, and stuck up in different parts of the island, commanding all the inhabitants to remove in thirty days, on pain of undergoing military execution.

Captain Tyrrel, with a spirit that became a commander in the British navy, gave the French officers to understand, that his most christian majesty had no right to settle the island, which was declared neutral by treaties; and that, if they would not desist, he should be obliged to employ force in driving them from their new settlement. Night coming on, and Mr. Tyrrel's ship falling to leeward, the two French captains seized that opportunity of sailing to Martinique; and next day the English commander returned to Barbadoes, having no power to commit hostilities.

These tidings, with a copy of the French governor's ordonnance, were no sooner transmitted to the ministry than they dispatched a courier to the English envoy at Paris, with directions to make representations to the court of Versailles on this subject. The ministry of France, knowing they were in no condition to support the consequences of an immediate rupture, and understanding how much the merchants and people of Great Britain were alarmed and incensed at their attempts to possess these islands, thought proper to disown the proceedings of the marquis de Caylus, and to grant the satisfaction that was demanded, by sending him orders to discontinue the settlement, and evacuate the island of Tobago. At the same time, however, that the court of Versailles made this sacrifice for the satisfaction of England, the marquis de Puyfieux, the French minister, observed to the English resident, that France was undoubtedly in possession of that island towards the middle of the last century. He ought in candour to have added, That although Louis XIV. made a conquest of this island from the Hollanders, during his war with that republic, it was restored to them by the treaty of Nimeguen; and since that time France could not have the least shadow of a claim to number it among her settlements.

It was before this answer could be obtained from the court of Versailles, that the motion, of which we have already taken notice, was made in the house of commons, relating to the subject of the neutral islands; a motion discouraged by the court, and defeated by the majority.

Rejoicings
for the peace.

The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was celebrated by fire-works, illuminations, and rejoicings, in which the English, French, and Dutch, seemed to display a spirit of emulation, in point of taste and magnificence; and, in all probability, these three powers were sincerely pleased at the cessation of the war. England enjoyed a respite from intolerable supplies, exorbitant insurance, and interrupted

interrupted commerce: Holland was delivered from the brink of a French invasion; and France had obtained a breathing time for re-establishing her naval power, for exerting that spirit of intrigue by dint of which she hath often embroiled her neighbours, and for executing plans of insensible encroachment, which might prove more advantageous than the progress of open hostilities.

In the affair of Tobago the French king had manifested his inclination to avoid immediate disputes with England; and he exhibited another proof of the same disposition in his behaviour to the prince pretender, who had excited such a dangerous rebellion in the island of Great Britain.

Among those princes and powers who excepted against different articles of the treaty at Aix-la-Chapelle, the Chevalier de St. George, foreseeing that none of the plenipotentiaries would receive his protest, employed his agents to fix it up in the public places of Aix-la-Chapelle; a precaution of very little service to his cause, which all the states of Christendom seemed now to have abandoned. So little was the interest of his family considered in this negotiation, that the contracting powers agreed, without reserve, to a literal insertion of the fifth article of the quadruple alliance; by which it was stipulated, That neither the pretender nor any of his descendents should be allowed to reside within the territories belonging to any of the subscribing parties. At the same time the plenipotentiaries of France promised to those of Great Britain, that prince Charles Edward should be immediately obliged to quit the dominions of his most christian majesty. Notice of this agreement was accordingly given by the court of Versailles to the young adventurer; and as he had declared he would never return to Italy, Mons. de Courteille, the French envoy to the cantons of Switzerland, was directed by his sovereign to demand an asylum for prince Edward in the city of Fribourg. The regency having complied in this particular with the earnest request of his most christian majesty, Mr. Burnaby, the British minister to the Helvetic Body, took the alarm, and presented the magistracy of Fribourg with a remonstrance, couched in such terms as gave offence to that regency, and drew upon him a severe answer. In vain had the French king exerted his influence in procuring this retreat for the young pretender, who, being pressed with repeated messages to withdraw, persisted in refusing to quit the place, to which he had been so cordially invited by his cousin the king of France; and where (he said) that monarch had solemnly promised, on the word of a king, that he would never forsake him in his distress, nor abandon the interests of his family.

Louis was not a little perplexed at this obstinacy of prince Edward, which was the more vexatious as that youth appeared to be the darling of the Parisians; who not only admired him for his own accomplishments, and pitied him for his sufferings, but also revered him as a young hero lineally descended from their renowned fourth Henry.

At length the two English noblemen arriving at Paris, as hostages for performance of the treaty, and seeing him appear at all public places of diversion, complained of this circumstance as an insult offered to their sovereign, and even as an infringement of the treaty so lately concluded. The French king, after some hesitation between punctilio and convenience, resolved to employ violence upon the person of this troublesome stranger, since milder remon-

The pretender's eldest son arrested at Paris.

Ann. 1748. Frances had not been able to influence his conduct: but this resolution was not taken till the return of a courier whom he dispatched to the Chevalier de St. George; who, being thus informed of his son's deportment, wrote a letter to him, laying strong injunctions upon him to yield to the necessity of the times, and acquiesce with a good grace in the stipulations which his cousin of France had found it necessary to subscribe, for the interest of his realm.

Edward, far from complying with this advice and injunction, signified his resolution to remain in Paris; and even declared, that he would pistol any man who should presume to lay violent hands on his person. In consequence of this bold declaration, an extraordinary council was held at Versailles, where it was determined to arrest him without further delay, and the whole plan of this enterprize was finally adjusted. That same evening, the prince entering the narrow lane that leads to the opera, the barrier was immediately shut, and the serjeant of the guard called "To arms." Then monsieur de Vaudreuil, exempt of the French guards, advancing to Edward, "Prince, (said he) I arrest you in the king's name, by virtue of this order." At that instant the youth was surrounded by four grenadiers, in order to prevent any mischief he might have done with a case of pocket-pistols which he always carried about with him; and a guard was placed on all the avenues and doors of the opera-house, lest any tumult should have ensued among the populace. These precautions being taken, Vaudreuil, with an escorte, conducted the prisoner through the garden of the Palais Royal to a house where the duke de Biron waited, with a coach and six, to convey him to the castle of Vincennes, whither he was immediately accompanied by a detachment from the regiment of French guards, under the command of that nobleman. He had not remained above three days in this confinement when he gave the French ministry to understand, that he would conform himself to the king's intentions; and was immediately enlarged, upon giving his word and honour that he would, without delay, retire from the dominions of France. Accordingly he set out in four days from Fountainbleau, attended by three officers, who conducted him as far as Pont-Beauvoisin on the frontiers, where they took their leave of him, and returned to Versailles. He proceeded for some time in the road to Chamberri; but soon returned into the French dominions, and, passing through Dauphine, repaired to Avignon, where he was received with extraordinary honours by the pope's legate.

In the mean time his arrest excited great murmurings at Paris; the inhabitants of which blamed, without scruple, their king's conduct in this instance, as a scandalous breach of hospitality, as well as a mean proof of condescension to the king of England; and many severe pasquinades, relating to this transaction, were fixed up in the most public places of that metropolis.

Appearance
of a rupture
between
Russia and
Sweden.

Although peace was now re-established among the principal powers of the continent, yet another storm seemed ready to burst upon the northern parts of Europe, in a fresh rupture between Russia and Sweden. Whether the Czarina had actually obtained information that the French faction meditated some revolution of government at Stockholm, or she wanted a pretence for annexing Finland to her empire; certain it is, she affected to apprehend that

the

the prince-succeſſor of Sweden waited only for the deceaſe of the reigning king, who was very old and infirm, to change the form of government, and reſume that abſolute authority which ſome of the monarchs his predeceſſors had enjoyed. She ſeemed to think, that a prince thus veſted with arbitrary power, and guided by the counſels of France and Pruſſia, with which Sweden had lately engaged in cloſe alliance, might become a very troubleſome and dangerous neighbour to her in the Baltic: ſhe therefore recruited her armies, repaired her fortifications, filled her magazines, ordered a ſtrong body of troops to advance towards the frontiers of Finland, and declared, in plain terms, to the court of Stockholm, That if any ſtep ſhould be taken to alter the government, which ſhe had bound herſelf by treaty to maintain, her troops ſhould enter the territory of Sweden, and ſhe would act up to the ſpirit of her engagements. The Swediſh miniſtry, alarmed at theſe peremptory proceedings, had recourſe to their allies; and, in the mean time, made repeated declarations to the court of Petersburgh, That there was no deſign to make the leaſt innovation in the nature of their eſtabliſhed government: but little or no regard being payed to theſe representations, they began to put the kingdom in a poſture of defence; and the old King gave the Czarina to underſtand, That if, notwithſtanding the ſatisfaction he had offered, her forces ſhould paſs the frontiers of Finland, he would conſider their march as an hoſtile invaſion, and employ the means which God had put in his power for the defence of his dominions.

This declaration, in all probability, did not produce ſuch effect as did the interpoſition of his Pruſſian majeſty, the moſt enterpriſing prince of his time, at the head of one hundred and forty thouſand of the beſt troops that Germany ever trained. Perhaps he was not ſorry that the empreſs of Ruſſia furnished him with a plausible pretence for maintaining ſuch a formidable army, after the peace of Europe had been aſcertained by a formal treaty, and all the ſurrounding ſtates had diminiſhed the number of their forces. He now wrote a letter to his uncle the king of Great Britain, complaining of the insults and menaces which had been offered by the Czarina to Sweden; declaring, that he was bound by a deſenſive alliance, to which France had acceded, to defend the government at preſent eſtabliſhed in Sweden; and that he would not fit ſtill and tamely ſee that kingdom attacked by any power whatſoever, without acting up to his engagements: he therefore intreated his Britannic majeſty to interpoſe his good offices, in conjunction with France and him, to compromiſe the diſputes which threatened to embroil the northern parts of Europe.

By this time the Ruſſian army had approached the frontiers of Finland: the Swedes had aſſembled their troops, replenished their magazines, and repaired their marine; and the king of Denmark, jealous of the Czarina's deſigns, with regard to the duchy of Sleſwic, which was conteſted with him by the prince-succeſſor of Ruſſia, kept his army and navy on the moſt reſpectable footing.

At this critical juncture the courts of London, Verſailles, and Berlin, co-operated ſo effectually by remonſtrances and declarations at Petersburgh and Stockholm, that the empreſs of Ruſſia thought proper to own herſelf ſatisfied, and all thoſe clouds of trouble were immediately diſperſed. Yet, in all probability,

Ann. 1748. probability, her real aim was disappointed; and, however she might dissemble her sentiments, she never heartily forgave the king of Prussia for the share he had in this transaction. That monarch, without relaxing in his attention to the support of a very formidable military power, exerted very extraordinary endeavours in cultivating the civil interests of his country. He reformed the laws of Brandenburg, and rescued the administration of justice from the frauds of chicanery. He encouraged the arts of agriculture and manufacture; and even laid the foundation of naval commerce, by establishing an East India company in the port of Embden.

Internal measures taken by the French ministry. Nor did the French ministry neglect any measure that might contribute to repair the damage which the kingdom had sustained in the course of the war. One half of the army was disbanded: the severe imposition of the tenth penny was suspended by the king's edict: a scheme of œconomy was proposed, with respect to the finances; and the utmost diligence used in procuring materials, as well as workmen, for ship-building, that the navy of France might speedily retrieve its former importance.

In the midst of these truly patriotic schemes, the court of Versailles betrayed a littleness of genius, and a spirit of tyranny, joined to fanaticism, in quarrelling with the parliament about superstitious forms of religion. The sacraments had been denied to a certain person on his death-bed, because he refused to subscribe to the bull Unigenitus. The nephew of the defunct preferred a complaint to the parliament, whose province it was to take cognizance of the affair: a deputation of that body attended the king with the report of their resolutions; and his majesty commanded them to suspend all proceedings relating to a matter of such consequence, concerning which he would take an opportunity of signifying his royal pleasure. This interposition was the source of disputes between the crown and parliament, which had like to have filled the whole kingdom with intestine troubles.

Conduct of divers European powers. At Vienna the Empress-queen was not more solicitous in promoting the trade and internal manufactures of her dominions, by sumptuary regulations, necessary restrictions on foreign superfluities, by opening her ports in the Adriatic, and giving proper encouragement to commerce, than she was careful and provident in reforming the œconomy of her finances, maintaining a respectable body of forces, and guarding, by defensive alliances, against the enterprizes of his Prussian majesty, on whose military power she looked with jealousy and distrust.

In Holland all the authority and influence of the Stadtholder were scarce sufficient to allay the ferments excited among the people, by the provisional taxation which had succeeded the abolition of the pachters, and was indeed very grievous to the subject. As this was no more than a temporary expedient, the prince of Orange proposed a more equitable plan, which was approved by the States, and established with great difficulty.

In Italy the system of politics seemed to change its complexion. The king of Sardinia effected a match between one of the infantas of Spain and the prince of Piedmont; and whether irritated by the conduct of the Austrians in the last war, or apprehensive of such a powerful neighbour in the Milanese, he engaged with the kings of France and Spain in a defensive alliance,

alliance, comprehending the king of the Two Sicilies, the republic of Genoa, Ann. 1748. and the dukes of Modena and Parma.

His most Catholic Majesty, sincerely disposed to cultivate the arts of peace, and encourage every measure that could contribute to the advantage of his country, was no sooner released from the embarrassments of war, than he began to execute plans of internal œconomy; to reduce unnecessary pensions, discharge the debts contracted in the war, replenish his arsenals, augment his navy, promote manufactures, and encourage an active commerce by sea, the benefits of which the kingdom of Spain had not known since the first discovery and conquest of the West Indies.

The preparations for refitting and increasing the navy of Spain were carried on with such extraordinary vigour, that other nations believed an expedition was intended against the corsairs of Algiers, who had for some time grievously infested the trade and coasts of the Mediterranean. The existence of this and other predatory republics, which intirely subsist upon piracy and rapine, petty states of barbarous ruffians, maintained, as it were, in the midst of powerful nations, which they insult with impunity, and of which they even exact an annual contribution, is a flagrant reproach upon Christendom; a reproach the greater, as it is founded upon a low, selfish, illiberal maxim of policy. Insolence of the Barbary corsairs.

All the powers that border on the Mediterranean, except France and Tuscany, are at perpetual war with the Moors of Barbary, and, for that reason, obliged to employ foreign ships for the transportation of their merchandize. This employment naturally devolves to those nations whose vessels are in no danger from the depredations of the Barbarians; namely, the subjects of the Maritime Powers, who, for this puny advantage, not only tolerate the piratical states of Barbary, but even supply them with arms and ammunition, solicit their passes, and purchase their forbearance with annual presents, which are, in effect, equivalent to a tribute: whereas, by one vigorous exertion of their power, they might destroy all their ships, lay their towns in ashes, and totally extirpate those pernicious broods of desperate banditti. Even all the condescension of those who disgrace themselves with the title of allies to these miscreants, is not always sufficient to restrain them from acts of cruelty and rapine.

At this very period four cruisers from Algiers made a capture of an English packet-boat, in her voyage from Lisbon, and conveyed her to their city, where she was plundered of money and effects to the amount of one hundred thousand pounds, and afterwards dismissed. In consequence of this outrage, commodore Keppel was sent with seven ships of war to demand satisfaction, as well as to compromise certain differences which had arisen on account of arrears claimed of the English by the dey of Algiers. The Mussulman frankly owned, that the money, having been divided among the captors, could not possibly be refunded. The commodore returned to Gibraltar; and, in the sequel, an Algerine ambassador arrived at London, with some presents of wild beasts for his Britannick majesty. This transaction was succeeded by another injurious affront, offered by the governor or alcaide of Tetuan to Mr. Latton, an English ambassador, sent thither to redeem the British subjects, who had been many years enslaved in the dominions of the king of Morocco.

A revo-

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A revolution having lately happened in this empire, Muley Abdallah, the reigning ruffian, insisted upon the ambassador's paying a pretended balance for the ransom of the captives, as well as depositing a considerable sum, which had already been payed to a deceased bashaw; alledging, that as he (the emperor) received no part of it, the payment was illegal. Mr. Latton refusing to comply with this arbitrary demand, his house was surrounded by a detachment of soldiers, who violently dragged his secretary from his presence, and threw him into a dismal subterranean dungeon, where he continued twenty days. The English slaves, to the number of twenty-seven, were condemned to the same fate: the ambassador himself was degraded from his character, deprived of his allowance, and sequestered from all communication. All the letters directed to him were intercepted, and interpreted to the alcaide: two negro-porters were entrusted with the keys of all his apartments, and a couple of soldiers posted at his chamber-door: nay, this Moorish governor threatened to load him with irons, and violently seized part of the presents designed by his Britannic majesty for the emperor. At length, finding that neither Mr. Latton nor the governor of Gibraltar, to whom he had written, would deposit the money, without fresh instructions from the court of London, the Barbarian thought proper to relax in his severity: the prisoners were enlarged, the restrictions removed from the person of the ambassador, and, after all these indignities offered to the honour of the British nation, the balance was payed, and the affair quietly adjusted.

Disturbances
in England.

Britain, mean while, was altogether barren of events which might deserve a place in a general history. Commerce and manufacture flourished again, to such a degree of increase as had never been known in the island: but this advantage was attended with an irresistible tide of luxury and excess, which flowed through all degrees of the people, breaking down all the mounds of civil polity, and opening a way for licence and immorality. The highways were infested with rapine and assassination; the cities teemed with the brutal votaries of lewdness, intemperance, and profligacy. The whole land was overspread with a succession of tumult, riot, and insurrection, excited in different parts of the kingdom by the erection of new turnpikes, which the legislature judged necessary for the convenience of inland carriage. In order to quell these disturbances, recourse was had to the military power: several individuals were slain, and some were executed as examples. This was, at best, but a violent remedy, which ought never to be applied among a free people, except in cases of the utmost emergency; and these can hardly ever happen in a country governed by good laws, punctually administered: for there must be some fundamental flaw in that constitution, which the power of civil magistracy cannot preserve from anarchy and internal dissolution.

Session of
parliament
opened.

In the month of November the session of parliament was opened, with a speech from the throne; in which his majesty expressed a particular pleasure in meeting them at a time, when the perfect re-establishment of a general peace had restored to his people the blessings of quiet and tranquillity. He said, the good effects of these already appeared in the flourishing condition of national commerce, and in the rise of public credit, which were the foundations of strength and prosperity to these kingdoms. He declared, That, during the summer, he had used every opportunity of cementing and securing the peace; That it was his firm resolution to do every

every thing in his power for the preservation of it, and religiously adhere to the engagements into which he had entered. Finally, he took notice of the good disposition he had found in the other contracting parties to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, to cherish the public tranquillity of Europe: and he earnestly recommended to the two houses the maintenance of a strong naval power, as the bulwark of national security. Ann. 1748.

When the motion was made for an address of thanks in the house of commons, the first paragraph of his majesty's speech furnished the opposition with a handle to declaim against the late treaty. Sir John Hynd Cotton observed, That the peace could not be properly stiled compleat, as nothing had been stipulated with respect to the article of "no search;" alluding to the interruption our commerce had sustained from the Spaniards in the West Indies: a stipulation, without which both houses of parliament had formerly voted that there should be no peace with that kingdom.

In the present conjuncture of affairs, such an objection favoured rather of party than of patriotism; and indeed Sir John declared, that the remarks he made upon this occasion, were rather in discharge of the duty he owed to his country, than in hope of seeing his sentiments espoused by the majority. Ann. 1749.

Some sharp altercation was used in the debate which arose on this subject; and many severe invectives were levelled at those who negotiated, as well as at those who approved and confirmed the treaty. But Mr. Pelham, who sustained the whole weight of the debate on the side of the administration, answered every objection with equal candour and ability; and if he failed in proving that the terms of peace were as favourable as could be expected, considering the unfortunate events of the war, and the situation of the contending powers; he at least demonstrated, that it would be the interest of the kingdom to acquiesce for the present in the treaty which had been concluded, and endeavour to remedy its imperfections by subsequent conventions, amicably opened among those powers between whom any cause of dispute remained. With respect to the vote of both houses, mentioned by Sir John Hynd Cotton, he declared that he had never approved of that step, when it was first taken; or if he had, times and circumstances, which could not be foreseen, would have justified his deviating from it in the re-establishment of peace. He reminded them, that a parliament of Great Britain had once voted "no peace while any part of the West Indies should remain in possession of the Spanish king;" yet a train of incidents, which they could not possibly foresee, afterwards rendered it expedient to adopt a peace, without insisting upon the accomplishment of that condition.

In a word, we must own, that, in the majority of debates excited in the course of this session, the ministry derived their triumphs from the force of reason, as well as from the weight of influence. We shall always, however, except the efforts that were made for reducing the number of land-forces to fifteen thousand, and maintaining a greater number of seamen than the ministry proposed. On these constitutional points the earl of Egmont, and the other chiefs of the opposition, expatiated with all the energy of eloquence; which, however, was frustrated by the power of superior number. Ten thousand seamen were voted for the service of the ensuing year, notwithstanding his majesty's injunction to maintain a considerable navy; and the

Ann. 1749. number of land-forces, was continued at eighteen thousand eight hundred and fifty-seven. The sums granted for making good his majesty's engagements with the electors of Bavaria and Mentz, and the duke of Brunswic-Wolfenbottle, amounted to fifty-three thousand two hundred and twenty-five pounds sterling. The services done by the colonies in North America, during the war, were gratified with the sum of one hundred twenty-two thousand two hundred forty-six pounds. The expence incurred by the new colony of Nova Scotia exceeded seventy-six thousand pounds. A small sum was voted for the improvement of Georgia; and ten thousand pounds were granted towards the support of the British forts and settlements on the coast of Africa.

The sum total granted in this session arose to four millions one hundred forty-one thousand six hundred sixty-one pounds nine shillings and eleven pence half-penny, to be raised by the land tax, at three shillings in the pound; the malt, and other duties, the surplus of divers impositions remaining in the Bank and Exchequer; one million by annuities, at three per cent. charged on the sinking fund, until redeemed by parliament; and nine hundred thousand pounds out of the excess or overplus of monies denominated the sinking fund.

Scheme for
reducing the
interest of the
national debt.

But the capital measure, which distinguished this session of parliament, was the reduction of the interest on the public funds; a scheme which was planned and executed by the minister, without any national disturbance or disquiet, to the astonishment of all Europe; the different nations of which could not comprehend how it would be possible for the government, at the close of a long expensive war, which had so considerably drained the country, and augmented the enormous burthen of national debt, to find money for paying off such of the public creditors as might choose to receive their principal, rather than submit to a reduction of the interest. It was not very much for the honour of the opposition, that some of its leading members endeavoured to impede this great machine of civil œconomy, by taking opportunities of affirming in parliament, in opposition to his majesty's speech, that the nation, far from being in a flourishing condition, was almost intirely exhausted; that commerce drooped and declined; that public credit stood tottering on the brink of ruin; and that all the treaties lately concluded among the different powers of Europe, were, in effect, disadvantageous and prejudicial to the interests of Great Britain. In answer to these assertions, Mr. Pelham undertook to prove, from the register of exports and imports, that the commerce of the kingdom was more extensive at this than at any former period; and that the public credit was strong enough to admit of an experiment, which he would not presume to hazard, except upon a moral certainty of its being firmly rooted, beyond the power of accident and faction to shake or overturn. He declared, that his design of reducing the interest upon the funds, was the result of the love he bore his country, and an opinion that it was the duty of the servants of the crown to ease the burthens of the people. He said, he had conferred on this subject with persons of the most approved knowledge, and undoubted experience; and chose to promulgate the method proposed for alleviating the load of the national debt, that the public, in knowing the particulars of the scheme, might have time to consider them at leisure, and start such objections as should

should occur to their reflection, before it might be too late to adopt amendments. He observed, that nothing could more clearly demonstrate the vigour of public credit, and the augmentation of national commerce, than the price of stock, which had within three years risen to a very considerable increase; and the duties on imports, which in nine months had added one million to the sinking fund, notwithstanding a very extraordinary sum which had been payed as bounties for exported corn. He expressed great tenderness and regard for the interests of those who had advanced their money for the service of the government; declaring, that his aim was to contrive a fair, honest, and equitable method for lessening the national incumbrances, by lowering the interest, conformable to parliamentary faith, and agreeable to the rules of eternal justice. His plan was accordingly communicated, canvassed, and approved in the house of commons, and an act passed for reducing the interest of the funds which constitute the national debt.*

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In pursuance of this act, for the reduction of the interest, the greater part of the creditors complied with the terms proposed, and subscribed their respective annuities before the end of February; but the three great companies at first kept aloof, and refused to subscribe any part of their capital.

About the middle of March the commons ordered the proper officers to lay before them an account of the sums which had been subscribed, and these were taken into consideration by a committee of the whole house. It was then that Mr. Pelham, as chancellor of the Exchequer, observed, That besides the debts due to the three great companies in their corporate capacity, all the rest, carrying four per centum interest, had been subscribed, except about eight or nine millions, the proprietors of which had forfeited the favour designed them by parliament: but as many of these had been misled by evil counsellors, who perhaps were more intent on distressing the government, than solicitous to serve their friends; and as many were foreigners

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* The resolutions of the commons on this head were printed by authority in the London Gazette, signifying, That those who were, or should be, proprietors of any part of the public debt, redeemable by law, incurred before Michaelmas, in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine, carrying an interest of four per centum per annum, who should, on or before the twenty-eighth day of February in that year, subscribe their names, signifying their consent to accept of an interest of three pounds per centum, to commence from the twenty-fifth day of December in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven, subject to the same provisions, notices, and clauses of redemption, to which their respective sums, at four per centum, were then liable; should, in lieu of their present interest, be intitled to four per centum till the twenty-fifth day of December in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty; and after that day, to three pounds ten shillings per centum per annum, till the twenty-fifth day of December one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven; and no part

of that debt, except what was due to the East India company, should be redeemable to this period: That if any part of the national debt, incurred before last Michaelmas, redeemable by law, and carrying an interest of four per centum, should remain unsubscribed on or before the thirtieth day of May, the government should pay off the principal. For this purpose his majesty was enabled to borrow of any person or persons, bodies politic or corporate, any sum or sums of money, not exceeding that part of the national debt which might remain unsubscribed, to be charged on the sinking fund, upon any terms not exceeding the rate of interest in the foregoing proposal.

All the duties appropriated to the payment of the interest were still continued, and the surplus of these incorporated with the sinking fund for the discharge of the principal. Books were opened for the subscription at the Exchequer, the bank of England, and the South-sea-house; and copies of these resolutions transmitted to the directors of all the monied corporations.

Ann. 1750. residing beyond sea, who had not time to take proper advice, and give the necessary instructions; and as these could not be possibly distinguished from such as refused to subscribe from meer obstinacy or disaffection, it might be thought cruel to take the most rigorous advantage of the forfeiture they had incurred. With respect to the proprietors of the stock or capital belonging to the three great companies, he asserted, that many of them would willingly have subscribed their properties within the time limited, but were necessarily excluded by the majority on the ballot; and as it was equally impossible to know those who were against the question on the ballot, he thought that some tenderness was due even to the proprietors of those three companies: his opinion therefore was, that they and the uncomplying annuitants should be indulged with further time to compleat their subscription; but, in order to preserve the authority of parliament, and the respect due to that august assembly, they ought not to be gratified with such advantageous terms as were allowed to the annuitants, who at first chearfully complied with the proposals offered by the legislature. For these reasons he proposed, That although the term of subscribing should be protracted till the thirtieth day of May, the encouragement of three pounds ten shillings per centum per annum should not be continued to the second subscribers longer than till the fifth day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five. The proposal being approved, a bill was framed for this purpose, as well as for redeeming such annuities as should not be subscribed. It passed through both houses, and was enacted into a law, after having received an additional clause, empowering the East India company, in case they should subscribe all their stock bearing an interest of four per centum, to borrow, with the consent of the board of treasury, any sums not exceeding four millions two hundred thousand pounds, after the several rates of interest before proposed to be paid by the public, and one million more at three per centum per annum. They were also vested with a power to raise money by bonds, as formerly; yet so as the whole, including the annuities, should not exceed what they were by former acts empowered to borrow.

The objections to the execution of this project, which by many were deemed insurmountable, intirely vanished before the fortitude, perseverance, and caution of the minister; who had secured, among the moneyed men of the nation, the promise of such sums as would have been sufficient to pay off the capital belonging to those creditors who might refuse to accept the interest thus reduced.

The second subscription had the desired effect. The three great companies acquiesced, and their example was followed by the other scrupulous annuitants: the national burthen was comfortably lightened, and the sinking fund considerably increased, without producing the least perplexity or disturbance in the commonwealth; a circumstance that could not fail to excite the admiration and envy of all Christendom.

New mutiny-
bill.

The mutiny-bill for the ensuing year was mitigated with an essential alteration, relating to the oath of secrecy imposed upon the members of every court-martial, who were now released from this reserve, if required to give evidence, by due course of law, in any court of judicature; and whereas, by the former mutiny-bill, a general was empowered to order the revival of any sentence

sentence by a court-martial as often as he pleased, and, on that pretence, to keep in confinement a man who had been acquitted upon a fair trial; it was now enacted, That no sentence pronounced by any court-martial, and signed by the president, should be more than once liable to revival. Colonel George Townshend, son of the lord viscount Townshend, who had equally distinguished himself by his civil and military accomplishments, proposed another clause for preventing any non-commissioned officer's being broke, or reduced into the ranks; or any soldier's being punished, but by the sentence of a court-martial. He gave the house to understand, that certain persons attended at the door, who, from the station of non-commissioned officers, had been broke, and reduced into the ranks, without trial or any cause assigned; and he expatiated not only upon the iniquity of such proceedings, but also upon the danger of leaving such arbitrary power in the hands of any individual officer. A warm debate was the consequence of this motion, which however was over-ruled by the majority.

Among other regulations made in the course of this session, for the encouragement of the British manufactures, a large duty was laid upon Irish sail-cloth, which, being sold at an under-price, was found to interfere with the same species of commodity fabricated in the island of Great Britain; and, for the further benefit of this last, the bounty upon the exportation of it, which had been deducted from a defective fund, was now made payable out of the customs. This measure, however, was not of such importance to the nation as the act which they passed for encouraging the importation of pig and bar iron from the British colonies in North America.

A bill for encouraging the import of iron from America.

Every well-wisher to his country reflected with concern on the nature of the British trade with Sweden, from which kingdom the subjects of his Britannic majesty imported more iron and steel than it supplied for all the other countries in Europe. For this article they payed a very great ballance in ready money, which the Swedes again expended in purchasing from the French, and other mercantile powers, those necessaries and superfluities with which they might have been as cheaply furnished by Great Britain. In the mean time, the English colonies in America were restricted by severe duties from making advantage of their own produce, in exchanging their iron for such commodities as they were under the necessity of procuring from their mother-country. Such restriction was not only a cruel grievance upon our own settlements, but also attended with manifest prejudice to the interest of Great Britain, annually drained of great sums, in favour of an ungrateful nation from which no part of them returned; whereas the iron imported from America, must of necessity come in exchange for our own manufactures.

The commons having appointed a day for taking this affair into consideration, carefully examined into the state of the British commerce carried on with Sweden, as well as into the accounts of iron imported from the plantations in America; and the committee of the whole house having resolved, That the duties on American pig and bar iron should be removed, a bill * was brought in

* The most remarkable circumstance attending the progress of this bill, which made its way through both houses, and obtained the royal assent, was the number of contradictory petitions in favour and in prejudice of it, while it remained under consideration. The tanners of leather, in and about the town of Sheffield in Yorkshire, represented, That if the bill should

Ann. 1750. in for that purpose, containing a clause, however, to prevent his majesty's subjects from making steel, and establishing mills for flitting and rolling iron within the British colonies of America; this precaution being taken, that the colonists might not interfere with the manufactures of their mother-country.

Erection of
the British
herring fish-
ery.

The next commercial improvement, of which we shall take notice, was the bill for the encouragement of the British white-herring and cod fisheries. This was likewise the result of mature deliberation, importing, That a bounty of thirty shillings per ton should be granted, and payed out of the customs, to all new vessels from twenty to fourscore tons burthen, which should be built for that purpose, and actually employed in the fishery: That a society should be incorporated, under the name of the free British fishery, by a charter, not exclusive, with power to raise a capital not exceeding five hundred thousand pounds; and that three pounds ten shillings per centum per annum should be granted and payed out of the customs to the proprietors for fourteen years, for so much of the capital as should be actually employed in the said fisheries. Corresponding chambers were proposed to be erected in remote parts of North Britain, for taking in subscriptions, and prosecuting the trade, under the directions of the company at London; and the nation in general seemed eager

should pass, the English iron would be underfold; consequently a great number of furnaces and forges would be discontinued: in that case the woods, used for fuel, would stand uncut, and the tanners be deprived of oak-bark sufficient for the continuance and support of their occupation. They nevertheless owned, that should the duty be removed from pig iron only, no such consequence could be apprehended; because, should the number of furnaces be lessened, that of forges would be increased. This was likewise the plea urged in divers remonstrances by masters of iron-works, gentlemen, and freeholders, who had tracts of woodland in their possession. The owners, proprietors, and farmers of furnaces and iron-forges, belonging to Sheffield and its neighbourhood, enlarged upon the great expence they had incurred in erecting and supporting iron-works, by means of which great numbers of his majesty's subjects were comfortably supported. They expressed their apprehension, that should the bill pass into a law, it could not in any degree lessen the consumption of Swedish iron, which was used for purposes which neither the American nor British iron would answer: but that the proposed encouragement, considering the plenty and cheapness of wood in America, would enable the colonies to undersell the British iron; a branch of traffic which would be totally destroyed, to the ruin of many thousand labourers, who would be compelled to seek their livelihood in foreign countries. They likewise suggested, that if all the iron manufacturers of Great Britain should be obliged to depend upon a supply of iron from the plantations, which must

ever be rendered precarious by the hazard of the seas and the enemy, the manufactures would probably decay for want of materials, and many thousand families be reduced to want and misery. On the other hand, the iron-mongers and smiths belonging to the flourishing town of Birmingham in Warwickshire, presented a petition, declaring, That the bill would be of great benefit to the trade of the nation, as it would enable the colonists to make larger returns of their own produce, and encourage them to take a greater quantity of the British manufactures. They affirmed, that all the iron-works in the island of Great Britain did not supply half the quantity of that metal sufficient to carry on the manufacture; that if this deficiency could be supplied from the colonies in America, the importation would cease, and considerable sums of money be saved to the nation. They observed, that the importation of iron from America could no more affect the iron-works and freeholders of the kingdom, than the like quantity imported from any other country: but they prayed, that the people of America might be restrained from erecting flitting or rolling mills, or forges for plating iron, as they would interfere with the manufactures of Great Britain.

Many remonstrances to the same effect were presented from different parts of the kingdom; and it appeared, upon the most exact inquiry, that the encouragement of American iron would prove extremely beneficial to the kingdom, as it had been found, upon trial, applicable to all the uses of Swedish iron, and as good in every respect as the produce of that country.

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to dispute this branch of commerce with the subjects of Holland, whom they considered as ungrateful interlopers. In the house of peers, however, the bill met with a formidable opposition from the earl of Winchelsea and lord Sandys, who justly observed, That it was a crude indigested scheme, which, in the execution, would never answer the expectations of the people: That in contending with the Dutch, who are the patterns of unwearied industry, and the most rigid œconomy, nothing could be more absurd than a joint-stock company, which is always clogged with extraordinary expence; and the resolution of fitting out vessels at the port of London, where all sorts of materials, labour, and seamen, are so much dearer than in any other part of the united kingdom, exclusive of the great distance and dangerous voyage between the metropolis and the Sound of Brassa in Shetland, the rendezvous at which all the herring-busses were to assemble in the beginning of the fishing season. They likewise took notice of the heavy duty on salt, used in curing the fish for sale, and the beef for provision to the mariners; a circumstance of itself sufficient to discourage adventurers from embarking in a commerce which, at best, yields but very slender profits to the trader in particular, how important soever it might prove to the community in general. These objections were answered by the duke of Argyle and the earl of Granville, who seemed to think that this branch of trade could not be fairly set on foot, without such a considerable sum of money as no single individual would care to advance; that a joint-stock company would be able to prosecute the fishery at a smaller expence than that which particular traders must necessarily incur; that the present spirit of the nation, which was eagerly bent upon trying the experiment, ought not to be baulked by delay, lest it should evaporate; and that though the plan was not unexceptionable, the defects of it might in the sequel be remedied by the legislature. In a word, the bill was adopted by the majority, with a small amendment in the title, which produced some disquiets in the lower house: but this dispute was compromised, and it was enacted into a law towards the close of the session.

Nothing could be more agreeable to the public than the sanction of the legislature to this favourite plan, which was ardently promoted and patronized by men of the greatest eminence for wealth and popularity. The company chose for their governor his royal highness the prince of Wales, who received this proof of their attachment and respect with particular marks of satisfaction: the president and vice-president were both aldermen of London; and the council was composed of thirty gentlemen, the majority of whom were members of parliament. Great pains were taken, and some artifice was used, to learn the Dutch method of curing the fish. People crowded with their subscriptions; a number of hands were employed in building and equipping the busses or vessels used in the fishery; and the most favourable consequences were expected from the general vigour and alacrity which animated these preparations. But the success did not gratify the sanguine hope of the projectors and adventurers. The objections made in the house of lords soon appeared to have been well founded: these co-operating with mismanagement in the directors, the spirit of the company began to flag; the natural consequence of commercial disappointment; and now the British fishery seems to languish under the neglect of the legislature.

Ann. 1750. Touching the trade to the coast of Africa, petitions were renewed by the New African company and its creditors, the merchants of Bristol, Liverpool, and Lancaster; and a remonstrance was presented by the planters and merchants interested in the British sugar-settlements in America: but the commons adhered to their former resolutions of laying open the trade, maintaining the forts at the public expence, and regulating the commerce by a committee of merchants, representing the chief trading towns in the kingdom, to be superintended by the board of trade and plantations. The bill was accordingly framed and presented, and, having proceeded through both houses without opposition, obtained the royal assent.

Over and above these wise, salutary, and patriotical measures for the improvement of commerce, they encouraged the importation of raw silk by an act, reducing the duties formerly payable on that which was the growth of China, to the same that is raised on the raw silk from Italy, and allowing the same drawback upon the exportation of the one which had been usually granted on the other. A second bill was brought in for the encouragement of the growth and culture of silk in Carolina and Georgia, where it had been lately produced with extraordinary success, by freeing from all duties that which should be imported from his majesty's dominions in America: and a third was framed, permitting raw silk of the growth or produce of Persia, purchased in Russia, to be imported into Great Britain, from any port or place belonging to the empire of Russia.

Divers efforts were made, by different members in the opposition, to rectify certain abuses in the army and administration: some bills they brought in, and several petitions were left on the table; but all of them proved abortive, from the power and influence of the minister, who seemed resolved that no benefit should flow upon the nation through any channel but his own. Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged, for the honour of his memory, that there is no session on record so productive as this was of measures advantageous to the community.

Account of
the Westminster
election.

The people, however, were not intirely satisfied with the conduct of the administration, if we may judge from the ferment and commotions raised during the progress of an election for a citizen to represent in parliament the city of Westminster. The seat which had been filled by lord Trentham, eldest son of earl Gower, having become vacant, in consequence of that nobleman's accepting a place at the board of admiralty, he again declared himself a candidate, and met with a violent opposition. Those who stiled themselves the independent electors of Westminster, being now incensed to an uncommon degree of turbulence by the interposition of ministerial influence, determined to use their utmost endeavours for baffling the designs of the court, and at the same time take vengeance on the family of earl G——r, who had intirely abandoned the opposition, of which he was formerly one of the most respected leaders. With this view they held consultations, agreed to resolutions, and set up a private gentleman, named Sir George Vandeput, as the competitor of lord Trentham, declaring that they would support his pretensions at their own expence, being the more encouraged to this enterprize by the countenance and assistance of the prince of Wales and his adherents. They accordingly opened houses of entertainment for their partisans, solicited votes, circulated remon-
strances,

frances, and propagated abuse: in a word, they canvassed, with surprising spirit and perseverance, against the whole interest of St. James's. Mobs were hired and processions made on both sides, and the city of Westminster was filled with tumult and uproar. The mutual animosity of the parties seemed every day to increase during the election, and a great number of unqualified votes were on both sides presented: all the powers of insinuation, obloquy, and ridicule were employed to vilify and depreciate both candidates. At length the poll being closed, a majority of votes appeared in behalf of lord Trentham; but a scrutiny being demanded by the other side, the returning officer complied with their request.

The speaker of the lower house had issued his warrant for a new writ of election about the middle of November; and towards the end of February Mr. Fox, secretary at war, standing up, and observing that no return had yet been made, thought proper to move, That the clerk of the crown, the messenger extraordinary attending the great seal, the under-sheriff of Middlesex, and the high-bailiff of Westminster, should attend next morning, and give an account of their issuing, delivering, and executing the writ of election. These being examined, and the high-bailiff declaring that he would proceed with all possible dispatch in the scrutiny, which had been demanded and was begun, Mr. Speaker explained to him some particulars of his duty; in the discharge of which, he was given to understand, he might depend upon the protection of the house, should he meet with any obstruction which he could not otherwise surmount.

By the violence and caprice with which a great number of votes were on both sides contested, the scrutiny was a long time protracted, and the return attended with some extraordinary consequences, which shall be particularised among the transactions of the next year.

In the mean time, the present session of parliament was closed on the twelfth day of April, with a speech from the throne, commending the commons for having seized the very first opportunity of reducing the interest of the national debt, without the least infringement upon the faith of parliament; and congratulating them on the flourishing state of the public credit, which could not fail to add strength and reputation to the government both at home and abroad. Immediately after the rising of the parliament his majesty appointed a regency to govern the kingdom in his absence, and embarked for the continent, in order to visit his German dominions.

The month of January and the beginning of February were distinguished, the first by a very remarkable Aurora Borealis, appearing at night to the north-east, of a deep and dusky red colour, like the reflection of some great fire, for which it was by many people mistaken; and the coruscations, unlike those that are generally observed, did not meet in the zenith, but in a point some degrees to the southward. February was ushered in by terrible peals of thunder, flashes of lightning, and such a tempest of wind, hail, and rain, as overwhelmed with fear and consternation the inhabitants of Bristol, where it chiefly raged.

On the eighth day of the same month, between the hours of twelve and one A succession in the afternoon, the people of London were still more dreadfully alarmed of two violent earthquakes in by the shock of an earthquake, which shook all the houses with such violence, that London.

Ann. 1750. that the furniture rocked on the floors, the pewter and porcelain rattled on the shelves, the chamber-bells rung, and the whole of this commotion was attended with a clap or noise resembling that produced by the fall of some heavy piece of furniture. The shock extended through the cities of London and Westminster, and was felt on both sides of the river Thames, from Greenwich to the westward of London; but not perceptible at any considerable distance.

On the very same day of the next month, between five and six o'clock in the morning, the inhabitants of the metropolis were again affrighted by a second shock, more violent than the first, and abundantly more alarming, as it waked the greater part of the people from their repose. It was preceded by a succession of thick low flashes of lightning, and a rumbling noise, like that of a heavy carriage rolling over a hollow pavement. The shock itself consisted of repeated vibrations, which lasted some seconds, and violently shook every house from top to bottom. Again the chairs rocked, the shelves clattered, the small bells rung, and in some places public clocks were heard to strike. Many persons, roused by this terrible visitation, started naked from their beds, and ran to their doors and windows in distraction: yet no life was lost, and no house overthrown by this concussion, though it was so dreadful as to threaten an immediate dissolution of the globe. The circumstance, however, did not fail to make a deep impression upon ignorant, weak, and superstitious minds, which were the more affected by the consideration that the two shocks were periodical; that the second, which happened exactly one month after the first, had been the more violent; and that the next, increasing in proportion, might be attended with the most dismal consequences. This general notion was confirmed, and indeed propagated among all ranks of people, by the admonitions of a fanatic soldier, who publicly preached up repentance, and boldly prophesied that the next shock would happen on the same day of April, and totally destroy the cities of London and Westminster. Considering the infectious nature of fear and superstition, and the emphatic manner in which the imagination had been prepared and prepossessed, it is no wonder that the prediction of this illiterate enthusiast should have contributed in a great measure to augment the general terror. The churches were crowded with penitent sinners: the sons of riot and profligacy were overawed into sobriety and decorum. The streets no longer resounded with execrations, or the noise of brutal licentiousness; and the hand of charity was liberally opened. Those whom fortune had enabled to retire from the devoted city, fled to the country with hurry and precipitation, insomuch that the highways were encumbered with horses and carriages. Many who had, in the beginning, combated these groundless fears with the weapons of reason and ridicule, began insensibly to imbibe the contagion, and felt their hearts fail, in proportion as the hour of probation approached: even science and philosophy were not proof against the unaccountable effects of this communication. In after-ages it will hardly be believed, that on the evening of the eighth day of April the open fields, that skirt the metropolis, were filled with an incredible number of people, assembled in chairs, in chaises, and coaches, as well as on foot, who waited in the most fearful suspense, until morning and the return of day disproved the truth of the dreaded prophecy. Then their fears vanished: they

returned

returned to their respective habitations in a transport of joy: they were soon reconciled to their abandoned vices, which they seemed to resume with redoubled affection, and once more bad defiance to the vengeance of heaven. Ann. 1750.

By this time all the gaols in England were filled with the refuse of the army and navy, which having been dismissed at the peace, and either averse to labour, or excluded from employment, had naturally preyed upon the commonwealth. Great numbers of those wretches, who, by proper regulations, might have been rendered serviceable to the community, were executed as examples; and the rest perished miserably amidst the stench and horrors of noisome dungeons. Even the prison of Newgate was rendered so infectious by the uncommon crowds of confined felons, stewed together in close apartments, that the very air they breathed acquired a pestilential degree of putrefaction. It was this putrefied air, which, adhering to the cloaths of the malefactors brought to trial at the bar of the Old Baily in May, produced among the audience a pestilential fever, which infected and proved fatal to the lordmayor of London, to one alderman, two of the judges, divers lawyers who attended the session, the greatest part of the jury, and a considerable number of the spectators. In order to prevent such disasters for the future, the gaols were cleansed, and accommodated with ventilators, which exhaust the foul and supply a circulation of fresh air; and other humane precautions were taken for the benefit of the prisoners. Pestilential fever from contagion at the sessions of the Old Baily.

The affairs of the continent underwent no remarkable alteration. An ambassador extraordinary being sent to Petersburg from the court of London, declared to the Czarina's minister, that in case of a rupture between Russia and Sweden, occasioned by the hostilities committed by the former power, his Britannic majesty would consider Russia as the aggressor; and the Czarina could not expect that he would supply her with the succours which he was engaged by treaty to furnish for her defence, in case she should be attacked. A declaration of the same nature was made by the ambassador of her imperial majesty the queen of Hungary; while the ministers of France and Prussia, who were in strict alliance with Sweden, gave her to understand, that they would punctually fulfil their engagements with the court of Stockholm, should she actually invade the Swedish territories of Finland. The spirit with which the king of Prussia exerted himself, on this occasion, gave infinite umbrage to the Czarina, who, indeed, expressed her resentment by treating the minister of Brandenburg with contemptuous neglect, and even refused to favour him with an audience, until he should be vested with the character of ambassador. Thus were sown the seeds of misunderstanding between those two powers, which, in the sequel, grew up to the most bitter animosity, and served to inflame those dissensions which have desolated the fairest provinces of Germany. The remonstrance of his Prussian majesty, with respect to the troubles of the North, was couched in such terms as gave dissatisfaction to the court of Petersburg. The Russian minister retired from Berlin without the ceremony of taking leave, and the Prussian ambassador Warendorf was recalled from the court of the Czarina. Posture of affairs on the continent. Disputes between Russia and Sweden.

The attention of his Britannic majesty was not wholly engrossed by the disputes between Russia and Sweden. He had another object in view, which more nearly concerned the interest of his German dominions; and had set on Plan for electing the arch-duke Joseph king of the foot Romans.

Ann. 1750. foot two negotiations of the utmost importance to the commerce and advantage of Great Britain. His first and principal aim was, in conjunction with the court of Vienna, to take such measures as would secure the succession of the imperial dignity to the archduke Joseph, eldest son and heir of the reigning Emperor. As the previous step to that elevation, it was proposed to elect this young prince king of the Romans; and for this purpose it was necessary to procure a majority not only of the electors, but also in the diet of the empire, through which the proposal must have passed. No stone was left unturned to reconcile this expedient to the German princes. Subsidies were offered by the maritime powers of England and the States General to the electors of Mentz and Cologne; and a treaty of the same nature was concluded with the elector of Bavaria, who, in consideration of an annual subsidy, amounting to forty thousand pounds sterling, two thirds of which to be paid by Britain, and the rest by the States General, engaged to keep in readiness a body of six thousand infantry, as auxiliaries to the Maritime Powers, though not to act against the Emperor or Empire; and to join the interest of his Britannic majesty in the diet as well as in the electoral college.

In order to render the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, propitious to this design, he was accommodated with the loan of a very considerable sum, upon the mortgage of certain bailiwicks and lordships belonging to the Saxon dominions.

Thus a majority of the electors was secured, and such foundations were laid for the success of this project, that it was generally believed it would be accomplished in his Britannic majesty's next visit to his German dominions. Hopes (it was said) were given to the king of Sweden, that his concurrence would be gratified by erecting the house of Hesse Cassel, of which he was head, into a tenth electorate. Arguments of an interesting nature were used with the king of Prussia and the elector Palatine, that, if possible, the diet might unanimously approve of this measure, so necessary for establishing the peace of the empire, and preventing such troubles as arose from a disputed succession at the death of the sixth Charles. These endeavours, however, did not succeed in their full extent.

Opposed by
the king of
Prussia.

The king of Prussia, as elector of Brandenburg, opposed the election as unnecessary and improper, on account of the health and vigour of the reigning emperor, and the tender years of the archduke. This monarch had set himself up as a ballance to the power of the house of Austria, which had long aspired to absolute dominion over its co-estates, and endeavoured to establish an hereditary right of succession to the empire: he therefore employed all his influence to frustrate the measure proposed, either actuated by a spirit of pure patriotism, or inspired with designs which he has not yet thought proper to declare. The opposition was joined by the elector Palatine, and countenanced by the French king; who protested, that, for the sake of peace, he would not oppose this election, though contrary to the Golden Bull, provided it should be confirmed by the unanimous consent of the electoral college: but should any one member signify his dissent, and he or any state of the empire claim the protection and assistance of his most christian majesty, he could not dispense with granting both, in consequence of his being guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia; an engagement by which he was obliged to
succour

succour those princes and states of the empire who might have recourse to him, Ann. 1750. in case of any grievance they suffered, contrary to what was stipulated in that constitution. This declaration co-operating with the known character of his Prussian majesty, whose great army overawed Hanover and Bohemia, in all probability damped that vigour with which the courts of Vienna and Herenhausen had hitherto prosecuted this important negotiation.

The second object that employed the attention of the British ministry, was the establishment of the precise limits of Acadia, or Nova Scotia, where the new colony had suffered great mischief and interruption from the incursions of the Indians, excited to these outrages by the subjects and emissaries of France. Commissaries had been appointed, by both crowns, to meet at Paris, and compromise these disputes: but the conferences were rendered abortive by every art of cavilling, chicanery, and procrastination, which the French commissioners opposed to the justice and perspicuity of the English claims. They not only misinterpreted treaties, though expressed with the utmost precision, and perplexed the conferences with difficulties and matter foreign to the subject, but they carried the finesse of perfidy so far as to produce false charts and maps of the country, in which the rivers and boundaries were misplaced and misrepresented. At this time also the insincerity of the French court appeared in affected delays and artful objections, with respect to the evacuation of the neutral islands in the West Indies; and the governors of the British plantations, in different parts of North America, transmitted intelligence, that the French had begun to make encroachments on the back of the English colonies.

Disputes with the French about the limits of Nova Scotia.

Perhaps the precarious footing on which the peace stood between Great Britain and France at this juncture, and the critical situation of affairs in Germany, determined the ministry of England to compromise all differences with Spain, upon such terms as at any other time they would hardly have embraced. In order to discuss those points between the two nations, which had not been settled by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, conferences were also begun at Madrid, and carried on by Mr. Keene, plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, and Don Joseph de Carvajal and Lancastro, the Spanish king's minister. At length a treaty was concluded on these conditions: The king of Spain engaged to pay, in three months, to the South-sea company of England, one hundred thousand pounds sterling, as an indemnification for all claims upon his crown, by virtue of the Asiento. In other respects, the trade and navigation of the English to the ports of Spain were regulated by former treaties. It was stipulated, That they should pay no other duties than those that were exacted of them in the reign of Charles II. of Spain: That they should be treated on the footing of the most favoured nations; and continue to enjoy the privilege of taking salt at the island of Tortuga. But there was no article restricting the Spanish guarda costas from searching the British vessels on the high seas; although, as we have already observed, this insolent prerogative, assumed without right, and exercised without humanity, was, in effect, the original and sole cause of the last rupture, which had been attended with such enormous expence to the nation. It must be owned, however, that his catholic majesty was at this period extremely well disposed to live upon good terms with Great Britain. He was resolved to indulge his people with the blessings

Treaty with Spain.

Ann. 1750. blessings of peace, to propagate a spirit of industry throughout his dominions, and in particular to encourage commerce, which he foresaw would prove a much more certain and inexhaustible source of wealth, power, and influence, than all the treasures he could drain from the mines of Mexico and Peru. His resolutions on this interesting subject were chiefly directed by Don Ricardo Wall, who now acted as his minister at London; a gentleman of Irish extract, who had distinguished himself in the field as well as in the cabinet, and possessed the joint qualifications of a general and a statesman. He had, by virtue of a passport, come over privately to England before the peace, in order to pave the way for the treaty, by a secret negotiation with the English ministers; but immediately after the peace was proclaimed, he appeared in the character of ambassador. He was possessed of the most insinuating address, shrewd, penetrating, and inquisitive. While he resided in London, he spared no pains in learning the nature of those manufactures, and that commerce, by which Great Britain had been so remarkably aggrandized; and on his return to Spain, where in a little time he was placed at the helm of affairs, he turned the knowledge he had thus acquired to the advantage of his country. He not only promoted the useful arts within the kingdom of Spain, but demonstrated the infinite advantage that would accrue from an active trade, which the Spaniards had for many ages neglected; and in a few years their ships were seen to swarm in all the commercial ports of Europe.

Of other foreign events, which distinguished this summer, the most remarkable was the death of John king of Portugal, who perfectly understood and steadily pursued the true interest of his country, and in whom many princely qualities were debased by a cruel spirit of bigotry and superstition. He was succeeded by his eldest son Joseph, who, if he has fallen short of his father in some respects, cannot be justly charged with having inherited this paternal weakness.

Session of
parliament.

The king of Great Britain, having returned to England, opened the session of parliament in January with a speech, importing, That he had concluded a treaty with the king of Spain, and amicably adjusted such differences as could not be so properly compromised in a general treaty: That the commerce of this nation with that country was re-established upon the most advantageous and sure foundations; and that there was the greatest reason to hope the antient friendship between Great Britain and Spain would, from mutual inclination as well as interest, be now effectually restored. He told them, That, in conjunction with the Empress-queen and the States General, he had concluded a treaty with the elector of Bavaria; and was employed in taking such further measures as might best tend to strengthen and secure the tranquillity of the Empire, support its system, and timely anticipate such events as had been found by experience to endanger the common cause, involve Europe in the calamities of war, and occasion the loss of much blood and treasure to these kingdoms. He promised, That both these treaties should be subjected to their perusal: he gave them to understand, That he had received from all the other contracting powers in the definitive treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the most full and clear declarations of their resolution to preserve the general peace; and that he had taken care to consolidate the ties of union and friendship between him and his allies, the better to secure their mutual interests, maintain the peace already subsisting, and prevent the occasion of any future rupture. Finally, he recommended unanimity, the improvement of

of commerce, and the effectual suppression of such outrages and violences as are inconsistent with good order and government, and endanger the lives and properties of the subject, whose happiness and flourishing condition he had intirely at heart. Ann. 1750.

When the motion was made for an address of thanks, couched in terms that favoured of the most implicit complaisance, approbation, and acquiescence in the measures which the crown had taken, the earl of Eg—t, and some other anti-courtiers, affirmed, that such an address would be equally servile and absurd. They observed, That nothing could be more preposterous than a blind approbation of measures which they did not know: That nothing could be more ridiculous than their congratulations on the present happy tranquillity, when almost every day's news-papers informed them of some British ship's being seized by the Spaniards, or some new attack made by the French on our infant colony in Nova Scotia. With respect to the continent of Europe, they affirmed, That the tranquillity of Germany would have been upon a much more solid foundation, had England never interposed in the affairs of the Empire: in that case the princes would of themselves have supported the constitution of their own country: That the election of an infant for king of the Romans, was much more likely to disturb than establish the tranquillity of Europe; because it would help to overturn the constitution of the Empire, by rendering the imperial dignity hereditary in one house, instead of being the result of a free election. They took notice, that the constitution had provided vicars to govern the Empire during the vacancy of the imperial throne; but had made no provision of regents, protectors, or guardians for a minor emperor, because it never was supposed that a minor would be chosen. They inveighed against the late treaty with Spain; in which, they said, the ministry, for the paltry sum of one hundred thousand pounds, had given up the claims of the South-sea company, and other British merchants, who had suffered from depredations to the amount of one million three hundred thousand pounds; and bartered away the freedom of our trade and navigation, by leaving untouched that prerogative which the Spaniards have assumed of searching the British ships in the open seas, and confiscating them, should they find on board the least particle of what they call contraband merchandize. They produced an instance of an English ship, lately driven by stress of weather into one of the ports of the Spanish West Indies, where she was searched, seized, and condemned, under this pretence. They recapitulated the conduct of the French, who, in the midst of their declarations of peace and moderation, were still employed in fortifying their settlements on the neutral Islands, as well as in harrassing and incroaching upon our plantations in North America. They exclaimed against the treaty of subsidy with the elector of Bavaria, or any other prince, in time of peace; observing, that for some years the nation had payed such pensions to the Danes and the Hessians; but, in the course of the late war, the former abandoned our interests, and the latter actually took arms against Great Britain. They affirmed, that the subsidy was greater than the nation could spare; for, unless the land-tax should be continued at four shillings in the pound, they could not afford a shilling to any prince in Germany, without encroaching upon the sinking fund. "At such a juncture (said a certain member) will any gentleman presume to propose the continuation of such an imposition on the landholder, for the sake of bribing the princes of Germany to do what?—to preserve the freedom and independency of their native country. I say, princes

Ann. 1750. princes of Germany, because this subsidy to Bavaria will signify nothing, unless we take half a score more of them into our pay; and when we have thus indulged them for seven years of peace, they may give us the slip, as others have done, whenever another war shall be declared."

Against these objections the motion was supported by Mr. William Pitt, at this time an advocate for the ministry. He observed, That the address was no more than the usual compliment to the throne, which did not imply an obligation on the parliament to approve of measures which they might find cause to censure upon further inquiry. He said, the trivial disputes still subsisting between this nation and the Spaniards, or French, would soon be terminated amicably, and could never affect the general tranquillity of Europe, which was to be established upon a firm alliance between his majesty and such a confederacy upon the continent, as would be an over-match for the house of Bourbon. He expatiated upon his majesty's wisdom in taking off from the French interest such a powerful prince as the elector of Bavaria, and concerting other salutary measures for preserving the ballance of power on the continent. He defended the articles of the late treaty with Spain; observing, that what remained of the Asiento-contract was a matter of very little consequence to the South-sea company; that the demands of this company, and other British merchants, were all cancelled by the rupture with Spain, and more than recompensed to the nation by a great ballance of captures during the war, as well as by the great traffic carried on with the Spanish settlements in the West Indies, after it had been laid open by the demolition of their fortresses. He asserted, that, by this treaty the court of Spain had made many important concessions: they had condescended to pay a great sum to the South-sea company: they had consented to the re-establishment of the British trade in Spain, upon a very advantageous and solid footing, by agreeing, that the subjects of Great Britain should pay no other duties on merchandize than those exacted of his catholic majesty's own subjects, and to abolish all innovations that had been introduced into the commerce. He affirmed, that the article of No Search was a stipulation which it would have been ridiculous to insist upon; and thought proper to obviate a reproach which he foresaw the opposition would throw upon him, from the circumstance of his having, upon a former occasion, heartily concurred in a motion for an address, That no treaty of peace with Spain should be admitted, unless such a stipulation should be first obtained as a preliminary. He owned he had strenuously contended for such a motion, because at that time, being very young and sanguine, he thought it right and reasonable: but he was now ten years older, had considered matters more coolly, and was convinced that the privilege of No Search, with respect to British vessels sailing near the American shore, would never be obtained, unless Spain should be brought so low as to acquiesce in any terms we as victors might propose. He likewise signified his conviction, that all addresses from the house of commons, during the course of a war, for prescribing terms of peace, were in themselves ridiculous; and that every such address was an encroachment on the king's prerogative, which had always been attended with unlucky consequences.

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How far these arguments are satisfactory, conclusive, and consistent, we shall leave to the reader's determination. Certain it is, they were adopted by the majority, and the address was presented without further opposition. Ann. 1750.

The two grand committees which are appointed to discuss the supplies for the ensuing year, and the funds upon which they are to be raised, proceeded as usual under the direction of the ministry; yet not without some vehement opposition, in which certain servants of the crown expressed the most hearty concurrence. When a motion was made for reducing the number of seamen to eight thousand, Mr. W. Pitt, Mr. Lyttleton, and Mr. G. Greenville, opposed it with all their might of argument and elocution; but they were over-ruled. Annual debates were also revived, with the same success, upon the number of the troops constituting the standing army; but the other resolutions of the grand committees met with little or no opposition. Supplies granted for the ensuing year.

The number of seamen for the ensuing year was limited to eight thousand; and that of the standing forces continued at eighteen thousand eight hundred and fifty-seven effective men, including one thousand eight hundred and fifteen invalids.

The commons granted a considerable sum of money for paying off the principal of such redeemable stocks as had not been subscribed, in pursuance of two acts passed in the last session for reducing the interest of annuities. Thirty thousand pounds were given for fulfilling the king's engagement with the elector of Bavaria: large grants were made for supplying deficiencies, and replacing sums borrowed from the sinking fund.

The expence incurred by the new colony in Nova Scotia, not provided for by parliament, exceeded fifty-seven thousand pounds; and the maintenance of it for the ensuing year was fixed at fifty-three thousand nine hundred and twenty-seven pounds fourteen shillings and four pence. An enormous charge! if we consider to how little purpose all this bounty hath been bestowed.

A fund was established under the sanction of parliament, for the relief and maintenance of the widows of sea-officers, by allowing, upon the books of every ship of war in sea-pay, the wages and victuals of one man for every hundred of which the complement shall consist, for such time only as the number of men employed in the service of the royal navy shall not exceed twenty thousand. This was an additional indulgence, over and above the allowance of one man granted by a former act of parliament.

On the whole, the provisions of this year amounted to five millions one hundred twenty-five thousand twenty-three pounds eleven shillings and seven pence, to be raised by the usual duties: the sum of one million twenty-six thousand four hundred seventy-six pounds four shillings and six pence, advanced by the company of the bank of England, to pay off their own unsubscribed annuities, for which they accepted exchequer-bills at three pounds per centum interest; by the land-tax at three shillings in the pound; a lottery and annuities, at the rate of three per centum per annum, to be charged on the sinking fund, redeemable by parliament.

The annual measure, called the mutiny-bill, was not passed without dispute and altercation: some alterations were proposed, but not adopted; and the sentences of court-martials still subjected to one revision.

Ann. 1750. In the midst of these deliberations the kingdom was alarmed with an event which overwhelmed the people with grief and consternation. His royal highness the prince of Wales, in consequence of a cold caught in his garden at Kew, was seized with a pleuretic disorder; and, after a short illness, expired on the twentieth day of March, to the unspeakable affliction of his royal consort, and the unfeigned sorrow of all who wished well to their country. This excellent prince, who now died in the forty-fifth year of his age, was possessed of every amiable quality which could engage the affection of the people: a tender and obliging husband, a fond parent, a kind master, liberal, generous, candid, and humane; a munificent patron of the arts, an unwearied friend to merit; well disposed to assert the rights of mankind in general, and warmly attached to the interest of Great Britain. The nation could not but be afflicted at seeing a prince of such expectations ravished from their hopes; and their grief was the better founded, as the king had already attained to an advanced age, and the heir-apparent George, now prince of Wales, was a minor.

Ann. 1751. His majesty, foreseeing all the inconveniences which might arise from a minority, deliberated with his council on this subject, and resolved to obtain a parliamentary sanction for the measures judged necessary to secure the succession. With this view he sent a message to both houses on the twenty-sixth day of April, importing, That nothing could conduce so much to the preservation of the protestant succession in his royal family, as proper provisions for the tuition of the person of his successor, and for the regular administration of the government, in case the successor should be of tender years: his majesty therefore earnestly recommended this weighty affair to the deliberation of parliament; and proposed, that when the imperial crown of these realms should descend to any of the late prince's sons, being under the age of eighteen years, his mother, the princess dowager of Wales, should be guardian of his person, and regent of these kingdoms, until he should attain the age of majority, with such powers and limitations as should appear necessary and expedient for these purposes.

This message produced a very affectionate address, promising to take the affair into their serious consideration; and in the beginning of May the duke of Newcastle presented to the house of peers a bill to provide for the administration of government, in case the crown should descend to a minor. The bill was read a second time, and committed, when a second message arrived from his majesty, recommending to their consideration the settlement of such a council of regency as the bill proposed, consisting of his royal highness the duke of Cumberland, who at that time commanded the army, the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, the lord high treasurer, or first lord commissioner of the treasury, the president of the council, the lord privy seal, the lord high admiral of Great Britain, or first commissioner of the admiralty, the two principal secretaries of state, and the lord chief justice of the King's Bench, all these great officers (except his royal highness the duke) for the time being.

This bill did not pass through the lower house without violent debate and bitter sarcasms. The council of regency, though espoused by all the ministry, including the pay-master general, met with fierce opposition, as an unnecessary
and

and fatal restriction that would impede the machine of government, and, as Ann. 1751. the council was constituted, might be productive of the most pernicious consequences. Some of the members ventured even to insinuate the danger of leaving at the head of a large standing army a prince of the blood, vested with a share of the regency, possessed of great personal influence, the darling of the soldiery, brave, popular, and enterprising; supposed not wholly devoid of ambition, and not at all remarkable for any symptoms of extraordinary affection towards the person of the heir-apparent. The history of England was ransacked for invidious instances of royal uncles and regents, who had injured the sovereigns, and distressed the government, by their pride, cruelty, and ambition. The characters of John Lackland, and John of Ghent, Humphrey and Richard dukes of Gloucester, were called in review, canvassed, compared, and quoted with some odious applications: but the majority, being convinced of the loyalty, virtue, integrity, and great abilities of his royal highness, to whom the nation owed obligations of the most important nature, passed the bill with a few amendments, in which the lords acquiesced; and in a little time it received the royal sanction.

The death of his royal highness the prince of Wales was fatal to a bill which had been brought into the house of commons, for naturalizing all foreign protestants who should settle within the dominions of Great Britain. General naturalization-bill. Political arithmeticians have generally taken it for granted, that, to every commercial nation, an increase of people is an increase of opulence; and this maxim is certainly true, on the supposition that every individual is industrious, and that there is a sufficient field for employment; but all these general maxims ought to be received under certain qualifications. When all branches of manufacture are overstocked, an addition of workmen will doubtless be an additional incumbrance on the community. In the debates, which this bill produced, the members of the ministry were divided among themselves. The measure was enforced by the chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. W. Pitt, and Mr. Lyttleton; and in opposing it the earl of Egmont was joined by Mr. Fox, secretary at war.

Petitions and counter-petitions were presented by the merchants of London, Bristol, and other trading towns of the kingdom. All merchants and traders of foreign extraction exerted themselves vigorously in its behalf, and it was without doubt countenanced by the administration; but the project was odious to the people in general. The lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons of London, in common council assembled, composed a remonstrance to the lower house, setting forth the danger and inutility of a general naturalization of foreign protestants. A petition of the merchants and principal inhabitants of Bristol, represented, that such a law would be prejudicial to the trade and commerce of this kingdom, by preventing many industrious artificers from procuring a sufficient support for themselves and their families, and of consequence increasing the rates of the poor: that the introduction of such a number of foreigners, instead of being a support to the present happy establishment, might endanger the very basis of our constitution: that it would greatly tend to the diminution of our manufactures, as many strangers would doubtless come and reside in England for a time, in order to learn the methods and management of our manufacturers and artificers; and, after
having

Ann. 1751. having obtained this instruction, return to their native countries, where they would establish and carry on works of the same nature.

The twentieth day of March being appointed for the third reading of the bill, it was postponed, in consequence of the unfortunate death of the prince of Wales; and other petitions from different cities of the kingdom being mustered against it in the sequel, the ministry did not think proper to persist in an unpopular measure at such a delicate conjuncture; so the bill was no more brought upon the carpet.

Divers others regulations, relating to civil policy as well as to the commerce of Great Britain, were propounded in the house of commons; but these proposals proved abortive, either because they appeared crude and indigested in themselves, or the house could not obtain proper information touching the allegations they contained.

Censure past
upon a paper
intituled Con-
stitutional
Queries.

Other transactions in this session there were none, except the concurrence of both houses in stigmatizing a printed paper, intituled, "Constitutional Queries, earnestly recommended to the serious consideration of every true Briton;" and the steps taken by the commons, in consequence of the commotions occasioned by the Westminster election. The abovementioned paper, which had been conveyed by letter to the majority of both houses, was in the month of January communicated to the lords by the duke of Marlborough, who moved for resolutions against it as a seditious libel, and that the concurrence of the commons might be desired. A conference accordingly ensued, and both houses concurred in voting the paper a false, malicious, scandalous, infamous, and seditious libel, containing the most false, audacious, and abominable calumnies and indignities upon his majesty, and the most presumptuous and wicked insinuations that our laws, liberties, and properties, and the excellent constitution of this kingdom, were in danger under his majesty's legal, mild, and gracious government, with intent to instil groundless suspicions and jealousies into the minds of his majesty's good subjects, and to alienate their affections from his majesty and his royal family. It was therefore resolved, by the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in parliament assembled, That, in abhorrence and detestation of such abominable and seditious practices, the paper should be burnt by the hands of the common hangman in the new Palace-yard of Westminster; and this sentence was executed accordingly. Then they presented an address to his majesty, desiring that the most effectual means might be taken for discovering the author, printer, or publisher, that he or they might be brought to condign punishment. Directions were given for this purpose; but without effect. Those concerned in writing, printing, and circulating the paper, had acted with such caution, that not one of them was ever discovered.

Proceedings
on the elec-
tion of a citi-
zen for West-
minster.

The proceedings of the commons, with respect to the election of a burges for Westminster, were attended with some extraordinary circumstances, which we shall now record, for the edification of those who pique themselves on the privileges of a British subject. We have already observed, that a majority appearing on the poll for lord Trentham, the adherents of the other candidate, Sir George Vandeput, demanded a scrutiny, which was granted by the high bailiff of Westminster, the returning officer. During this tedious investigation, which rolled chiefly on the qualification of voters, he acted with such

address

address and seeming candour as gave entire satisfaction to both parties, until at length he determined in favour of his lordship, whom he returned as duly elected. Those who stiled themselves the independent electors, did not acquiesce in this determination without clamour, reproach, menaces, and riot. They taxed Mr. Leigh the high bailiff with partiality and injustice: they loudly affirmed, that ministerial influence had been used in the most scandalous manner; and, finally, joined Sir George Vandeput in a petition to the lower house, complaining of an undue election and return of a member for the city of Westminster. The commons, instead of inquiring into the merits of these petitions, ordered them to lie upon the table; and, without any complaint from any person whatever, a motion was made, that Leigh the high bailiff should attend the house immediately, in order to make them acquainted with what he had done in pursuance to the directions he had formerly received from that house, touching the execution of the writ for electing a new member to represent the city of Westminster. As this motion had been preconcerted, Leigh was attending in the lobby, and immediately called into the house to be examined on this subject. Having, in the course of his examination, alledged, that the election had been protracted by affected delays, he was asked by whom, and by what means; but, before he could answer, the earl of Egmont, interposing, objected to the question as improper, and moved for the order of the day. A debate immediately ensued, in which the impropriety of the question was demonstrated by Mr. Henley, now lord-keeper, Dr. Lee, and some others, the most sensible and moderate members of the house: but they were opposed with great violence by the lord viscount Coke, Henry Fox, Esq; Sir William Yonge, colonel Lyttleton, and the weight of the ministry; so that the motion for the order of the day was carried in the negative, and the high bailiff required to answer the question. Thus interrogated, he declared, that he had been impeded in the scrutiny, and mal-treated, by Mr. Crowle, who had acted as counsel for Sir George Vandeput, by the honourable Alexander Murray, brother to lord Elbank, and one Gibson, an upholsterer, who had been very active, zealous, and turbulent in his endeavours to promote the interest of Sir George Vandeput, or rather to thwart the pretensions of the other candidate, who was supposed to be countenanced by the ministry. These three persons, thus accused, were brought to the bar of the house, notwithstanding the strenuous remonstrances of several members, who opposed this method of proceeding as a species of oppression equally arbitrary and absurd. They observed, that, as no complaint had been preferred, they had no right to take cognizance of the affair: that if any undue influence had been used, it would naturally appear when the merits of the election should fall under their inquiry: that a complaint having been lodged already against the returning officer, it was their duty to investigate his conduct, and punish him, if he should be found delinquent; but that nothing could be more flagrantly unjust, and apparently partial, than their neglecting the petitions of the other candidate and electors, and encouraging the high bailiff, who stood charged with iniquity, to recriminate upon his accusers, that they might be disabled from giving evidence on the inquiry into the merits of the election. What difference is it to the subject,

Ann. 1751. subject, whether he is oppressed by an arbitrary prince, or by the despotic intolerance of a ministerial majority?

Mr. Crowle alledged, in his own vindication, that he had been employed as a counsel by the electors of Westminster, and attended the scrutiny in that character; that after the high bailiff had, in the course of the last session, received the order of the house to expedite the election, he hurried on the scrutiny with such precipitation as, he apprehended, was unjust and prejudicial to his clients; that, in this apprehension, he (Mr. Crowle) insisted upon the high bailiff's proceeding with more deliberation, and in so doing he thought he did his duty to his employers. Some evidences being examined against him, declared he had not only protracted the scrutiny, but also spoken disrespectful words of the honourable house of commons: he was therefore reprimanded on his knees by the speaker, and discharged.

Mr. Murray
sent prisoner
to Newgate.

Mr. Murray being charged with having uttered some threatening and affrontive expressions, the house adjourned the consideration of this affair for some days, at the expiration of which Mr. Murray was to be heard by his counsel: but, in the mean time, they ordered him to be taken into custody by the serjeant at arms attending the house. This step, however, was not taken without a warm opposition by some of the most sedate and intelligent members of the house, who considered it as a cruel act of oppression. They observed, that in cases of breach of privilege, no person complained of was ever taken into custody, until after he had been fully heard in his defence: that this was literally prejudging the cause before it had been examined; and the oppression was the greater as the alledged offence consisted intirely of words, of which no complaint or information had been made for above eight months after the supposed offence had been committed; and, even then, not till an accusation had been lodged against the informant, upon the trial of which accusation the persons informed against might very probably be the most material witnesses. They observed, that in one of the highest offences which can be committed by words, namely, that of denying the king's right to the crown, or renouncing the Trinity, the information must be brought in three or four days after the words are spoken; the words must be proved to have been spoken maliciously, directly, and advisedly, and the prosecution must commence in three months after the information. These suggestions made no more impression than if they had been uttered in the desert. Those who were secure in their number asserted, that the house of commons was not restricted by the forms of proceeding at common law; and that it was necessary to vindicate their own honour and dignity, by making examples of those who seemed to hold them in contempt. Mr. Murray was committed to the custody of the serjeant at arms, and found bail; and Gibson was sent prisoner to Newgate, from whence he was in a few days released, upon presenting an humble petition, professing his sorrow for having incurred the displeasure of the house; to the bar of which he was brought, and received a reprimand on his knees from the speaker.

In the mean time, divers witnesses being examined before the house, declared, That Mr. Murray had been seen, about the time of the return of a member for Westminster, heading and exciting a tumult to acts of violence against

against the high bailiff. The majority, therefore, after a long and warm Ann. 1751. debate, agreed, That for his dangerous and seditious practices, in violation and contempt of the privileges of the house, and of the freedom of elections, he should be committed close prisoner to Newgate. Then, in the close of another violent debate, they resolved, That he should be brought to the bar of the house, to receive that sentence on his knees. He accordingly appeared, and being directed by the speaker to kneel, refused to comply. He knew that he could not be discharged from Newgate during the session, without petitioning, acknowledging his offence, and making such concessions as he thought would imply a consciousness of guilt: he considered this whole transaction as an oppressive exertion of arbitrary power, and, being apprized of the extent of their authority, determined to bear the brunt of their indignation, rather than make submissions which he deemed beneath the dignity of his character. When he refused to humble himself, the whole house was in commotion: he was no sooner removed from the bar than they resolved, That his having, in a most insolent and audacious manner, refused to be on his knees at the bar of that house, in consequence of their former resolution, was an high and most dangerous contempt of the authority and privilege of the commons: it was therefore ordered, that he should be committed close prisoner to Newgate, debarred the use of pen, ink, and paper; and that no person should have access to him, without the leave of the house. Finally, a committee was appointed to consider what methods might be proper to be taken by them, in relation to this instance of contempt.

Mean while, the petitioners against the return made by the high bailiff, perceiving the temper of the house, and the complexion of the majority, withdrew their petition; and the order, which had passed for hearing the merits of the election, was discharged.

Mr. Murray being taken dangerously ill in Newgate, application was made to the commons, by some of his relations, that he might be removed to a more convenient situation; and his physician, being examined, gave it as his opinion, that he was infected with the gaol distemper. Upon this representation the house agreed, that the speaker should issue a warrant for removing him from Newgate to the custody of the serjeant at arms; but this favour he refused to accept, and expressed the warmest resentment against those relations who had applied to the commons in his behalf. Thus he remained sequestered, even from his own brother and sister, under the displeasure of the commons of England, who condescended so far as to make resolutions touching the physician, apothecary, and nurse who attended this prisoner. But the prorogation of parliament having put an end to their authority for that session, Mr. Murray was discharged of course, and conducted by the sheriffs from Newgate to his own house in procession, with flags and streamers exhibiting the emblems of liberty.

In the month of June the session was closed with a speech from the throne, in which his majesty thanked both houses for the zeal and affection they had manifested towards him and his government; and congratulated the commons in particular, upon their firmness and prudence in reducing

Ann. 1751. ducing the interest of the national debt, a measure as agreeable to him as essential to the strength and welfare of the kingdom*.

Enormous crimes prevail over all England.

The interior œconomy of Great Britain produced, within the circle of this year, nothing else worthy of historical regard, except a series of enormous crimes, arising from the profligacy of individuals, which reflected disgrace upon the morals and the polity of the nation. Rapine and robbery had domineered without intermission ever since the return of peace, which was attended with a reduction of the army and navy; but now crimes of a deeper dye seemed to lift up their heads, in contempt of law and humanity.†

Every day almost produced fresh instances of perjury, forgery, fraud, and circumvention; and the kingdom exhibited a most amazing jumble of virtue and vice, honour and infamy, compassion and obduracy, sentiment and brutality.

Death of the queen of Denmark, and of the prince of Orange.

The royal family of England had sustained three severe shocks in the compass of a few months. Besides the loss of the prince of Wales, which the nation lamented as irreparable, his majesty was deeply afflicted by the untimely death of his youngest daughter, the queen of Denmark, who died at Copenhagen on the nineteenth day of December, in the prime of youth. She was one of the most amiable princesses of the age in which she lived, whether we consider the virtues of her heart, or the accomplishments of her person; generous, mild, and tender-hearted; beloved, even almost to adoration, by her royal consort, to whom she had borne a prince and two princesses; and universally admired and revered by the subjects of his Danish majesty. Her death had been preceded about two months by that of her brother-in-law the prince of Orange, no less regretted by the natives of the United Provinces, for his candour, integrity, and hereditary love to his country. Though he had not distinguished himself by the lustre of a superior genius, he had been at great pains to cultivate his understanding, and study the true interest of that community of which he was a member. He had always approved himself a good and zealous citizen, and, since his elevation to the stadtholdership,

* One of the most remarkable acts which passed in the course of this session, was that for regulating the commencement of the year, and correcting the calendar, according to the Gregorian computation, which had been adopted by all the other nations in Europe. By this new law it was decreed, that the new year should begin on the first day of January; and that eleven intermediate nominal days, between the second and fourteenth days of September 1752, should for that time be omitted, so that the day succeeding the second should be denominated the fourteenth of that month. By this establishment of the new stile, the equinoxes and solstices will happen nearly on the same nominal days on which they fell in the year 325, at the council of Nice; and the correspondence between the English merchants and those of foreign countries will be greatly facilitated, with respect to the dates of letters and accounts.

† An indulgent parent was poisoned by his only daughter, on whom, besides other marks of tenderness and paternal affection, he had bestowed a liberal education, which greatly aggravated her guilt and ingratitude. Another young woman was concerned in the assassination of her own uncle, who had been her constant benefactor and sole guardian. A poor old woman, having, from the ignorance and superstition of her neighbours, incurred the suspicion of sorcery and witchcraft, was murdered in Hertfordshire by the populace, with all the wantonness of barbarity. Rape and murder were perpetrated upon an unfortunate woman in the neighbourhood of London, and an innocent man suffered death for this complicated outrage, while the real criminals assisted at his execution, heard him appeal to heaven for his innocence, and, in the character of friends, embraced him, while he stood on the brink of eternity.

taken

taken many salutary steps for the advantage of his country. Among other excellent schemes which he suggested, he left a noble plan with the States General for restoring their commerce to its former lustre, and lived long enough to receive their warmest acknowledgements for this last proof of his prudence and patriotism. His son and daughter being both infants, the administration of the government devolved upon the princess, as governante, during her son's minority; and as such she succeeded to all the power which her husband had enjoyed. Ann. 1751.

With respect to the affairs of the continent, the peace of the North seemed still as precarious as ever: for though the difference between Russia and Sweden had been compromised, the mutual disgust between the Czarina and king of Prussia had gained such accession from reciprocal insults, ill offices, and inflammatory declarations, that these two powers seemed to be on the eve of a rupture, and each was employed in making extraordinary preparations for war. Misunderstanding between the Czarina and the king of Prussia.

The courts of Vienna and Great Britain, foreseeing that such a rupture would embroil the Empire, and raise insurmountable obstructions to their favourite scheme of electing the archduke Joseph king of the Romans, resolved to employ all their influence in order to effect a reconciliation between the courts of Petersburg and Berlin.

His Prussian majesty had signified to the king of Great Britain, and the States General, the situation in which he stood with the Czarina, and solicited their interposition, that the difference might be amicably accommodated. At the same time he sent an envoy extraordinary to Versailles, to negotiate with the French king a very considerable body of auxiliaries, in case he should be attacked. These circumstances induced the Maritime Powers and the court of Vienna to use their utmost endeavours for the prevention of a rupture; and accordingly they made remonstrances on this subject by their ministers at Petersburg, proposing, that the quarrel should be terminated without bloodshed, and all cause of animosity be buried in oblivion.

In the mean time they eagerly prosecuted the design of the election; and the Imperial minister at Berlin not only communicated to his Prussian majesty the sentiments of the king of England on this expedient, but even solicited his vote for the archduke Joseph, when the election of a king of the Romans should be proposed in the electoral college. To this proposal he replied, That he was extremely well disposed to manifest his regard for their Imperial majesties, and to give the most genuine proofs of it, even in the proposed election of a king of the Romans, considering the great merit of the present candidate, the archduke Joseph: but he left it to the consideration of their Imperial majesties, whether the election would not be a little premature, if transacted at a time when his Imperial majesty was in the flower of his age, enjoying perfect health; and when all Europe, particularly the Empire, was hushed within the bosom of tranquillity, so that no circumstance seemed to prognosticate the necessity of such an election, or of putting in execution the motives mentioned in the capitulation of the reigning emperor's election; especially as the examination of these motives belonged to the whole Empire, and ought to precede the election, by virtue of the eighth article of the treaty of Westphalia. He observed, that in case of the emperor's death,

Ann. 1751. Germany would find herself in a very disagreeable situation, under the government of a minor. For these reasons, he said, he could not help advising their Imperial majesties to wait until the archduke should be of age, when his election might be carried on more conformable to the laws and constitutions of the Empire, and more suitable to the majesty of the whole Germanic body.

This reply he circulated among the electors, and in particular transmitted it to the king of Great-Britain, desiring they would deliberate maturely on this subject, and confer together in a body as well as in private, that they might proceed according to the antient custom of the electoral college, and take such measures as should be judged expedient for the honour and advantage of the community.

This circular letter was answered both by the king of England and the elector of Bavaria, who demonstrated, that it was the privilege of the electoral college only, without any participation of the other princes of the Empire, to elect a king of the Romans during the life of the emperor, in order to maintain the peace and preserve the liberties of Germany; and that the neglect of this wise precaution hath produced bloody wars, and many fatal consequences to the Empire. They observed, that nothing could more contribute to the establishment of the public tranquillity than this measure, so ardently desired by the majority of the German princes; and that, although the archduke Joseph wanted a few years of being of age, and it might possibly happen that the reigning Emperor should die during that prince's minority, it would be much less prejudicial to the Empire to have a minor chief, than to see the succession altogether unsettled.

To the same purpose his Prussian majesty received a declaration from the elector of Mentz; and understanding that this prince, as arch-chancellor of the Empire, intended to convoke an electoral diet, in order to propose the election of the king of the Romans, he wrote an elaborate letter to his electoral highness, explaining, at more length, his reasons for postponing the election. He quoted that sentence of the treaty of Westphalia which expressly declares, that the election of a king of the Romans shall be discussed and ordained by the common consent of the states of the Empire; and therefore he could not conceive what right the electoral college had to arrogate this privilege to themselves, excluding the other states of the Empire. He observed, that the Imperial capitulations, which were the only laws of the Empire that treated of this subject, mentioned only three cases in which it was lawful to proceed to such an election; namely, the Emperor's leaving and long absence from Germany; his advanced age, or an indisposition, rendering him incapable of managing the reins of government; and any case of emergency in which the preservation of the Empire's prosperity is interested. He affirmed, that none of these motives at present existed: that, in case the Imperial crown should devolve to a minor, many mischiefs and disorders must ensue, as the constitutions of the Empire have established no regulations nor regency in that event: that an election of this nature, carried on under the power, influence, and authority of the head of the Empire, would strike at the fundamental privileges of the princes and states; consequently in time overturn the constitution of the Empire, which, from being an elective dignity, conferred by the free

free and independent suffrages of the electoral college and states of Germany, under certain capitulations, obliging the prince thus chosen to govern according to law, would become an hereditary succession, perpetuated in one family, which, of course, must be aggrandized to the prejudice of its co-estates, and the ruin of the Germanic liberties. Ann. 1751.

In a word, all Germany in general, and Ratisbon in particular, was filled with writings, published on both sides: by the Emperor, and his adherents, to demonstrate, that the election of a king of the Romans, during the life of the Emperor, had often happened; and at this present time was necessary, and would be advantageous to the Empire: while the king of Prussia, and his friends, laboured to prove, that such an election, at the present juncture, would be ill timed, irregular, and of dangerous consequence. Perhaps, if the truth was known, this enterprising prince had projected some great scheme, with the execution of which this proposed establishment would have interfered. Certain it is, he exerted himself with that spirit and perseverance which are peculiar to his character, to frustrate the intention of the courts of Vienna and London in this particular, and was assisted with all the intrigue of the French ministry. Their joint endeavours were so effectual, that the elector of Cologne renounced his subsidiary treaty with the Maritime Powers, and once more threw himself into the arms of France. The elector Palatine, being solicited by the Empress-queen and his Britannic majesty to co operate with their views, insisted, as a preliminary article, upon being indemnified by the court of Vienna for the ravages committed in his territories by the Austrian troops, during the course of the last war: the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, made the same demand of the like indemnification, which was granted by the mediation of king George; and then he subscribed to a subsidy-treaty, obliging himself to furnish a body of six thousand auxiliaries, in case they should be required by the Maritime Powers; and to act, as elector, in concert with the house of Austria, in every thing relating to the welfare of his country, that should square with the fundamental laws of the Empire.

The courts of London and Vienna had this election so much at heart, that they sounded almost all the powers of Europe, to know how they stood affected towards the measure proposed. The king of Spain declined intermeddling in a domestic affair of the Empire. The French king returned an ambiguous answer; from whence it was concluded, that nothing but opposition could be expected from that quarter. The Swedish monarch was rendered propitious to the project by assurances, that the house of Hesse Cassel, of which he was the head, should be elevated into an electorate. They even endeavoured to soften his Prussian majesty, by consenting, at last, that the treaty of Dresden, confirming to him the possession of Silesia, should be guaranteed by the dyet of the Empire; a sanction which he now actually obtained, together with the ratification of his Imperial majesty. Notwithstanding this indulgence, he still persisted in raising fresh objections to the favourite project, on pretence of concerting measures for preventing the inconveniencies that might result from a minority; for regulating the capitulations to be agreed on with the king of the Romans; securing the freedom of future elections, and preserving the prerogatives and privileges of the Germanic body in all its members.

Ann. 1751.

In consequence of these obstacles, joined to the apostacy of the elector of Cologne, the obstinacy of the elector Palatine, and the approaching dyet of Hungary, at which their Imperial majesties were obliged personally to preside, the measures for the election were suspended till next summer, when his Britannic majesty was expected at Hanover, to put the finishing stroke to this great event in favour of the house of Austria.

Death of the
king of Swe-
den.

Another disappointment, with respect to this election, the promoters of it sustained in the death of his Swedish majesty, who expired in a good old age, and was succeeded by Adolphus Frederic, duke of Holstein Eutin, bishop of Lubeck, upon whom the succession had been settled for some years by the unanimous concurrence of the states of the kingdom. This prince ascended the throne of Sweden without the least disturbance; and, of his own accord, took an oath in full senate, that he would never attempt to introduce a despotic authority; but maintain their liberties with his blood, and govern his subjects in all respects according to the laws and the form of government established in Sweden. This public act, which was communicated to all the foreign ministers, and particularly to the envoy from Petersburg, met with such a favourable reception from the Czarina, that she expressed her satisfaction in a public declaration; and the good understanding between the two courts was perfectly restored.

Session of
parliament.

When the parliament of England was opened, in the month of November, the king, in his speech from the throne, gave them to understand, That, for the same purposes which suggested the treaty with the elector of Bavaria, he had now, in conjunction with the States General, concluded another with the king of Poland, elector of Saxony. He told them, that the unfortunate death of the prince of Orange had made no alteration in the state of affairs in Holland; and that he had received the strongest assurances from the States of their firm resolution to maintain the intimate union and friendship happily subsisting between his majesty and those antient and natural allies of his crown. He exhorted both houses to consider seriously of some effectual provisions to suppress those audacious crimes of robbery and violence, grown so frequent about the capital, proceeding in a great measure from that profligate spirit of irreligion, idleness, gaming, and extravagance, which had of late extended itself in an uncommon degree, to the dishonour of the nation, and the great offence and prejudice of the sober and industrious part of the people.

The paragraphs of this speech were, as usual, echoed back to the throne in addresses, replete with expressions of loyalty, affection, and approbation. Opposition was by this time almost extinguished; and the proceedings of both houses took place with such unanimity as was hardly ever known, before this period, in a British parliament.

Animosity of
the commons
towards Mr.
Murray.

The commons, however, seem to have assembled with such sentiments as did no great honour to their temper and magnanimity. In a few days after the session opened, the lord viscount C—e, a young nobleman, whose character intitled him to very little regard or influence among men of sense and probity, made a motion, that Mr. Murray, who had been so severely persecuted in the last session for refusing to humble himself on his knees before them,

them, should be again committed close prisoner to Newgate for the same Ann. 1751. offence.

This proposal, which supposed a power that the commons had never before exercised, was sharply disputed by the earl of Eg—t, and others, who had not resigned all sense of moderation; but the majority adopted the measure with great eagerness, and the speaker was ordered to issue his warrant accordingly. Then the house resolved, That the said Alexander Murray should receive the sentence, for his now being committed close prisoner to his majesty's gaol of Newgate, at the bar of the house upon his knees; and the serjeant at arms was commanded to take him into custody for this purpose.

Their indignation, however, was eluded by the caution of the delinquent, who, having foreseen the effects of their resentment, had prudently retired to another country. They determined, nevertheless, to proceed against him as a person of some consequence in the commonwealth; for, being informed of his retreat, they condescended so far as to present an address to his majesty, desiring that his royal proclamation might be issued for apprehending the said Mr. Murray, promising a reward to him who should have the good fortune to apprehend this fugitive: a request with which his majesty most graciously complied.

Nor was this the only address presented to the king upon such an important subject. A pamphlet, intituled, "The Case of the Hon. Alexander Murray, Esquire, in an Appeal to the People of Great Britain," was first stigmatized in a complaint to the house, and afterwards produced and read at the table. The piece was written with great acrimony, and abounded with severe animadversions, not only upon the conduct of the returning officer, but also on the proceedings of the commons. The violent members immediately took fire, and the flame extended itself to the majority. Nay, the house unanimously resolved, That the pamphlet was an impudent, malicious, scandalous, and seditious libel, falsely and most injuriously reflecting upon and aspersing the proceedings of the house, tending to create misapprehensions in the minds of the people, to the great dishonour of the said house, and in violation of the privileges thereof. They furthermore presented an address to the king, desiring his majesty would be graciously pleased to give directions to his attorney-general to prosecute the authors or author, the printers or printer, and the publishers or publisher of the said scandalous libel, in order that they might be brought to condign punishment.

Directions were accordingly given for this purpose, and a prosecution commenced against the publisher, who had some reason to be dismayed, considering the great weight of influence he was doomed to encounter; influence arising from a prosecution of the crown, instituted at the request and founded on a vote of the house of commons. Nevertheless, when the cause was heard before the lord chief justice of England, a jury of free-born Englishmen, citizens of London, asserted their privilege of judging the law as well as the fact, and acquitted the defendant with a truly admirable spirit of independency. They considered the pamphlet as an appeal against oppression; and, convinced that the contents were true, they could not in conscience adjudge it a false libel, even though it had been so declared by one of the branches of the legislature.

The

Proceedings
upon a Pam-
phlet, inti-
tuled, The
Case of Mr.
Murray.

Ann. 1751.

Supplies
granted.

The commons, in regulating the supplies of the ensuing year, voted the continuation of eighteen thousand eight hundred and fifty seven men for the land-service, though not without some opposition from certain patriots, who, rather from a sense of duty than from any hope of influencing the majority, affirmed, that sixteen thousand men, in time of peace, would answer all the ends proposed by a standing army. The number of seamen was fixed at ten thousand: large sums were granted to make up deficiencies, and fulfil the engagements of the crown with the electors of Bavaria and Saxony, as well as for the maintenance of Nova Scotia and Georgia, and the castles on the coast of Guinea; and one hundred and twelve thousand one hundred and fifty-two pounds three shillings and three-pence were voted, as a full compensation to the old royal African company for their exclusive charter and property, to be applied for the relief of their creditors *.

Ann. 1752.

Civil regula-
tions.

The laws enacted for the encouragement of traffic, and the regulations of civil polity, consisted in an act for licensing pawnbrokers, and for the more effectual preventing the receiving of stolen goods: another for preventing thefts and robberies, by which places of entertainment, dancing, and music in London, Westminster, and within twenty miles of the capital, were suppressed and prohibited, unless the proprietors of them could obtain the sanction of licences from the justices of the peace, empowered for that purpose: a third for annexing the forfeited estates in Scotland unalienably in the crown, after having made satisfaction to the lawful creditors; establishing a method of leasing these estates, and applying the rents and profits of them for the better civilizing and improving the Highlands, and preventing future disorders in that part of the united kingdom. Nothing could be more salutary than the purposes of these regulations. The suburbs of the metropolis abounded with an incredible number of public houses, that continually resounded with the noise of riot and intemperance: they were the haunts of idleness, fraud, and rapine; and the seminaries of drunkenness, debauchery, extravagance, and every vice incident to human nature: yet the suppression of these receptacles of infamy was attended with an inconvenience, which, in some cases, arose even to a degree of oppression. The justices being vested, by the legislature, with the power of granting or refusing licences, were constituted, in effect, the arbiters on whose decision the fortunes and livelihood of many individuals absolutely depended. Many of those who exercised this species of magistracy, within the bills of mortality, were, to the reproach of government, men of profligate lives, needy, mean, ignorant, and rapacious, and often acted from the most scandalous principles of selfish avarice.

The law relating to the Highlands of Scotland was well calculated for promoting, among the inhabitants of that country, such a spirit of industry as

* These expences were defrayed by a continuation of the duties on malt, &c. a land-tax, at three shillings in the pound; a duty on licences, to be yearly payed by pawnbrokers and dealers in second-hand goods, within the bills of mortality; the sum of one million four hundred thousand pounds, advanced by the bank, according to a proposal made for that purpose; five hundred thousand pounds to be

issued from the sinking fund; a duty laid on gum senega; and the continuation of divers other occasional impositions. The grants for the year amounted to something less than four millions, and the provisions made for this expence exceeded it in the sum of two hundred seventy-one thousand twenty-four pounds ten shillings and six-pence half-penny.

might detach them from their dangerous connexions, and gradually supersede that military genius which had been so productive of danger and alarm to the southern parts of Great Britain. The king, by this act, was impowered to appoint commissioners for managing the forfeited estates: these were enabled to grant leases of small farms, not above twenty pounds a year, to individuals, who should take the oaths to the government, to reside upon and cultivate the lands thus let. It was also provided, that no lease should be granted for a longer term than twenty-one years; and that the lessees should not pay above three-fourths of the annual value. Ann. 1752. Law relating to the forfeited estates in North Briton.

Although these forfeited estates were generally encumbered with claims beyond their real value, and the act directed that they should be disposed of by public sale; yet, as they lay in the most disaffected parts of the Highlands, it was thought necessary that they should remain in the possession of the crown, because, in case of their being publicly sold, they might be purchased in trust for the families of the persons by whom they were forfeited, and thus the spirit of disaffection would still survive. A valuation, therefore, was made by the court of session in Scotland, at the joint suit of the crown and the creditors; and the value being ascertained, the just claimants were, to that amount, paid out of the next aids granted by parliament.

The bill met with considerable opposition in the house of peers from the duke of Bedford and the earl of Bath, who probably foresaw that the good effects of this scheme, so laudable in itself, would be frustrated in the execution; and that the act, instead of answering the purposes for which it was intended, would serve only as a job to gratify the rapacious retainers to the government, and their emissaries in that country. After a warm debate, however, it was adopted by a great majority, and obtained the royal assent.

A third law related to certain articles of the national debt, which were now converted into several joint stocks of annuities, transferable at the bank of England, to be charged on the sinking fund. A great number of different funds for annuities, established at different times, and by different acts, at this period subsisted; so that it was necessary to keep many different accounts, which could not be regulated without considerable trouble and expence, for the removal of which the bill was calculated. A new consolidation of certain funds.

In consequence of petitions from the woollen manufacturers of Westmoreland and Yorkshire, two bills were brought in, and passed through both houses, by which the ports of Lancaster and Great Yarmouth were opened for the importation of wool and woollen yarn from Ireland; but why this privilege was not extended to all the frequented ports of the kingdom it is not easy to conceive, without supposing a little national jealousy on one hand, and a great deal of grievous restraint on the other. Two ports opened for the importation of Irish wool, &c.

Over and above these new laws, some unsuccessful endeavours were used in behalf of commerce and police. A bill was offered for laying further restrictions on pawnbrokers and brokers, that they might no longer suck the blood of the poor, and act as the accessories of theft and robbery. It was canvassed, debated, and made its way through the lower house; but the lords rejected it as a crude scheme, which they could not amend, because it was a money-bill, not cognizable by their house, unless they should determine to engage in a dispute with the commons.

Ann. 1752.

Another bill was prepared for giving power to change the punishment of felony, in certain cases, to confinement and hard labour in dock-yards or gar-risons. There cannot be a greater solecism in law, nor a more flagrant error in civil government, than the practice of inflicting the same punishment on crimes of different complexions, essentially different in the degrees of guilt, as well as in their consequences to the community. What, for example, can be more repugnant to the fundamental principles of justice, as well as to the sagacity of civil regulation, than the undistinguishing institution which decrees the same penalty against the felon who robs his neighbour of five shillings, and the execrable homicide who murders his benefactor? It was the opinion of many who wished well to their country, and were properly qualified to prosecute such inquiries, that the practice of consigning such a number of wretches to the hands of the executioner, served only, by its frequency, to defeat the purpose of law, in robbing death of all its terror, and the public of many subjects, who might, notwithstanding their delinquency, be in some measure rendered useful to society. Such was the motive that influenced the promoters of this bill; by which it was proposed, in imitation of that œconomy practised in other countries, to confine felons convicted, under certain circumstances, to hard labour upon the public works of the kingdom. The scheme was adopted by the lower house, but rejected by the lords, who seemed apprehensive of its bringing such discredit upon his majesty's dock-yards as would discourage persons, who valued their reputation, from engaging in such employment. This objection, however, was a meer conjecture, unsupported by evidence and experience, and not very plausible in point of probability. We know that slaves and felons are employed in public works by other nations, without producing any such consequences: nor can we conceive how the character of a reputable workman should be affected by the service of a malefactor, so evidently distinguished from a free subject by the badges of infamy and slavery.

Of still greater importance to the nation was the next measure proposed, in a bill for making the militia of England more useful, presented by Mr. Thornton, a gentleman of Yorkshire, who had distinguished himself by his loyalty and patriotism. It was canvassed in a committee of the whole house, and underwent divers amendments; but miscarried, through the aversion of the ministry to any project tending to remove or lessen the necessity of maintaining a standing army.

A considerable number of petitions for different regulations, in respect to commerce and convenience of traffic, were presented, considered, and left upon the table.

A remonstrance from the prisoners confined in the gaol of the King's Bench, complaining of their miserable situation, arising from the want of room, and other conveniences, being taken into consideration by a committee, among other evidences, they examined that remarkable personage who had signalized himself in different parts of Christendom, under the name of Theodore king of Corsica. Though formerly countenanced, and even treated as a sovereign prince by the British ministry, he was now reduced to the forlorn condition of a confined debtor; and, to the reproach of this kingdom, died in prison, surrounded

surrounded with all the misery of indigence, and overwhelmed with the infirmities of old age. Ann. 1752.

But the most remarkable circumstance of the parliamentary transactions that distinguished this session, was a motion made in both houses for an address to the king, beseeching his majesty, That, in time of public tranquillity, he would be graciously pleased to avoid entering into subsidiary treaties with foreign princes, which are so burthensome to this nation. This extraordinary proposal was made and strenuously urged by the duke of B—, and a vehement debate ensued, in which the earls of G—, S—, and H—, opposed it with an exertion of superior abilities; and the question being put, was carried in the negative, without a division. The same fate attended it in the house of commons, where it was introduced by lord H—y, and supported by some distinguished orators.

The session expired in the latter end of March, when his majesty, having given his assent to ninety-five public and private bills, harangued both houses, and prorogued the parliament*.

Immediately after the prorogation the king appointed a regency, and set out for Hanover, in order to complete the great scheme he had projected for electing a king of the Romans. The king sets out for Hanover.

Great Britain, in the mean time, produced no event of importance, or any transaction that deserves historical mention, except the ratification of two treaties of peace and commerce with the states of Tripoli and Tunis on the coast of Barbary, concluded by the British consuls in those cities, under the influence and auspices of an English squadron, commanded by commodore Keppel, son to the earl of Albemarle.

The tide of luxury still flowed with an impetuous current, bearing down all the mounds of temperance and decorum; while fraud and profligacy struck out new channels, through which they eluded the restrictions of the law, and all the vigilance of civil policy. New arts of deception were invented, in order to ensnare and ruin the unwary; and some infamous practices, in the way of commerce, were countenanced by persons of rank and importance in the commonwealth. A certain member of parliament was obliged to withdraw himself from his country, in consequence of a discovery, by which it appeared that he had contrived and executed schemes for destroying his own ships at sea, with a view to defraud the insurers.

In the course of this year the affairs of the continent did not undergo any material alteration. In France the religious dispute concerning the doctrine of Jansenius, still subsisted between the clergy and the parliament; and seemed to acquire additional fuel from the violence of the archbishop of Paris, an haughty turbulent prelate, whose pride and bigotry were sufficient to embroil one half of Christendom. The northern powers enjoyed a perfect tranquillity: the States General of the United Provinces were engrossed by plans of na-

* Among the proceedings of this session it may not be improper to mention a new act for the prevention of murders, which had been shockingly frequent of late, importing, That every criminal convicted of this horrid crime should be executed in one day after his sentence,

and his body be delivered to the surgeon's for dissection: an expedient which, how ineffectual soever it may appear in theory, has been found in practice productive of very salutary consequences.

Ann. 1752. tional œconomy. Spain was intent upon extending her commerce, bringing her manufactures to perfection, and repressing the insolence of the Barbary Corsairs: his Portuguese majesty endeavoured, by certain peremptory precautions, to check the exportation of gold coin from his dominions; and insisted upon inspecting the books of the British merchants settled at Lisbon; but they refused to comply with this demand, which was contrary to a treaty subsisting between the two crowns; and he thought proper to acquiesce in their refusal. He was much better employed in obtaining from the Pope an abolition of the annual procession called the Auto da fe, one of the most horrid triumphs of spiritual tyranny. The peace of Italy was secured by a defensive treaty concluded at Madrid between the Emperor, his Catholic majesty, the king of the Two Sicilies, and the duke of Parma; to which treaty the king of Sardinia afterwards acceded.

Dispute between Hanover and Prussia, concerning East Friesland.

Misunderstanding between the courts of London and Berlin.

With respect to the great scheme of electing the archduke Joseph king of the Romans, fresh objections seemed to rise from different quarters. The good understanding between the courts of Berlin and Hanover received an additional shock, from a dispute concerning the property of East Friesland, which his Prussian majesty had secured as heir to the last possessor. His Britannic majesty, as elector of Hanover, having pretensions to the same inheritance, his minister delivered a memorial to the dyet of the Empire, assembled at Ratisbon, demanding that the king of Prussia, as elector of Brandenburg, should be referred to the decision of the Aulic council, in regard to his claim to the estates of East Friesland: but the king being already in possession, refused to submit his right to the determination of that or any other tribunal; and when the dyet presumed to deliberate on this affair, his envoy entered a strong protest against their proceedings. At the same time he presented the other ministers with a memorial, tending to refute the elector of Hanover's pretensions to the principality in question.

At this juncture his Prussian majesty made no scruple of expressing his resentment against the court of London, which he seemed to consider as an officious cabal, that had no right to intermeddle in the affairs of Germany. His resident at London complained to the British ministry, that divers ships, sailing under the Prussian flag, had been stopped at sea, and even seized by English cruisers; and that his subjects had been ill-treated and oppressed: he therefore demanded reparation in a peremptory tone; and, in the mean time, discontinued the payment of the Silesian loan, which he had charged himself with by an article in the treaty of Breslau. This was a sum of money amounting to two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, which the emperor Charles VI. father of the reigning Empress, had borrowed of the subjects of Great Britain, on condition of paying an interest of six per centum, and mortgaging the silver mines of Silesia for the repayment of the principal. These devolved to the king of Prussia with this incumbrance, and he continued to pay the interest punctually till this juncture, when the payment was stopped; and he published a paper, intitled, An Exposition of the Motives which influenced his Conduct on this Occasion. In his memorial to the ministry of Great Britain he alledged, That eighteen Prussian ships, and thirty-three neutral vessels, in which the subjects of Prussia were concerned, had been unjustly seized by English privateers: his

his account of damages amounted to a very considerable sum; and he demanded, in the most dogmatic terms, that the affair should be finally discussed in the term of three months from the date of his remonstrance. The Exposition and Memorial were subjected to the examination of the ablest civilians in England, who refuted every article of the charge with equal precision and perspicuity. They proved, that captures by sea fell properly under the cognizance of those powers under whose jurisdiction the seizures were made; and, therefore, his Prussian majesty could not, consistent with the law of nations, determine these disputes in his own tribunals. They demonstrated, by undoubted evidence, the falsity of many facts alledged in the memorial, as well as the fairness of the proceedings by which some few of the Prussian vessels had been condemned; and made it appear, that no insult or injury had been offered to the subjects of Prussia. Finally, they observed, that the Silesia loan was a private transaction of such a nature, that, even if a war had happened between the emperor Charles VI. and his Britannic majesty, this must have been held sacred and inviolable: that when the Empress queen ceded Silesia to the king of Prussia, this monarch charged himself with the repayment of the loan, which, being a private debt, and transferable, was now diffused into different countries, and become the property of many others besides the subjects of Great Britain. They wound up their chain of reasoning by observing, that, according to agreement with the Emperor, the whole of this loan should have been repayed in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-five; whereas the complaints specified in the Prussian memorial were founded on facts posterior to that period.

Whether his Prussian majesty was convinced by these reasons, and desisted from principle, or he thought proper to give up his claim upon other political considerations; certain it is, he no longer insisted upon satisfaction, but ordered the payments of the Silesia loan to be continued without further interruption: a report, indeed, was circulated, that advantage had been taken of the demur by a certain prince, who employed his agents to buy up great part of the loan at a considerable discount.

How much soever the king of Prussia may be the subject of censure on this occasion, it must be allowed, that, with regard to his own subjects, he acted as a wise legislator, and the father of his country. He peopled the deserts of Pomerania, by encouraging, with royal bounties, a great number of industrious emigrants to settle in that province; the face of which, in a very few years, underwent the most agreeable alteration. Above sixty new villages arose amidst a barren waste, and every part of the country exhibited marks of successful cultivation. Those solitary and desolate plains, where no human footsteps had for many ages been seen, were now converted into fields of corn. The farms were regularly parcelled out: the houses multiplied, and teemed with population: the happy peasants, sheltered in a peculiar manner under their king's protection, sowed their grounds in peace, and reaped their harvests in security. The same care and indulgence were extended to the unpeopled parts of other provinces within the Prussian dominions; and extraordinary encouragement was granted to all French protestants who should come and settle under the government of this political sage.

Ann. 1752.

Treaty with
the elector
Palatine.

The courts of Vienna and Hanover still employed their chief attention upon the scheme of electing a king of the Romans; and the elector of Mentz, influenced by the majority of the college, had convoked an electoral dyet for that purpose: but strong protests against this convocation were entered by the electors of Cologne and Palatine, insomuch that it was thought expedient to conciliate this last by taking some steps in his favour, with respect to the satisfaction he demanded from the Empress-queen and his Britannic majesty. His claim upon the court of Vienna amounted to three millions of florins, by way of indemnification for the losses he had sustained during the war. He demanded of the king of England twenty thousand pounds sterling, for provision and forage furnished to the British troops while they acted on the Maine; and the like sum for the like purposes from the States General of the United Provinces. The Empress-queen could not help remonstrating against this demand as exorbitant in itself, and the more unreasonable as the elector Palatine, at the death of her father, had openly declared against the pragmatic sanction, which he had guarantied in the most solemn manner: she therefore observed, that the damage he had sustained, in consequence of that declaration, ought to be considered as the common fate of war. These reasons, though conclusive and irrefragable in the usual way of arguing, made no impression upon the Palatine, who perfectly well understood his own importance, and was determined to seize this opportunity of turning it to the best advantage.

The court of Vienna, and the Maritime Powers, finding him thus obstinately attached to his own interest, resolved to bring him over to their views at any rate, and commenced a negotiation with him, which produced a formal treaty. By this convention his demands in money were fixed at twelve hundred thousand Dutch florins, to be payed at three instalments, five hundred thousand by the Empress-queen, and the remaining seven hundred thousand by the king of Great Britain and the States General, according to the proportion established in former treaties. The privilege of Non appellando, for the dutchy of Deux-ponts, was confirmed to his electoral highness, together with some other rights and pretensions, in consideration of his concurring with the other electors in the choice of a king of the Romans, to be elected according to the customs prescribed by the laws and constitutions of the Empire. He likewise engaged to join them in settling the articles of the capitulation with the king of the Romans, emperor in futuro. Yet, even after the concurrence of this prince was secured, the purposed election proved abortive, from the strong objections that were started and the strenuous opposition which was made by his Prussian majesty, who perhaps aspired in secret at the Imperial dignity, which the Empress-queen took all this pains to perpetuate in her own family.

Ann. 1753.

Session of
parliament.

The king of Great Britain, returning from the continent, opened the session of parliament on the eleventh day of January with a speech, implying, That all his views and negotiations had been calculated and directed to preserve and secure the duration of the general peace, so agreeable and necessary to the welfare of all Europe: That he had the satisfaction to be assured of a good disposition in all the powers, that were his allies, to adhere to the same salutary object. He exhorted them to continue their attention to the reduction of the

the national debt, the augmentation of the sinking fund, and the improvement of the public revenue. He recommended to their serious consideration what further laws and regulations might be necessary for suppressing those crimes and disorders, of which the public had so justly complained: and concluded with an assurance, that his hearty concurrence and endeavours should never be wanting in any measure that might promote their welfare and prosperity. Ann. 1753.

The addresses, in answer to this speech, were couched in the usual form of implicit approbation: but that of the commons did not pass without question. The earl of E—— took exceptions to one paragraph, in which they acknowledged his majesty's wisdom, as well as goodness, in pursuing such measures as must contribute to maintain and render permanent the general tranquillity in Europe; and declared their satisfaction at the assurances his majesty had received from his allies, that they were all attached to the same salutary object. His lordship expatiated on the absurdity of these compliments at such a juncture, when the peace of Europe was so precarious, and the English nation had so much cause of complaint and dissatisfaction. He was seconded by some other individuals, who declaimed with great vivacity against continental connections; and endeavoured to expose the weakness and folly of the whole system of foreign measures, which our ministry had lately pursued.

It must be owned, indeed, that they might have chosen a better opportunity to compliment their sovereign on the permanency of the peace than at this juncture, when they must have seen themselves on the very brink of a new rupture with the most formidable power in Europe. But the truth is, these addresses to the throne had been long considered as compliments of course, implying no more than a respectful attachment to their sovereign: accordingly both houses agreed to their respective addresses without division.

The two grand committees of supply and of ways and means being established, the business of the house was transacted without much altercation; and the people had great reason to be satisfied with their moderate proceedings. Ten thousand seamen, and the usual number of land-forces, were retained for the service of the ensuing year. They provided for the maintenance of the new colony in Nova Scotia, the civil establishment of Georgia, the support of the castles on the coast of Guinea, and the erection of a new fort at Anamaboa, where the French had attempted to make a settlement; and they enabled his majesty to fulfil his engagements with the king of Poland and the elector of Bavaria.

The supplies, including grants for former deficiencies and services, for which no provision had been made in the course of the last year, did not exceed two millions one hundred thirty-two thousand seven hundred and seven pounds seventeen shillings and two-pence half-penny; in order to defray which expence they assigned the duty on malt, &c. the land-tax at two shillings in the pound, the surplus of certain funds in the Exchequer, and the sum of four hundred and twenty thousand pounds out of the sinking fund; so that the exceedings amounted to near three hundred thousand pounds. * As

* Several duties on salt, as well as on red and white herrings delivered out for home consumption, were rendered perpetual, though subject to be redeemed by parliament; and it was provided, that the debt contracted upon these duties being discharged, all the after-produce of them should become part of the sinking fund.

Ann. 1753.

As for the national debt, it now stood at the enormous sum of seventy-four millions three hundred sixty-eight thousand four hundred and fifty-one pounds fifteen shillings and one penny; and the sinking fund produced one million seven hundred thirty-five thousand five hundred and twenty-nine pounds six shillings and ten-pence farthing.

Game-act.

One of the first measures brought upon the carpet, in the course of this session, was an act containing regulations for the better preservation of the game, of which so great havock had been made by poachers, and other persons unqualified to enjoy that diversion, that the total extirpation of it was apprehended.

Act for performing quarantine.

The next step taken by the commons was an affair of much greater consequence to the community, being a bill for obliging ships the more effectually to perform quarentine, in order to prevent the plague from being imported from foreign countries into Great Britain. For this purpose it was ordained, that if this dreadful visitation should appear in any ship to the northward of Cape Finisterre, the master or commander should immediately proceed to the harbour of New Grimsby, in one of the islands of Scilly, and there communicate the discovery to some officer of the customs; who should, with the first opportunity, transmit this intelligence to another custom-house officer in the nearest port of England, to be by him forwarded to one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state. In the mean time the ship should remain at the said island, and not an individual presume to go ashore, until his majesty's pleasure should be known. It was also provided, that in case the master of a ship, thus infected, should not be able to make the islands of Scilly, or be forced up either channel by violent winds, he should not enter any frequented harbour; but remain in some open road, until he could receive orders from his majesty, or the privy-council: that, during this interval, he should avoid all intercourse with the shore, or any person or vessel whatsoever, on pain of being deemed guilty of felony, and suffering death without benefit of clergy.

Bill for preventing the plundering of ship-wrecked vessels.

In order the more effectually to repress the barbarous practice of plundering ships, which have the misfortune to suffer shipwreck; a practice which prevailed upon many different parts of the British coast, to the disgrace of the nation, and the scandal of human nature; a bill was prepared, containing clauses to enforce the laws against such savage delinquents, who prowl along the shore, like hungry wolves, in hope of preying upon their fellow-creatures; and certain provisions for the relief of the unhappy sufferers.*

When the mutiny-bill fell under deliberation, the earl of Egmont proposed a new clause for empowering and requiring regimental courts-martial to examine witnesses, upon oath, in all their trials. The proposal occasioned a debate,

* By this new law the clerk of the peace, in the county where the crime shall be committed, is obliged, upon receiving proper information, to prosecute the offenders at the expence of the county. It was likewise proposed, that in case no prosecution of this nature should be commenced within a certain limited time, after the information should have

been legally given, in that case the county might be sued by the person who had sustained the damage, and obliged to indemnify him for his loss: but this clause was rejected by the majority; and the bill, having made its way through both houses, received the royal assent.

debate, in which the ministry were pretty equally divided; but the clause was disapproved by the majority, and this annual bill was enacted into a law without any alteration. Ann. 1753.

The next bill was framed in consequence of divers petitions presented by the exporters of corn, who complained that the bounties were not payed, and prayed, that the house would make proper provision for that purpose. A bill relating to the bounty on exported corn. was accordingly brought in, importing, That interest, after the rate of three per centum, should be allowed upon every debenture for the bounty on the exportation of corn, payable by the general receiver or cashier of the customs, until the principal could be discharged out of such customs or duties as are appropriated for the payment of this bounty. This premium on the exportation of corn ought not to be granted, except when the lowness of the market-price in Great Britain proves that there is a superabundance in the kingdom; otherwise the exporter will find his account in depriving our own labourers of their bread, in order to supply our rivals at an easier rate; for example, suppose wheat in England should sell for twenty shillings a quarter, the merchant might export it to France, and afford it to the people of that kingdom for eighteen shillings, because the bounty on exportation would, even at that rate, afford him a considerable advantage.

A great number of merchants having presented petitions from different parts of the kingdom, representing, that the trade to Turkey was greatly decreased, ascribing this diminution to the exclusive charter enjoyed by a monopoly, and praying, that the trade might be laid open to all his majesty's subjects, one of the members for Liverpool moved for leave to bring in a bill for this purpose. Such a measure had been twice before proposed without success; but now it was adopted without opposition. A bill was immediately introduced; and, notwithstanding all the interest and efforts of the Turkey company, who petitioned the house against it, and were heard by their counsel, it passed through both houses, and received the royal sanction. By this regulation any British subject may obtain the freedom of the Turkey company, by paying or tendering a fine of twenty pounds; and all the members are secured from the tyranny of oppressive bye-laws, contrived by any monopolizing cabal. This indulgence, however, and even all the encouragement which the legislature can bestow, will never retrieve the trade of Turkey or the Levant, while the heavy load of taxes disables the manufacturer from affording his commodity so cheap as it can be supplied by our rivals in commerce, who neither groan under such burthens, nor pay such a price for labour. Trade to Turkey laid open.

But this session was chiefly distinguished by an act for naturalizing Jews, and a bill for the better preventing clandestine marriages. The first of these, which passed without much opposition in the house of lords, from whence it Naturalization of the Jews.

* Several other bills were passed: one for regulating the number of public houses, and the more easy conviction of persons selling ale and strong liquors without licence; an act which impowered the justices of peace to tyrannize over their fellow subjects: a second, enabling the magistrates of Edinburgh to improve, enlarge, and adorn the avenues and streets of that city, according to a concerted plan, to be executed by voluntary subscription: a third, allowing the exportation of wool and woollen yarn from Ireland to any port in Great Britain: and a fourth, prescribing the breadth of the wheels belonging to heavy carriages, that the high roads of the kingdom might be the better preserved.

descended

Ann. 1753. descended to the commons, was intituled, "An Act to permit Persons professing the Jewish Religion to be naturalized by Parliament, and for other Purposes therein mentioned." It was supported by some petitions of merchants and manufacturers, who, upon examination, appeared to be Jews, or their dependants; and countenanced by the ministry, who thought they foresaw, in the consequences of such a naturalization, a great accession to the moneyed interest, and a considerable increase of their own influence among the individuals of that community. They boldly affirmed, that such a law would greatly conduce to the advantage of the nation; that it would encourage persons of wealth to remove with their effects from foreign parts into Great Britain, increase the commerce and the credit of the kingdom, and set a laudable example of industry, temperance, and frugality. Such, however, were not the sentiments of the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London in common council assembled, who, in a petition to parliament, expressed their apprehension that the bill, if passed into a law, would tend greatly to the dishonour of the christian religion, endanger the excellent constitution, and be highly prejudicial to the interest and trade of the kingdom in general, and of the city of London in particular. To the same purpose another petition was next day presented to the house, subscribed by merchants and traders of the city of London; who, among other allegations, observed, that the consequences of such a naturalization would greatly affect their trade and commerce with foreign nations, particularly with Spain and Portugal. Counsel was heard, evidence examined, and the bill produced violent debates, in which there seemed to be more passion than patriotism, more declamation than argument.

The adversaries of the bill affirmed, that such a naturalization would deluge the kingdom with brokers, usurers, and beggars; that the rich Jews, under the shadow of this indulgence, would purchase lands, and even advowsons; so as not only to acquire an interest in the legislature, but also to influence the constitution of the church of Christ, to which they were the inveterate and professed enemies: that the lower class of that nation, when thus admitted to the right of denisons, would interfere with the industrious natives, who earn their livelihood by their labour; and by dint of the most parsimonious frugality, to which the English are strangers, work at an under-price; so as not only to share, but even in a manner to exclude them from all employment: that such an adoption of vagrant Jews into the community, from all parts of the world, would rob the real subjects of their birthright, disgrace the character of the nation, expose themselves to the most dishonourable participation and intrusion, endanger the constitution both in church and state, and be an indelible reproach upon the established religion of the country. Some of these orators seemed transported even to a degree of enthusiasm. They prognosticated that the Jews would multiply so much in number, engross such wealth, and acquire so great power and influence in Great Britain, that their persons would be revered, their customs imitated, and Judaism become the fashionable religion of the English. Finally, they affirmed that such an act was directly flying in the face of the prophecy, which declares, that the Jews shall be a scattered people, without country or fixed habitation,

habitation, until they shall be converted from their infidelity, and gathered Ann. 1753. together in the land of their forefathers.

These arguments and apprehensions, which were in reality frivolous and chimerical, being industriously circulated among the vulgar, naturally prejudiced against the Jewish people, excited such a ferment throughout the nation, as ought to have deterred the ministry from the prosecution of such an unpopular measure; which, however, they had courage enough to maintain against all opposition. The bill passed the ordeal of both houses, and his majesty vouchsafed the royal sanction to this law in favour of the Hebrew nation. The truth is, it might have increased the wealth, and extended the commerce of Great Britain, had it been agreeable to the people; and as the naturalized Jews would still have been excluded from all civil and military offices, as well as from other privileges enjoyed by their christian brethren, in all probability, they would have gradually forsaken their own unprofitable and obstinate infidelity, opened their eyes to the shining truths of the gospel, and joined their fellow-subjects in embracing the doctrines of Christianity. But no ministry ought to risk an experiment, how plausible soever it may be, if they find it, as this was, an object of the people's unconquerable aversion. What rendered this unpopular measure the more impolitic, was the unseasonable juncture at which it was carried into execution; that is, at the eve of a general election for a new parliament; when a minister ought carefully to avoid every step which may give umbrage to the body of the people. The earl of Eg—t, who argued against the bill with equal power and vivacity, in describing the effect it might have upon that occasion, "I am amazed, (said he) that this consideration makes no impression.—When that day, which is not far off, shall arrive, I shall not fear to set my foot upon any ground of election in the kingdom, in opposition to any one man among you, or any new Christian who has voted or appeared in favour of this naturalization."

Another bill, transmitted from the upper house, met with a reception Marriage act. equally unfavourable among the commons, though it was sustained on the shoulders of the majority, and thus forced its way to the throne, where it obtained the royal approbation. The practice of solemnizing clandestine marriages, so prejudicial to the peace of families, and so often productive of misery to the parties themselves thus united, was an evil that prevailed to such a degree, as claimed the attention of the legislature. The sons and daughters of great and opulent families, before they had acquired knowledge and experience, or attained to the years of discretion, were every day seduced in their affections, and inveigled into matches big with infamy and ruin; and these were greatly facilitated by the opportunities that occurred of being united instantaneously by the ceremony of marriage, in the first transport of passion, before the destined victim had time to cool or deliberate on the subject. For this pernicious purpose there was a band of profligate miscreants, the refuse of the clergy, dead to every sentiment of virtue, abandoned to all sense of decency and decorum, for the most part prisoners for debt or delinquency, and indeed the very outcasts of human society, who hovered about the verge of the Fleet-prison to intercept customers, plying like porters for employment, and performed the ceremony of marriage without licence or question, in cellars, garrets, or alehouses, to the scandal of religion, and the disgrace of

Ann. 1753. that order which they professed. The ease with which this ecclesiastical sanction was obtained, and the vicious disposition of those wretches, open to the practices of fraud and corruption, were productive of polygamy, indigence, conjugal infidelity, prostitution, and every curse that could imbitter the married state.

A remarkable case of this nature having fallen under the cognizance of the peers, in an appeal from an inferior tribunal, that house ordered the judges to prepare a new bill for preventing such abuses; and one was accordingly framed, under the auspices of lord H——, at that time lord high chancellor of England. In order to anticipate the bad effects of clandestine marriages, this new statute enacted, That the banns should be regularly published, three successive Sundays, in the church of the parish where the parties dwell: That no licence should be granted to marry in any place, where one of the parties has not dwelt at least a month, except a special licence by the archbishop: That if any marriage should be solemnized in any other place than a church, or a chapel, without a special licence, or in a public chapel, without having published the banns, or obtained a licence of some person properly qualified, the marriage should be void, and the person who solemnized it transported for seven years: That marriages, by licence, of parties under age, without consent of parent or guardian, should be null and void, unless the party under age be a widow, and the parent refusing consent a widow married again: That when the consent of a mother or guardian is refused from caprice, or such parent or guardian be non compos mentis, or beyond sea, the minor should have recourse for relief to the court of Chancery: That no suit should be commenced to compel a celebration of marriage, upon pretence of any contract: That all marriages should be solemnized before two witnesses, and an entry be made in a book, kept for that purpose, whether it was by banns or licence, whether either of the parties was under age, or the marriage celebrated with the consent of parent or guardian; and this entry to be signed by the minister, the parties, and the witnesses: That a false licence or certificate, or destroying register-books, should be deemed felony, either in principal or accessory, and punished with death.

The bill, when first considered in the lower house, gave rise to a variety of debates; in which the members appeared to be divided rather according to their real sentiments, than by the rules of any political distinction: for some principal servants of the government freely differed in opinion from the minister, who countenanced the bill; while, on the other hand, he was, on this occasion, supported by certain chiefs of the opposition, and the disputes were maintained with extraordinary eagerness and warmth. The principal objections imported, that such restrictions on marriage would damp the spirit of love and propagation; promote mercenary matches, to the ruin of domestic happiness, as well as to the prejudice of posterity and population; impede the circulation of property, by preserving the wealth of the kingdom among a kind of aristocracy of opulent families, who would always intermarry within their own pale; subject the poor to many inconveniencies, and extraordinary expence, from the nature of the forms to be observed; and throw an additional power into the hands of the chancellor. They affirmed, that no human power had a right to dissolve a vow solemnly made in the sight of heaven: and that, in proportion as the
bill

bill prevented clandestine marriages, it would encourage fornication and debauchery, inasmuch as the parties restrained from indulging their mutual passions in an honourable manner, would be tempted to gratify them by stealth, at the hazard of their reputation. In a word, they foresaw a great number of evils in the train of this bill, which have not yet been realized. On the other side, its advocates endeavoured to refute these arguments, and some of them spoke with great strength and precision. The bill underwent a great number of alterations and amendments, which were not effected without violent contest and altercation. At length, however, it was floated through both houses on the tide of a great majority, and steered into the safe harbour of royal approbation. Ann. 1753.

Certain it is, the abuse of clandestine marriage might have been removed upon much easier terms than those imposed upon the subject by this bill, which, after all, hath been found ineffectual, as it may be easily eluded by a short voyage to the continent, or a moderate journey to North Britain, where the indissoluble knot may be tied without scruple or interruption.

Over and above these new statutes, there were some other subjects which occasionally employed the attention of the commons; such as the state of the British sugar-colonies, which was considered in consequence of petitions presented by the sugar-refiners and grocers of London, Westminster, and Bristol, complaining of the exorbitant price demanded and given for sugars imported from Jamaica; desiring, that the proprietors of land in Jamaica might be obliged to cultivate greater quantities of ground for raising sugar canes, or that they (the petitioners) might have leave to import muscovado sugars from other countries, when the price of those imported from Jamaica should exceed a certain rate. This remonstrance was taken into consideration by a committee of the whole house; and a great number of evidences and papers being examined, they resolved, That the peopling of Jamaica with white inhabitants, and cultivating the lands thereof, would be the most proper measure for securing that island, and increasing the trade and navigation between it and Great Britain, and other parts of his majesty's dominions: That the endeavours hitherto used by the legislature of Jamaica to increase the number of white inhabitants, and enforce the cultivation of lands, in the manner that might best conduce to the security and defence of that island, had not been effectual for these purposes. The house ordered a bill to be founded on these resolutions; but this was postponed, until the ministry should receive more full information touching the true state of that island. Deliberations concerning the sugar colonies.

The planters of Jamaica laboured under many grievances and hardships, from divers heavy impositions and restrictions; and a detail of these was transmitted in a representation to his majesty, which was referred to the consideration of the commissioners of trade and plantations.

The cause of the planters was defended vigorously, and managed in the house of commons by alderman Beckford, a gentleman of vast possessions in the island of Jamaica, who perfectly well understood and strenuously supported the interest of that his native country.

Abortive also proved the attempt to establish a law for keeping an annual register of marriages, births, deaths, the individuals who received alms, and the total number of people in Great Britain. A bill for this purpose was pre- Fate of the register-bill.

Ann. 1753. fented by Mr. Potter, a gentleman of pregnant parts and spirited elocution, who, enumerating the advantages of such a law, observed, that it would ascertain the number of the people, and the collective strength of the nation; consequently point out those places where there is a defect or excess of population, and certainly determine whether a general naturalization would be advantageous or prejudicial to the community; that it would decide what number of men might, on any sudden emergency, be levied for the defence of the kingdom; and whether the nation is gainer or loser by sending its natives to settle, and our troops to defend distant colonies; that it would be the means of establishing a local administration of civil government, or a police upon certain fixed principles, the want of which hath been long a reproach to the nation, a security to vice, and an encouragement to idleness; that in many cases, where all other evidence is wanting, it would enable suitors to recover their right in courts of justice, facilitate an equal and equitable assessment in raising the present taxes, and laying future impositions; specify the lineal descents, relations, and alliances of families; lighten the intolerable burthens incurred, by the public, from innumerable and absurd regulations relating to the poor; provide for them by a more equal exertion of humanity, and effectually screen them from all risque of perishing by hunger, cold, cruelty, and oppression. Whether such a law would have answered the sanguine expectations of its patron, we shall not pretend to determine; though, in our opinion, it must have been attended with very salutary consequences, particularly in restraining the hand of robbery and violence, in detecting fraud, bridling the ferocity of a licentious people, and establishing a happy system of order and subordination. At first the bill met with little opposition, except from Mr. Thornton, member for the city of York, who inveighed against it with great fervour, as a measure that favoured of French policy, to which the English nation ever had the utmost aversion. He affirmed, that the method in which it was proposed this register should be kept, would furnish the enemies of Great Britain with continual opportunities of knowing the strength or weakness of the nation; that it would empower an ill-designing minister to execute any scheme subversive of public liberty, invest parish and petty officers of the peace with exorbitant powers, and cost the nation above fifty thousand pounds a year to carry the scheme into execution. These arguments, which, we apprehend, are extremely frivolous and inconclusive, had great weight with a considerable number, who joined in the opposition, while the ministry stood neutral. Nevertheless, after having undergone some amendments, it was conveyed to the lords, by whom it was, at the second reading, thrown out, as a scheme of a very dangerous tendency. The legislature of Great Britain have, on some occasions, been more startled at the distant shadow of a bare possibility, than at the real approach of the most dangerous innovation.

The parliament purchases the museum of Sir Hans Sloane.

From the usual deliberations on civil and commercial concerns, the attention of the parliament, which had seldom or never turned upon literary avocations, was called off by an extraordinary subject of this nature. Sir Hans Sloane, the celebrated physician and naturalist, well known through all the civilized countries of Europe for his ample collection of rarities, culled from the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, as well as of antiquities and curiosities

curiosities of art, had directed, in his last will, that this valuable museum, together with his numerous library, should be offered to the parliament for the use of the public, in consideration of their paying a certain sum, in compensation, to his heirs. His terms were embraced by the commons, who agreed to pay twenty thousand pounds for the whole, supposed to be worth four times that sum; and a bill was prepared for purchasing this museum, together with the Harleian collection of manuscripts, so denominated from its founder, Robert Harley, earl of Oxford, lord high treasurer of England, and now offered to the public by his daughter the dutchess of Portland. Ann. 1753.

It was proposed, that these purchases should be joined to the famous Cottonian library, and a suitable repository provided for them and the king's library, which had long lain neglected, and exposed to the injuries of the weather in the old dormitory at Westminster. Accordingly trustees and governors, consisting of the most eminent persons of the kingdom, were appointed, and regulations established for the management of this noble museum, which was deposited in Montague-House, one of the most magnificent edifices in England, where it is subjected, without reserve, to the view of the public, under certain necessary restrictions, and exhibits a glorious monument of national taste and liberality*.

In the beginning of June the session of parliament was closed by his majesty, who mentioned nothing particular in his speech, but that the state of foreign affairs had suffered no alteration since their meeting.

The genius of the English people is perhaps incompatible with a state of perfect tranquillity: if it is not ruffled by foreign provocations, or agitated by unpopular measures of domestic administration, it will undergo temporary fermentations from the turbulent ingredients inherent in its own constitution. Tumults are excited, and factions kindled into rage and inveteracy, by incidents of the most frivolous nature. At this juncture the metropolis of England was divided and discomposed, in a surprising manner, by a dispute in itself of so little consequence to the community, that it could not deserve a place in a general history, if it did not serve to convey a characteristic idea of the English nation.

In the beginning of the year an obscure damsel, of low degree, whose name was Elizabeth Canning, promulgated a report, which, in a little time, attracted the attention of the public. She affirmed, that on the first day of the new year, at night, she was seized under Bedlam-wall by two ruffians, who, having stripped her of her upper apparel, secured her mouth with a gag, and threatened to murder her should she make the least noise; that they conveyed her on foot about six miles to a place called Enfield-wash, and brought

Remarkable
story of Elizabeth
Canning.

* The library of Sir Hans Sloane consisted of above fifty thousand volumes, including about three hundred and fifty books of drawings, and three thousand five hundred and sixteen manuscripts, besides a multitude of prints. The museum comprehended an infinite number of medals, coins, urns, utensils, seals, cameos, intaglios, precious stones, vessels of agate and jasper, chrystals, spars, fossils, metals, minerals, ores, earths, sands, salts, bi-

tumens, sulphurs, amber, ambergrise, talcs, miræ, testacea, corals, sponges, echini, echinities, asteriæ, trochi, crustatia, stellæ marinæ, fishes, birds, eggs, and nests, vipers, serpents, quadrupeds, insects, human calculi, anatomical preparations, seeds, gums, roots, dried plants, pictures, drawings, and mathematical instruments. All these articles, with a short account of each, are specified in thirty-eight volumes in folio, and eight in quarto.

her

Ann. 1753. her to the house of one Mrs. Wells, where she was pillaged of her stays; and, because she refused to turn prostitute, confined in a cold, damp, separate, and unfurnished apartment; that there she remained a whole month, without any other sustenance than a few stale crusts of bread, and about a gallon of water; till at length she forced her way through a window, and ran home to her mother's house, almost naked, in the night of the twenty-ninth of January.

This story, improbable and unsupported, operated so strongly on the passions of the people in the neighbourhood of Aldermanbury, where Canning's mother lived, and particularly among fanatics of all denominations, that they raised voluntary contributions with surprising eagerness, in order to bring the supposed delinquents to justice. Warrants were granted for apprehending Wells, who kept the house at Enfield-wash, and her accomplices, the servant-maid, whose name was Virtue Hall, and one Squires, an old gipsy-woman, which last was charged by Canning with having robbed her of her stays. Wells, though acquitted of the felony, was punished as a bawd. Hall turned evidence for Canning, but afterwards recanted. Squires, the gipsy, was convicted of the robbery, although she produced undoubted evidence to prove that she was at Abbotsbury in Dorsetshire that very night in which the felony was said to be committed, and Canning and her friends fell into divers contradictions during the course of the trial. By this time the prepossession of the common people in her favour had risen to such a pitch of enthusiasm, that the most palpable truths, which appeared on the other side, had no other effect than that of exasperating them to the most dangerous degree of rage and revenge. Some of the witnesses for Squires, though persons of unblemished character, were so intimidated that they durst not enter the court; and those who had resolution enough to give evidence in her behalf, ran the risque of assassination from the vulgar that surrounded the place. On this occasion Sir Crispe Gascoyne, lord-mayor of London, behaved with that laudable courage and humanity which ought ever to distinguish the chief magistrate of such a metropolis. Considering the improbability of the charge, the heat, partiality, and blind enthusiasm with which it was prosecuted, and being convinced of the old woman's innocence by a great number of affidavits, voluntarily sent up from the country by persons of unquestionable credit, he, in conjunction with some other worthy citizens, resolved to oppose the torrent of vulgar prejudice. Application was made to the throne for mercy: the case was referred to the attorney and solicitor-general, who, having examined the evidences on both sides, made their report in favour of Squires to the king and council; and this poor old creature was indulged with his majesty's pardon.

This affair was now swelled up into such a faction as divided the greater part of the kingdom, including the rich as well as the poor, the high as well as the humble. Pamphlets and pasquinades were published on both sides of the dispute, which became the general topic of conversation in all assemblies, and people of all ranks espoused one or other party with as much warmth and animosity as had ever inflamed the Whigs and Tories, even at the most rancorous period of their opposition. Subscriptions were opened, and large sums levied, on one side, to prosecute for perjury the persons on whose evidence the pardon had been granted. On the other hand, those who had interested themselves for the gipsy, resolved to support her witnesses, and, if possible, detect the imposture of Canning. Bills of perjury were preferred on both sides.

The evidences for Squires were tried and acquitted: at first Canning absconded; but afterwards surrendered to take her trial; and being, after a long hearing, found guilty, was transported to the British colonies. The zeal of her friends, however, seemed to be inflamed by her conviction; and those who carried on the prosecution against her, were insulted, even to the danger of their lives. They supplied her with necessaries of all sorts, payed for her transportation in a private ship, where she enjoyed all the comforts and conveniences that could be afforded in that situation, and furnished her with such recommendations as secured to her a very agreeable reception in New England. Ann. 1753

Next to this very remarkable transaction, the incident that principally distinguished this year in England, was the execution of Dr. Archibald Cameron, a native of North Britain, and brother to Cameron of Lochiel, chief of that numerous and warlike tribe, who had taken the field with the prince pretender. After the battle of Culloden, where he was dangerously wounded, he found means to escape to the continent. His brother, the doctor, had accompanied him in all his expeditions, though not in a military capacity, and was included with him in the act of attainder passed against those who had been concerned in the rebellion. Notwithstanding the imminent danger attending such an attempt, he, the doctor, returned privately to Scotland, in order (as it was reported) to recover a sum of money belonging to the Pretender, which had been embezzled by his adherents in that country. Whatever may have been his inducement to revisit his native country under such a predicament, certain it is, he was discovered, apprehended, conducted to London, confined in the Tower, examined by the privy council, and produced in the court of King's Bench; where his identity being proved by several witnesses, he received sentence of death, and was executed at Tyburn. The terror and resentment of the people, occasioned by the rebellion, having by this time subsided, their humane passions did not fail to operate in favour of this unfortunate gentleman: their pity was mingled with esteem, arising from his personal character, which was altogether unblemished, and his deportment on this occasion, which they could not help admiring as the standard of manly fortitude and decorum. The populace, though not very subject to tender emotions, were moved to compassion, and even to tears, by his behaviour at the place of execution; and many sincere well-wishers to the present establishment thought that the sacrifice of this victim, at such a juncture, could not redound either to its honour or security. Execution of Dr. Cameron.

The turbulent spirit, which is never totally extinguished in this island, manifested itself in sundry tumults that broke out in different parts of South Britain. The price of provision, and bread in particular, being raised to an exorbitant rate, in consequence of an absurd exportation of corn, for the sake of the bounty, a formidable body of colliers and other labouring people raised an insurrection at Bristol, began to plunder the corn-vessels in the harbour, and commit such outrages in the city, that the magistrates were obliged to have recourse to the military power. A troop of dragoons were sent to their assistance, and the insurgents were quelled, though not without some bloodshed. Commotions of the same kind were excited in Yorkshire, Manchester, and several other places in the northern counties. At Leeds, a detachment of the king's troops were obliged in their own defence to fire upon the rioters, eight or nine of whom were killed upon the spot; and indeed so little care had been taken Tumults in different parts of the kingdom.

Ann. 1753. taken to restrain the licentious insolence of the vulgar by proper laws and regulations, duly executed under the eye of civil magistracy, that a military power was found absolutely necessary to maintain the peace of the kingdom.

Disturbances
in France,
occasioned by
the bull Uni-
genitus.

The tranquillity of the continent was not endangered by any new contest or disturbance: yet the breach between the clergy and parliament of Paris was every day more and more widened, and the people were pretty equally divided between superstition and a regard for civil liberty. The parliament having caused divers ecclesiastics to be apprehended for having refused to administer the sacraments to persons in extremity, who refused to subscribe to the bull Unigenitus; all of them declared they acted according to the direction of the archbishop of Paris. Application being made to this haughty prelate, he treated the deputies of the parliament with the most supercilious contempt, and even seemed to brave the power and authority of that body. They, on the other hand, proceeded to take cognizance of the recusant clergy, until their sovereign ordered them to desist. Then they presented remonstrances to his majesty, reminding him of their privileges and the duty of their station, which obliged them to do justice on all delinquents.

In the mean time they continued to perform their functions, and even commenced a prosecution against the bishop of Orleans, whom they summoned to attend their tribunal. Next day they received from Versailles a letter de cachet, accompanied by letters patent, commanding them to suspend all prosecutions relating to the refusal of the sacraments; and ordering the letters patent to be registered. Instead of obeying these commands, they presented new remonstrances, for answers to which they were referred to the king's former declarations. In consequence of this intimation, they had spirit enough to resolve, "That whereas certain evil-minded persons had prevented truth from reaching the throne, the chambers remained assembled, and all other business should be suspended." The affair was now become very serious. His majesty, by fresh letters patent, renewed his orders, and commanded them to proceed with their ordinary business, on pain of incurring his displeasure. They forthwith came to another resolution, importing, that they could not obey this injunction without a breach of their duty and their oath. Next day letters de cachet were issued, banishing to different parts of the kingdom all the members except those of the great chamber, which the court did not find more tractable than their brethren. They forthwith resolved to abide by the two resolutions mentioned above; and, as an instance of their unshaken fortitude, ordered an ecclesiastic to be taken into custody for refusing the sacraments. This spirited measure involved them in the fate of the rest; for they were also exiled from Paris, the citizens of which did not fail to extol their conduct with the loudest encomiums, and at the same time to express their resentment against the clergy, who could not stir abroad without being exposed to violence or insult. The example of the parliament of Paris was followed by that of Rouen, which had courage enough to issue orders for apprehending the bishop of Evreux, because he had refused to appear when summoned to their tribunal. Their decrees on this occasion being annulled by the king's council of state, they presented a bold remonstrance; which, however, had no other effect than that of exasperating the ministry. A grand deputation being ordered to attend the king, they were commanded to desist from inter-
meddling

meddling in disputes relating to the refusal of the sacraments, and to register this injunction. At their return they had recourse to a new remonstrance; and one of their principal counsellors, who had spoken freely in the debates on this subject, was arrested by a party of dragoons, who carried him prisoner to the castle of Dourlens. In a word, the body of the people declared for the parliament, in opposition to ecclesiastical tyranny; and had they not been overawed by a formidable standing army, would certainly have taken up arms in defence of their liberties; while the monarch weakly suffered himself to be governed by priestly delusions; and, secure in his military appointments, seemed to set the rest of his subjects at defiance. Apprehensive, however, that these disputes would put an entire stop to the administration of justice, he, by letters patent, established a royal chamber for the prosecution of suits civil and criminal, which was opened with a solemn mass performed in the queen's chapel at the Louvre, where all the members assisted. On this occasion another difficulty occurred. The letters patent constituting this new court ought to have been registered by the parliament, which was now no more. To remedy this defect, application was made to the inferior court of the Chatelet; which refusing to register them, one of its members was committed to the Bastille, and another absconded. Intimidated by this exertion of despotic power, they allowed the king's officers to enter the letters in their register; but afterwards adopted more vigorous resolutions. The lieutenant civil appearing in their court, all the counsellors rose up and retired, leaving him alone, and on the table an arret, importing, That whereas the confinement of one of their members, the persecution of another, who durst not appear, and the present calamities of the nation, gave them just apprehension for their own persons, they had, after mature deliberation, thought proper to retire. Thus a dangerous ferment was excited by the king's espousing the cause of spiritual insolence and oppression against the general voice of his people, and the plainest dictates of reason and common sense.

The property of East Friesland continued still to be the source of contention between the electors of Brandenburg and Hanover. The interests of his Britannic majesty being powerfully supported by the house of Austria, the minister of that power at the diet proposed that the affair should be taken into immediate consideration. He was seconded by the minister of Brunswic; but the envoy from Brandenburg having protested in form against this procedure, withdrew from the assembly, and the Brunswic minister made a counter protestation, after which he also retired. Then a motion being made that this dispute should be referred to the decision of the Aulic council at Vienna, it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of fourteen voices. His Prussian majesty's final declaration, with regard to this affair, was afterwards presented to the diet, and answered in the sequel by a memorial from his Britannic majesty as elector of Hanover. Some other petty disputes likewise happened between the regency of Hanover and the city of Munster; and the former claiming some bailiwicks in the territories of Bremen, sequestered certain revenues belonging to this city, in Stade and Ferden, until these claims should be satisfied.

Proceedings
of the diet of
the empire
relating to
East Fries-
land.

Ann. 1753.

Extraordinary treaty between the court of Vienna and the duke of Modena.

The court of Vienna having dropped for the present the scheme of electing a king of the Romans, concluded a very extraordinary treaty with the duke of Modena, stipulating, that his serene highness should be appointed perpetual governor of the dutchy of Milan, with a salary of ninety thousand florins, on condition that he should maintain a body of four thousand men to be at the disposal of the Empress-queen; that her Imperial majesty should have a right to place garrisons in the citadels of Mirandola and Reggio, as well as in the castle of Massa-Carrara: that the archduke Peter Leopold, third son of their Imperial majesties, should espouse the daughter of the hereditary prince of Modena by the heiress of Massa-Carrara; and, in case of her dying without heirs male, the estates of that house and the dutchy of Mirandola should devolve to the archduke; but in case of her having male issue, that she should enjoy the principality of Fermia and other possessions in Hungary, claimed by the duke of Modena, for her fortune; finally, that on the extinction of the male branch of the house of Este, all the dominions of the duke of Modena should devolve to the house of Austria.

Conferences with respect to Nova Scotia broke up.

While the powers on the continent of Europe were thus employed in strengthening their respective interests, and concerting measures for preventing any interruption of the general tranquillity, matters were fast ripening to a fresh rupture between the subjects of Great Britain and France, in different parts of North America. We have already observed that commissaries had been appointed and conferences opened at Paris, to determine the disputes between the two crowns relating to the boundaries of Nova Scotia; and we took notice in general of the little arts of evasion practised by the French commissaries to darken and perplex the dispute, and elude the pretensions of his Britannic majesty. They persisted in employing these arts of chicanery and cavil with such perseverance, that the negotiation proved abortive, the conferences broke up, and every thing seemed to portend approaching hostilities. But before we proceed to a detail of the incidents which were the immediate forerunners of the war, we will endeavour to convey a just idea of the dispute concerning Nova Scotia; which, we apprehend, is but imperfectly understood, though of the utmost importance to the interest of Great Britain.

Description of Nova Scotia.

Nova Scotia, called by the French Acadie, lies between the forty-fourth and fiftieth degrees of north latitude, having New England and the Atlantic ocean to the south and south-west, and the river and gulph of St. Laurence to the north and north-east. The winter, which continues near seven months in this country, is intensely cold; and, without the intervention of any thing that can be called spring, it is immediately succeeded by a summer, the heat of which is almost insupportable, but of no long continuance. The soil, in general, is thin and barren, though some parts of it are said to be equal to the best land in England. The whole country is covered with a perpetual fog, even after the summer has commenced. It was first possessed by the French, before they made any establishment in Canada; and they, by dint of industry and indefatigable perseverance, in struggling with the many difficulties they necessarily laboured under in the infancy of this settlement, subsisted tolerably well, and increased considerably, with very little assistance from Europe; whilst we, even now, should lose the immense expence we have already been at to settle a colony there, and should see all our endeavours to that

that end defeated, if the support of the royal hand was withdrawn but for a moment. Ann. 1753.

This country, by the possession of which an enemy would be enabled greatly to annoy all our other colonies, and, if in the hands of the French, would be of singular service both to their fishery and their sugar-islands, has frequently changed hands from the French to the English, and from the English back again to the French; until our right to it was finally settled by the twelfth article of the treaty of Utrecht, by which all the country included within the antient limits of what was called Nova Scotia, or Acadia, was ceded to the English. This article was confirmed by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; but for want of ascertaining distinctly what were the bounds intended to be fixed by the two nations, with respect to this province, disputes arose, and commissaries, as we have observed, were appointed by both sides to adjust the litigation.

The commissaries of the king of Great Britain conformed themselves to the rule laid down by the treaty itself, and assigned those as the ancient limits of this country which had always passed as such, from the very earliest times of any certainty down to the conclusion of the treaty; which the two crowns had frequently declared to be such, and which the French had often admitted and allowed. These limits are, the southern bank of the river St. Laurence to the north, and Pentagoet to the west: the country situated between these boundaries, is that which the French received by the treaty of St. Germain's, in the year one thousand six hundred and thirty-two, under the general name of Acadia. Of this country, thus limited, they continued in possession from that period to the year one thousand six hundred and fifty-four, when a descent was made upon it under the command of colonel Sedgwick. That these were then the undisputed limits of Acadia, his Britannic majesty's commissaries plainly proved, by a letter of Lewis XIII. to the sieurs Charnifay and La Tour, regulating their jurisdictions in Acadia; by the subsequent commissions of the French king to the same persons, as governors of Acadia, in the sequel; and by that which was afterwards granted to the sieur Denys, in the year one thousand six hundred and fifty four; all of which extend the bounds of this country from the river St. Laurence to Pentagoet and New England. That these were the notions of the French, with respect to the ancient limits of this province, was farther confirmed by the demand made by their ambassador, in the course of that same year, for the restitution of the forts Pentagoet, St. John's, and Port-Royal, as forts situated in Acadia.

Short view of
the dispute
concerning
the limits of
Nova Scotia.

In the year one thousand six hundred and sixty-two, upon the revival of the claim of France to the country of Acadia, which had been left undecided by the treaty of Westminster, the French ambassador, then at the court of London, assigned Pentagoet as the western, and the river St. Laurence as the northern boundary of that country; and alledged the restitution of Acadia in the year one thousand six hundred and thirty-two, and the possession taken by France in consequence thereof, as well as the continuation of that possession, with the same limits, to the year one thousand six hundred and fifty-four, as proofs of the equity and validity of the claim he then made: in which claim, and in the manner of supporting it, he was particularly

Ann. 1753. approved of by the court of France. The same court afterwards thought it so clear, upon former determinations, and her own former possessions, that the true antient boundaries of Acadia were Pentagoet to the west, and the river St. Laurence to the north, that she desired no specification of limits in the treaty of Breda, but was contented with the restitution of Acadia, generally named: and, upon a dispute, which arose in the execution of this treaty, France reasserted, and Great Britain, after some discussion, agreed to the above-mentioned limits of Acadia; and France obtained possession of that country, so bounded, under the treaty of Breda.

The sense of France upon this subject, in the years one thousand six hundred and eighty-five, and one thousand six hundred and eighty-seven, was also clearly manifested, in the memorials delivered at that time by the French ambassador at the court of London, complaining of some encroachments made by the English upon the coast of Acadia: he described the country as extending from isle Perçee, which lies at the entrance of the river of St. Laurence, to St. George's island: and again, in a subsequent complaint, made by Mons. Barillon and Mons. de Bonrepaus, to the court of Great Britain, against the judge of Pemaquid, for having seized the effects of a French merchant at Pentagoet, which, said they, was situated in Acadia, as restored to France by the treaty of Breda.

To explain the sense of France, touching the bounds of Acadia in the year one thousand seven hundred, the British commissaries produced a proposal of the French ambassador, then residing in Great Britain, to restrain the limits of that country to the river St. George. They also instanced the surrender of Port-Royal in the year one thousand seven hundred and ten, in which Acadia is described with the same limits with which France had received it in the years one thousand six hundred and thirty-two, and one thousand six hundred and sixty-seven. And further, to ascertain the sense of both crowns, even at the treaty of Utrecht itself, they produced the queen of Great Britain's instructions to her ambassadors, in the year one thousand seven hundred and eleven, in which they were directed to insist, "That his most Christian majesty should quit all claim or title, by virtue of any former treaty, or otherwise, to the country called Nova Scotia, and expressly to Port-Royal, otherwise Annapolis Royal." To these they added a manifest demonstration, founded on indisputable facts, proving, that the recital of the several sorts of right which France had ever pretended to this country, and the specification of both terms, Acadia, or Nova Scotia, were intended by Great Britain to obviate all doubts which had ever been made concerning the limits of Acadia, and to comprehend, with more certainty, all that country which France had ever received as such: finally, to specify what France considered as Acadia, during the treaty, they referred to the offers of that crown in the year one thousand seven hundred and twelve, in which she proposed to restrain the boundary of Acadia to the river St. George, as a departure from its real boundary, in case Great Britain would restore to her the possession of that country.

From all these facts it plainly appears, that Great Britain demanded nothing but what the fair construction of the words of the treaty of Utrecht necessarily implies; and that it is impossible for any thing to have more evident marks of candour

candour and fairness in it, than the demand of the English on this occasion. From the variety of evidence brought in support of this claim, it evidently results, that the English commissaries assigned no limits as the antient limits of Acadia, but those which France herself determined to be such in the year one thousand six hundred and thirty-two; and which she possessed, in consequence of that determination, till the year one thousand six hundred and fifty-four: that in one thousand six hundred and sixty-two France claimed, and received in one thousand six hundred and sixty nine, the country which Great Britain now claims as Acadia, restored to France by the treaty of Breda under that general denomination: that France never considered Acadia as having any other limits than those which were assigned to it from the year one thousand six hundred and thirty-two, to the year one thousand seven hundred and ten; and that, by the treaty of Utrecht, she engaged to transfer that very same country, as Acadia, which France has always asserted and possessed, and Great Britain now claims, as such.

Should the crown of France, therefore, be ever willing to decide what are the antient limits of Acadia, by her own declarations so frequently made in like discussions upon the same point, by her possessions of this country for almost a century, and by her description of Acadia, during the negotiation of that very treaty upon which this doubt is raised, she cannot but admit the claim of Great Britain to be conformable to the treaty of Utrecht, and to the description of the country transferred to Great Britain by the twelfth article of that treaty. There is a consistency in the claim of the English, and a completeness in the evidence brought in support of it, which is seldom seen in discussions of this sort; for it rarely happens, in disputes of such a nature between two crowns, that either of them can safely offer to have its pretensions decided by the known and repeated declarations, or the possessions of the other.

To answer the force of this detail of conclusive historical facts, and to give a new turn to the real question in dispute, the French commissaries, in their memorial, laid it down, as a distinction made by the treaty of Utrecht, that the antient limits of Acadia, referred to by that treaty, are different from any with which that country may have passed under the treaties of St. Germain's and Breda; and then endeavoured to shew, upon the testimonies of maps and historians, that Acadia and its limits were antiently confined to the southeastern part of the peninsula. In support of this system, the French commissaries had recourse to antient maps and historians, who, as they asserted, had ever confined Acadia to the limits they assigned. They alledged, that those commissions of the French government over Acadia, which the English cited as evidences of the limits they claimed, were given as commissions over Acadia and the country around it, and not over Acadia only: that the whole of the country claimed by the English, as Acadia, could not possibly be supposed ever to have been considered as such, because many parts of that territory always did, and still do, preserve particular and distinct names. They affirmed New France to be a province in itself; and argued, that many parts of what we claim as Acadia, can never have been in Acadia, because historians and the French commissions of government expressly place them in New France. They asserted, that no evidence can be drawn of the opinion of any crown, with respect to the limits of any country, from
its

Ann. 1753.

Ann. 1753. its declaration during the negotiation of a treaty; and, in the end, relying upon maps and historians for their antient limits of Acadia, they pretended that the express restitution of St. Germain's, and the possession taken by France in consequence of the treaty of Breda, after a long discussion of the limits, and the declaration of France during the negociation of the treaty of Utrecht, were foreign to the point in question.

In refutation of these maxims, the English commissaries proved, from an examination of the maps and historians cited by the French in support of their system, that if this question was to be decided upon the authorities which they themselves allowed to belong, and to be applicable, to this discussion, the limits which they assigned were utterly inconsistent with the best maps of all countries, which are authorities in point for almost every part of the claim of Great Britain. They shewed, that the French historians Champlain and Denys, and particularly this last, with his commission, in the year one thousand six hundred and fifty-five, assigned the same northern and western limits to Acadia which they did; and that Escarbot, another of their historians, as far as any evidence can be drawn from his writings, agrees entirely with the former two. They observed, that all these evidences fall in with and confirm the better authorities of treaties, and the several transactions between the two crowns for near a century past; and that the French commissaries, by deviating from treaties, and the late proceedings of the two crowns, to antient historians and maps, only made a transition from an authentic to an insufficient sort of evidence; and led the English commissaries into an inquiry, which proved, that both the proper and the improper, the regular and the foreign evidence, upon which this matter had been rested, equally confuted the limits alledged by the French commissaries as the antient limits of Acadia.

Ambitious
schemes of the
French in
North Ame-
rica.

While the British ministry depended upon the success of the conferences between the commissaries of the two crowns at Paris, the French were actually employed in executing their plans of encroachment upon the British colonies in North America. Their scheme was to ingross the whole fur-trade of that continent; and they had already made great progress in extending a chain of forts, connecting their settlements on the river Mississippi with their possessions in Canada, along the great lakes of Erie and Ontario, which last issues in the river of St. Laurence. By these means they hoped to exclude the English from all communication and traffic with the Indian nations, even those that lay contiguous to the British settlements, and confine them within a line of their drawing, beyond which they should neither extend their trade nor plantations. Their commercial spirit did not keep pace with the gigantic strides of their ambition: they could not supply all those Indians with the necessaries they wanted, so that many of the natives had recourse to the English settlements; and this commerce produced a connection, in consequence of which the British adventurers ventured to travel with merchandize as far as the banks of the river Ohio, that runs into the Mississippi, a great way on the other side of the Apalachean mountains, beyond which none of our colonists had attempted to penetrate.

The tract of country lying along the Ohio is so fertile, pleasant, and inviting, and the Indians, called Twightees, who inhabit those delightful plains, were so well disposed towards a close alliance with the English, that, as far back as the

the year one thousand seven hundred and sixteen, Mr. Spotswood, governor of Virginia, proposed a plan for erecting a company to settle such lands upon this river as should be ceded to them by treaty with the natives; but the design was at that time frustrated, partly by the indolence and timidity of the British ministry, who were afraid of giving umbrage to the French, and partly by the jealousies and divisions subsisting between the different colonies of Great Britain. The very same circumstances encouraged the French to proceed in their project of invasion. At length, they penetrated from the banks of the river St. Laurence, across the lake Champlain, and upon the territory of New York, built with impunity, and, indeed, without opposition, the fort of Crown-Point, the most insolent and dangerous encroachment that they had hitherto carried into execution. Ann. 1753.

Governor Spotswood's scheme for an Ohio company was revived immediately after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, when certain merchants of London, who traded to Maryland and Virginia, petitioned the government on this subject, and were indulged not only with a grant of a great tract of ground to the southward of Pennsylvania, which they promised to settle; but also with an exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians on the banks of the river Ohio. This design no sooner transpired, than the French governor of Canada took the alarm, and wrote letters to the governors of New York and Pennsylvania, giving them to understand, that as the English inland traders had encroached on the French territories and privileges by trading with the Indians under the protection of his sovereign, he would seize them wherever they could be found, if they did not immediately desist from that illicit practice. No regard being paid to this intimation, he next year caused three British traders to be arrested. Their effects were confiscated, and they themselves conveyed to Quebec, from whence they were sent prisoners to Rochelle in France, and there detained in confinement. In this situation they presented a remonstrance to the earl of Albemarle, at that time English ambassador in Paris, and he reclaiming them as British subjects, they were set at liberty. Although, in answer to his lordship's memorial, the court of Versailles promised to transmit orders to the French governors in America to use all their endeavours for preventing any disputes that might have a tendency to alter the good correspondence established between the two nations; in all probability, the directions given were seemingly the very reverse of these professions: for the French commanders, partisans, and agents in America, took every step their busy genius could suggest, to strengthen their own power, and weaken the influence of the English, by embroiling them with the Indian nations. This task they found the more easy, as the natives had taken offence against the English, when they understood that their lands were given away without their knowledge, and that there was a design to build forts in their country, without their consent and concurrence. Indeed the person whom the new company employed to survey the banks of the Ohio, concealed his design so carefully, and behaved in other respects in such a dark mysterious manner, as could not fail to arouse the jealousy of a people naturally inquisitive, and very much addicted to suspicion. How the company proposed to settle this acquisition in despite of the native possessors, it is not easy to conceive: and it is still more unaccountable that they should have neglected the natives,

Rise and conduct of the Ohio company.

Ann. 1753. natives, whose consent and assistance they might have procured at a very small expence. Instead of acting such a fair, open, and honourable part, they sent one Mr. Gist to make a clandestine survey of the country, as far as the falls of the river Ohio; and, as we have observed above, his conduct alarmed both the French and Indians. The erection of this company was equally disagreeable to the separate traders of Virginia and Pennsylvania, who saw themselves on the eve of being deprived of a valuable branch of traffic, by the exclusive charter of a monopoly; and therefore they employed their emissaries to foment the jealousy of the Indians.

Letter from
the governor
of Virginia
to the French
commander at
fort Sur la
Riviere au
Beuf.

The French having in a manner commenced hostilities against the English, and actually built forts on the territories of the British allies at Niagara, and on the lake Erie, Mr. Hamilton, governor of Pennsylvania, communicated this intelligence to the assembly of the province, and represented the necessity of erecting truck-houses, or places of strength and security, on the river Ohio, to which the traders might retire in case of insult or molestation. The proposal was approved, and money granted for the purpose; but the assembly could not agree about the manner in which they should be erected; and in the mean time the French fortified themselves at leisure, and continued to harass the traders belonging to the British settlements. Repeated complaints of these encroachments and depredations being represented to Mr. Dinwiddie, governor of Virginia, he, towards the latter end of this very year, sent major Washington with a letter to the commanding officer of a fort which the French had built on the Riviere au Beuf, which falls into the Ohio, not far from the lake Erie. In this letter Mr. Dinwiddie expressed his surprize that the French should build forts and make settlements on the river Ohio, in the western part of the colony of Virginia, belonging to the crown of Great Britain. He complained of these encroachments, as well as of the injuries done to the subjects of Great Britain, in open violation of the law of nations, and of the treaties actually subsisting between the two crowns. He desired to know by whose authority and instructions his Britannic majesty's territories had been invaded; and required him to depart in peace without further prosecuting a plan, which must interrupt the harmony and good understanding which his majesty was desirous to continue and cultivate with the most Christian king.

To this spirited intimation the officer replied, That it was not his province to specify the evidence, and demonstrate the right of the king his master to the lands situated on the river Ohio; but he would transmit the letter to the marquis du Quesne, and act according to the answer he should receive from that nobleman. In the mean time, he said he did not think himself obliged to obey the summons of the English governor; that he commanded the fort by virtue of an order from his general, to which he was determined to conform with all the precision and resolution of a good officer.

Mr. Dinwiddie expected no other reply, and therefore had projected a fort to be erected near the forks of the river. The province undertook to defray the expence, and the stores for that purpose were already provided; but, by some fatal oversight, the concurrence of the Indians was neither obtained nor solicited, and therefore they looked upon this measure with an evil eye, as a manifest invasion of their property.

While the French thus industriously extended their encroachments to the southward, they were not idle in the gulph of St. Laurence; but seized every opportunity of distressing the English settlement of Nova Scotia. We have already observed, that the town of Halifax was no sooner built, than they spirited up the Indians of that neighbourhood to commit hostilities against the inhabitants, some of whom they murdered, and others they carried prisoners to Louisbourg, where they sold them for arms and ammunition; the French pretending that they maintained this traffic from motives of pure compassion, in order to prevent the massacre of the English captives, whom, however, they did not set at liberty, without exacting an exorbitant ransom. As these sculking parties of Indians were generally directed and headed by French commanders, repeated complaints were made to the governor of Louisbourg, who still answered that his jurisdiction did not extend over the Indians, and that their French conductors were chosen from the inhabitants of Annapolis, who thought proper to remain in that country after it was ceded to the English, and were in fact the subjects of Great Britain. Even while the conferences were carried on for ascertaining the limits of Nova Scotia, the governor of Canada detached M. La Corne with some regular troops and a body of militia to fortify a post on the bay of Chignecto, on pretence that this and a great part of the peninsula belonged to his government. The possession of this post not only secured to the Indians of the continent a free entrance into the peninsula, and a safe retreat in case of pursuit; but also encouraged the French inhabitants of Annapolis to rise in open rebellion against the English government.

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Perfidious
practices of
the French
in Nova Scotia.

In the spring of the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty, general Cornwallis, governor of Halifax, detached major Laurence with a few men to reduce them to obedience. At his approach they burned their town to ashes, forsook their possessions, and threw themselves under the protection of M. La Corne, who, thus reinforced, found himself at the head of fifteen hundred men, well provided with arms and ammunition. Major Laurence, being unable to cope with him in the field, demanded an interview, at which he desired to know for what cause the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia had shaken off their allegiance to the crown of Great Britain, and violated the neutrality which they had hitherto affected to profess. The French officer, without pretending to account for their behaviour, gave him to understand in general terms, that he had orders to defend his post, and these orders he was determined to obey. The English major, finding himself too weak to attack their united force, and having no orders to commit hostilities against any but the Indians and their open abettors, returned to Halifax without having been able to fulfil the purpose of his expedition. Immediately after his retreat, the French neutrals (so they were called) returned to the habitations which they had abandoned; and, in conjunction with the Indians, renewed their depredations upon the inhabitants of Halifax and its dependent settlements. The English governor, justly incensed at these outrages, and seeing they would neither submit to the English government themselves, nor allow others to enjoy it with tranquillity, resolved to expel them effectually from the country they so ill deserved to possess. Major Laurence was again detached with a thousand men, transported by sea, to Chignecto, where he found the French and Indians intrenched,

Major Laurence
defeats
the French
neutrals.

Ann. 1753. intrenched, in order to dispute his landing. Notwithstanding this opposition, he made a descent with a few companies, received and returned a smart fire, and, rushing into their entrenchments, obliged them to fly with the utmost precipitation, leaving a considerable number killed and wounded on the spot. The fugitives saved themselves by crossing a river, on the further bank of which La Corne stood at the head of his troops, drawn up in order to receive them as friends and dependants. He had by this time erected a fort, which he denominated Beau Sejour; and now the English built another on the opposite side of the river, which was called after its founder St. Laurence. This being provided with a good garrison, served as a check upon the French, and in some measure restrained the incursions of their barbarians. Not that it effectually answered this purpose; for the Indians and neutrals still seized every opportunity of attacking the English in the interior parts of the peninsula. In the course of the succeeding year they surprized the little town of Dartmouth on the other side of Halifax-bay, where they killed and scalped a good number of people, and carried off some prisoners.

The little town of Dartmouth burned by the Indians.

For these expeditions the French always supplied them with boats, canoes, arms, and ammunition; and indeed they were conducted with such care and secrecy, that it was almost impossible to prevent their success. One sure remedy against the sudden and stolen incursions of those savages might have been found in the use of staunch hounds, which would have run upon the foot, detected the sculking parties of the Indians, and frustrated all their ambuscades: but this expedient, so easy and practicable, was never tried, though frequently recommended in public to the attention of the government, and the consideration of the colonists. The Indians continued to plunder and massacre the British subjects with impunity, and were countenanced by the French government in that country, who now strengthened their lodgment on the neck of the peninsula with an additional fort, distinguished by the name of Baye-verte; and built a third at the mouth of St. John's river, on the north side of the bay of Fundy.

The British ambassador at Paris amused with general promises.

All these previous steps to a rupture with England were taken with great deliberation, while the commissaries of both nations were disputing about the limits of the very country which they thus arrogantly usurped; and they proceeded to perfect their chain of forts to the southward, without paying the least regard to the expostulations of the English governors, or to a memorial presented at Versailles by the earl of Albemarle, the British minister. He demanded, that express orders should be sent to M. De la Jonquiere, the commander for the French in America, to desist from violence against the British subjects in that country: that the fort of Niagara should be immediately razed: that the subjects of Great Britain, who had been made prisoners, should be set at liberty, and indemnified for the losses they had sustained: and that the persons who had committed these excesses, should be punished in an exemplary manner. True it is, six Englishmen, whom they had unjustly taken, were immediately dismissed; and the ambassador was amused with general promises of sending such instructions to the French governor in America, as should anticipate any cause of complaint for the future: but, far from having any intention to perform these promises, the court of Versailles, without all doubt, ex-
horted

horted La Jonquiere to proceed, in bringing its ambitious schemes to perfection. Ann. 1753.

Every incident in America seemed to prognosticate war, when the session of parliament was opened on the fifteenth day of November: yet his majesty, on this occasion, told them, That the events of the year had not made it necessary for him to offer any thing in particular to their consideration, relating to foreign affairs. He even declared, That the continuance of the public tranquillity, and the general state of Europe, remained upon the same footing as when they last parted; and assured them of his steadiness in pursuing the most effectual measures to preserve to his people the blessings of peace. He expressed uncommon concern that the horrid crimes of robbery and murder were of late rather increased than diminished, and earnestly recommended this important object to their serious attention.

Affectionate addresses were presented by both houses in answer to this harangue; and, what was very remarkable, they were proposed and passed without question or debate.

The commons continued the same number of seamen and land forces for the ensuing year which had been granted in the last session, and made suitable provision for all the exigencies of the state. The whole supply amounted to two millions seven hundred ninety-seven thousand nine hundred and sixteen pounds ten shillings and two pence, to be raised by a land-tax of two shillings in the pound, malt-tax, a continuation of certain duties on wine, vinegar, cyder, and beer imported, a sum taken from the sinking fund, and the overplus of certain grants, funds, and duties. The provisions made considerably exceeded the grants; but this excess was chargeable with the interest of what should be borrowed upon the credit of the land or malt-tax, there being a clause of credit in both, as also with the deficiency (if any should happen) in the sums they were computed to produce. The house agreed to all these resolutions almost unanimously: indeed, no opposition was made to any of them, but that for continuing the same number of land-forces, which was carried by a great majority.

The act permitting Jews to be naturalized, which had, during the last session, triumphed over such an obstinate opposition, was by this time become the object of national horror and execration. Every part of the kingdom resounded with the reproach of the ministry who had enforced such an odious measure; and the two brothers, who engrossed the greater part of the administration, trembled at the prospect of what this clamour might produce at the general election, this being the last session of the present parliament. So eager were the ministers to annul this unpopular measure, that, immediately after the peers had agreed to the nature and form of an address to his majesty, the d—— of N——, with that precipitation so peculiar to his character, poured forth an abrupt harangue, in that house, importing, that the disaffected had made an handle of the act passed last session, in favour of the Jews, to raise discontents among many of his majesty's good subjects; and as the act was in itself of little importance, he was of opinion it ought to be repealed: for this purpose he presented a bill ready framed, which was read and committed, though not without some debate.

Repeal of the
act for natu-
ralizing Jews.

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The naturalization-bill, now devoted as a sacrifice to the resentment of the people, contained a clause disabling all naturalized Jews from purchasing, inheriting, or receiving any advowson or presentation, or right to any ecclesiastical benefice or promotion, school, hospital, or donative; and by the first draught of the bill, which his grace now presented, it was intended that this clause should not be repealed. It was the opinion, however, of the majority, that such a clause standing unrepealed might imply, that the Jews, by being thus expressly excluded from the possession of any ecclesiastical right of presentation, would be considered as having the power and privilege of purchasing and inheriting any lay-property in the kingdom. On this consideration an amendment was made in the bill, the clause in question was left out, and the whole act of naturalization repealed without exception.*

Though the lords, in general, concurred in the expediency of the repeal, it was opposed by some few as too great a sacrifice to the idle and unfounded clamours of the multitude; and upon this side of the debate a great power of elocution was displayed by earl Temple, who had lately succeeded to this title on the death of his mother, a nobleman of distinguished abilities, and the most amiable disposition, frank, liberal, humane, and zealously attached to the interest and honour of his country.

In the lower house the members of both parties seemed to vie with each other in demonstrations of aversion to this unpopular act. On the very first day of the session, immediately after the motion for an address to his majesty, Sir James Dashwood, an eminent leader in the opposition, gave the commons to understand, that he had a motion of very great importance to make, which would require the attention of every member, as soon as the motion for the address should be discussed: he therefore desired they would not quit the house, until he should have an opportunity to explain his proposal. Accordingly they had no sooner agreed to the motion for an address of thanks to his majesty, than he stood up again; and having expatiated upon the just and general indignation which the act of the preceding session, in favour of the Jews, had raised among the people, he moved to order, that the house should be called over on Tuesday the fourth day of December, for taking that act into consideration: but being given to understand, that it was not usual to appoint a call of the house for any particular purpose, he agreed that the motion should be general. It was seconded by lord Parker, his opposite in political interests: the house agreed to it without opposition, and the call was ordered accordingly. They were anticipated however by the lords, who framed and transmitted to them a bill on the same subject. To the purport of it the commons made no objection; for every member, having the fear of the general election before his eyes, carefully avoided every expression which could give umbrage to his constituents: but violent opposition was made to the preamble, which ran in the following strain: "Whereas an act

* The reverend bench of bishops had, with a laudable spirit of christian meekness and philanthropy, generally approved of the indulgence granted to their Hebrew brethren; and now they acquiesced in the proposed repeal with the same passive discretion, though one of the number contended for the saving clause, which the duke of N— had recommended.

of parliament was made and passed in the twenty-fifth year of his majesty's Ann. 1753. reign, intituled, An act to permit persons professing the Jewish religion to be naturalized by parliament, and for other purposes therein mentioned; and whereas occasion has been taken, from the said act, to raise discontents and disquiets in the minds of his majesty's subjects, be it enacted, &c." This introduction was considered as an unjust reflection upon the body of the people in general, and in particular upon those who had opposed the bill in the course of the preceding session. Sir Roger Newdigate therefore moved, that the expression should be varied to this effect: "Whereas great discontents and inquietudes had from the said act arisen." The consequence of this motion was an obstinate debate, in which it was supported by the earl of Eg—t, and divers other able orators: but Mr. Pelham and Mr. P— were numbered among its opponents. The question being put for the proposed alteration, it was of course carried in the negative: the bill, after the third reading, passed nemine contradicente, and in due time obtained the royal assent.

Even this concession of the ministry did not allay the resentment of the people, and their apprehensions of encroachment from the Jews. Another act still subsisted, by virtue of which any person professing the Jewish religion might become a free denizen of Great Britain, after having resided seven years in any of his majesty's colonies in America; and this was now considered as a law having the same dangerous tendency, of which the other was now in a fair way of being convicted. It was moved therefore in the lower house, that part of this former act might be read: then the same member made a motion for an address to his majesty, desiring, that the house might have the perusal of the lists transmitted from the American colonies to the commissioners for trade and plantations, containing the names of all such persons professing the Jewish religion as had intituled themselves to the benefit of the said act, since the year one thousand seven hundred and forty.

Motion for
repealing a
former act fa-
vourable to
the Jews.

These lists were accordingly presented, and left upon the table for the perusal of the members: but as this act contained no limitation of time within which the benefit of it should be claimed, and as this claim was attended with a good deal of trouble and some expence, very few persons had availed themselves of it in that period. Nevertheless, as a great number of Jews were already intituled to claim this indulgence, and as it remained an open channel through which Great Britain might be deluged with those people, all of whom the law would hold as natural-born subjects, and their progeny as freed from all the restrictions contained in the act, with respect to naturalized foreigners, Lord Harley moved for leave to bring in a bill, to repeal so much of the said act as related to persons professing the Jewish religion, who should come to settle in any British colony after a certain time. The motion was seconded by Sir James Dashwood, and supported by the earl of Egmont; but being found unequal to the interest and elocution of Mr. Pelham and Mr. P—, was rejected by the majority.

The next object that claimed the attention of the commons, was a bill for improving the regulations already made to prevent the spreading of a contagious distemper, which raged among the horned cattle in different parts of the kingdom. The last bill of this session, that had the good fortune to succeed, was brought in for punishing mutiny and desertion of officers and soldiers.

Mutiny bill
for the service
of the East In-
dia company.

Ann. 1754. diers in the service of the East India company, and for the punishment of offences committed in the East Indies and the island of St. Helena. This being a measure of a very extraordinary nature, all the members were ordered to attend the house on the day fixed for the second reading: at the same time all charters, commissions, and authorities, by which any powers relative to a military jurisdiction, or the exercise of martial law, had been granted or derived from the crown to the said company, were submitted to the perusal of the members. The bill was by many considered as a dangerous extension of military power, to the prejudice of the civil rights enjoyed by British subjects, and as such violently contested by the earl of Egmont, lord Strange, and Mr. alderman Beckford. Their objections were answered by the solicitor-general and Mr. Yorke. The bill, after some warm debates, being espoused by the ministry, was enacted into a law, and dispatched to the East Indies by the first opportunity.

Cafe of Le—. Some other motions were made, and petitions presented on different subjects, which, as they miscarried, it will be unnecessary to particularize. It may not be amiss, however, to record an exemplary act of justice done by the commons on a person belonging to a public office, whom they detected in the practice of fraud and imposition. Notwithstanding the particular care taken in the last session to prevent the monopolizing of tickets in the state-lottery, all those precautions had been eluded in a scandalous manner by certain individuals, intrusted with the charge of delivering the tickets to the contributors according to the intent of the act, which expressly declared, that not more than twenty should be sold to any one person.

Instead of conforming to these directions of the legislature, they and their friends engrossed great numbers, sheltering themselves under a false list of feigned names for the purpose; by which means they not only defeated the equitable intention of the commons, but in some measure injured the public credit; inasmuch as their avarice had prompted them to subscribe for a greater number than they had cash to purchase; so that there was a deficiency in the first payment, which might have had a bad effect on the public affairs. These practices were so flagrant and notorious as to attract the notice of the lower house, where an inquiry was begun and prosecuted with a spirit of real patriotism, in opposition to a scandalous cabal, who endeavoured with equal eagerness and perseverance to screen the delinquents. All their efforts, however, proved abortive; and a committee, appointed to examine particulars, agreed to several severe resolutions against one Le—, who had amassed a large fortune by this and other kinds of speculation. They voted him guilty of breach of trust, and a direct violation of the lottery-act; and an address was presented to his majesty, desiring he might be prosecuted by the attorney-general for these offences. He was accordingly sued in the court of King's Bench, and payed a fine of one thousand pounds, for having committed frauds by which he had gained forty times that sum; but he was treated with such gentleness as remarkably denoted the clemency of that tribunal.

Close of the last session of this parliament. The session ended in the beginning of April, when the king gave the parliament to understand that he should say nothing at present on foreign affairs; but assured them of his fixed resolution to exert his whole power in maintaining the general tranquillity, and adhering to such measures for that purpose, as he

he had hitherto pursued in conjunction with his allies. He in very affectionate terms thanked both houses for the repeated proofs they had given of their zealous attachment and loyalty to his person and government. He enumerated the salutary measures they had taken for lessening the national debt, and augmenting the public credit, extending navigation and commerce, reforming the morals of the people, and improving the regulations of civil œconomy. He concluded with declaring, that he securely relied upon the loyalty and good affection of his people, and had no other aim than their permanent happiness.

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In a little time after the close of this session they were dissolved by proclamation, and new writs issued by the lord chancellor for convoking a new parliament. The same ceremonies were practised with respect to the convocations of Canterbury and York, though they no longer retained their former importance; nor, indeed, were they suffered to sit and deliberate upon the subjects which formerly fell under their cognizance and discussion.

In the beginning of March the ministry of Great Britain had been left without a head by the death of Mr. Pelham, which was not only sincerely lamented by his sovereign, but also regretted by the nation in general, to whose affection he had powerfully recommended himself by the candour and humanity of his conduct and character, even while he pursued measures which they did not entirely approve. The loss of such a minister was the more deeply felt by the government at this juncture, being the eve of a general election for a new parliament, when every administration is supposed to exert itself with redoubled vigilance and circumspection. He had already concerted the measures for securing a majority, and his plan was faithfully executed by his friends and adherents, who still engrossed the administration. His brother, the duke of Newcastle, was appointed first lord commissioner of the treasury, and succeeded as secretary of state by Sir Thomas Robinson, who had long resided as ambassador at the court of Vienna. The other department of this office was still retained by the earl of Holderness, and the function of chancellor of the exchequer was performed as usual by the lord chief justice of the King's Bench, until a proper person could be found to fill that important office: but in the course of the summer it was bestowed upon Mr. Legge, who acquitted himself with equal honour and capacity. Divers other alterations were made, of less importance to the public. Sir George Lyttleton was appointed cofferer, and the earl of Hillsborough comptroller of the household. Mr. George Greenville, brother to earl Temple, became treasurer of the navy; and Mr. Charles Townshend, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in the sequel, took place as a commissioner at the board of admiralty, in the room of lord Barrington, made master of the wardrobe. Lord Hardwicke, the chancellor, was promoted to the dignity of earl. The place of lord chief justice of the King's Bench becoming vacant by the death of Sir William Lee, was filled with Sir Dudley Rider, and he was succeeded by Mr. Murray in the office of attorney-general.

Death of Mr. Pelham, and change in the ministry.

The elections for the new parliament generally succeeded according to the wish of the ministry; for opposition was now dwindled down to the lowest state of imbecillity. It had received a mortal wound by the death of the late prince of Wales, whose adherents were too wise to pursue an ignis fatuus, without

New parliament assembled and prorogued.

Ann. 1754. without any prospect of success or advantage. Some of them had prudently sung their palinodia to the ministry, and been gratified with profitable employments; while others, setting too great a price upon their own importance, kept aloof until the market was over, and were left to pine in secret over their disappointed ambition. The maxims of Toryism had been relinquished by many, as the barren principles of a losing game: the body of the people were conciliated to the established government; and the harmony that now, for the first time, subsisted among all the branches of the royal family, had a wonderful effect in acquiring a degree of popularity which they had never before enjoyed.

The writs being returned, the new parliament was opened on the last day of May by the Duke of Cumberland, and some other peers, who acted by virtue of a commission from his majesty.

The commons having chosen for their speaker the right honourable Arthur Onslow, who had honourably filled that high office in four preceding parliaments, he was presented and approved by the commissioners. Then the lord high chancellor harangued both houses, giving them to understand, that his majesty had indulged them with this early opportunity of coming together, in order to compleat, without loss of time, certain parliamentary proceedings, which he judged would be for the satisfaction of his good subjects; but he did not think proper to lay before them any points of general business, reserving every thing of that nature to the usual time of their assembling in the winter. On the fifth day of June this short session was closed, and the parliament prorogued by the lords commissioners.

Disputes in the parliament of Ireland, concerning prerogative and privilege.

In the beginning of this year violent disputes arose between the government and the house of commons in Ireland, on the almost forgotten subjects of privilege and prerogative. The commons conceived they had an undoubted right to apply the surplus of their revenue towards national purposes, without the consent of their sovereign; and accordingly, in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine, prepared a bill with this preamble: "Whereas on the twenty-fifth day of March last a considerable ballance remained in the hands of the vice-treasurers or receivers-general of the kingdom, or their deputy or deputies, unapplied; and it will be for your majesty's service, and for the ease of your faithful subjects in this kingdom, that so much thereof as can be conveniently spared should be payed, agreeable to your majesty's most gracious intentions, in discharge of part of the national debt."

This appropriation gave great offence to the advocates for prerogative in England, who affirmed, that the commons had no right to apply any part of the unappropriated revenue, nor even to take any such affair into consideration, without the previous consent of the crown, expressed in the most explicit terms. It was in consequence of this doctrine, that the duke of Dorset, lord lieutenant of Ireland, told them in the next session of parliament, held in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-one, he was commanded by the king to acquaint them, that his majesty, ever attentive to the ease and happiness of his subjects, would graciously consent, and recommended it to them, that such a part of the money then remaining in his treasury, as should

should be thought consistent with the public service, be applied towards the further reduction of the national debt. Ann. 1754.

This declaration alarmed the commons, zealous as they were for the preservation of their privileges; and in their address of thanks, which, like that of the parliament of Great Britain, used always to eccho back the words of the speech, they made no mention of his majesty's consent; but only acknowledged his gracious attention to their ease and happiness, in recommending to them the application of the surplus. They accordingly resolved to apply one hundred and twenty thousand pounds of that overplus towards a discharge of the national debt; and in the preamble of the bill, framed for this purpose, made no mention of his majesty's consent, though before they had acknowledged his goodness in recommending this application.

The ministry in England were highly offended at this purposed omission, which they construed into a wilful encroachment on the prerogative; and the bill was sent back with an alteration in the preamble, signifying his majesty's consent as well as recommendation.

The Irish house of commons being at that time deeply engaged in a minute inquiry into the conduct of a gentleman, a servant to the crown, and a member of their own house, accused of having misapplied a large sum of money with which he had been intrusted, for rebuilding or repairing the barracks, were now unwilling to embroil themselves further with the government, until this affair should be discussed. They therefore passed the bill with the alteration, and proceeded with their inquiry. The person was convicted of having misapplied the public money, and ordered to make the barracks fit for the reception and accommodation of the troops, at his own expence. They did not, however, neglect to assert what they thought their rights and privileges, when the next opportunity occurred.

The duke of Dorset, when he opened the session of this year, repeated the expression of his majesty's gracious consent, in mentioning the surplus of the public money. They again omitted that word in their address; and resolved, in their bill of application, not only to sink this odious term, but likewise to abate in their complaisance to the crown, by leaving out that expression of grateful acknowledgment, which had met with such a cold reception above.

By this time the contest had kindled up two violent factions, and diffused a general spirit of resentment through the whole Irish nation. The committee who prepared the bill, instead of inserting the usual compliments in the preamble, mentioned nothing but a recital of facts, and sent it over in a very plain dress, quite destitute of all embroidery. The ministry, intent upon vindicating the prerogative from such an unmannerly attack, filled up the omissions of the committee, and sent it back with this alteration: "And your majesty, ever attentive to the ease and happiness of your faithful subjects, has been graciously pleased to signify that you would consent, and to recommend it to us, that so much of the money remaining in your majesty's treasury as should be necessary, be applied to the discharge of the national debt, or such part thereof as should be thought expedient by parliament." This then being the crisis, which was to determine a constitutional point of such

Ann. 1754. importance, namely, whether the people in parliament assembled have a right to deliberate upon, and vote the application of any part of the unappropriated revenue, without the previous consent of the crown; those who were the most zealously attached to the liberties of their country, resolved to exert themselves in opposing what they conceived to be a violation of these liberties; and the bill, with its alterations, was rejected by a majority of five voices. The success of their endeavours was celebrated with the most extravagant rejoicings, as a triumph of patriotism over the arts of ministerial corruption; and, on the other hand, all the servants of the crown, who had joined the popular cry on this occasion, were in a little time dismissed from their employments.

The rejection of the bill was a great disappointment to the creditors of the public, and the circulation of cash was almost stagnated. These calamities were imputed to arbitrary designs in the government; and the people began to be inflamed with an enthusiastic spirit of independency, which might have produced mischievous effects, had not artful steps been taken to bring over the demagogues, and thus divert the stream of popular clamour from the ministry to those very individuals who had been the idols of popular veneration. The speaker of the house of commons was promoted to the dignity of an earl; and some other patriots were gratified with lucrative employments. His majesty's letter arrived for paying off seventy-five thousand five hundred pounds of the national debt. The circulation was thus animated, and the resentment of the populace subsiding, the kingdom retrieved its former tranquillity.

Transactions
in the East
Indies.

The ambition and intrigues of the French court, by which the British interest was invaded and disturbed on the continent of America, had also extended itself to the East-Indies, where they endeavoured to embroil the English company with divers nabobs, or princes, who governed different parts of the peninsula intra Gangem.

That the reader may have a clear and distinct idea of these transactions, we shall exhibit a short sketch of the English forts and settlements in that remote country. The first of these we shall mention is Surat †, in the province so called, situated between the twenty-first and twenty-second degrees of north latitude: from hence the peninsula stretches into the Indian ocean, as far as the latitude of eight north, ending in a point at Cape Comorin, which is the southern extremity. To the northward this peninsula joins to Indostan, and at its greatest breadth extends seven hundred miles. Upon the west, east, and south, it is washed by the sea. It comprehends the kingdoms

† Several European nations had settlements at Surat, which was one of the most frequented cities of the East, from the great concourse of Mahometan pilgrims who make it their road from India, in their visits to the tomb of their prophet at Mecca. In order to keep the seas clear of pyrates, between Surat and the gulphs of Arabia and Persia, the Mogul had been at the annual expence of a large ship fitted out on purpose to carry the pilgrims to Judda, which is within a small distance of Mecca. For the security of this ship, as well

as to protect the trade of Surat, he granted to his admiral, *the fiddee*, chief of a colony of cafrees, or blacks, a revenue called the Tanka, to the value of three lacks of rousees, amounting to above thirty-seven thousand pounds, arising partly from the adjacent lands, and partly from the revenues of Surat, which were paid him yearly by the governor of the castle, who is appointed by the Mogul to keep the city under proper subjection, without, however, interfering with the government of it.

of Malabar, Decan, Golconda, and Bisnagar, with the principalities of Gingi, Tanjaour, and Madura. The western side is distinguished by the name of the Malabar coast: the eastern takes the denomination of Coromandel; and, in different parts of this long sweep, from Surat round Cape Comorin to the bottom of the bay of Bengal, the English and other European powers have, with the consent of the Mogul, established forts and trading settlements. All these kingdoms, properly speaking, belong to the Mogul: but his power was so weakened by the last invasion of Kouli Khan, that he has not been able to assert his empire over this remote country; the tributary princes of which, and even the nabobs, who were originally governors appointed under their authority, have rendered themselves independent, and exert an absolute dominion over their respective territories, without acknowledging his superiority either by tribute or homage. These princes, when they quarrel among themselves, naturally have recourse to the assistance of such European powers as are settled in or near their dominions; and in the same manner the East Indian companies of the European powers, which happen to be at war with each other, never fail to interest the nabobs, in the dispute.

The next English settlement to Surat, on the coast of the peninsula, is Bombay, in the kingdom of Decan, a small island, with a very convenient harbour, about five and forty leagues to the south of Surat. The town is very populous: but the soil is barren and the climate unhealthy; and the commerce was rendered very precarious by the neighbourhood of the famous corsair Angria, until his port of Geria was taken, and his fortifications demolished. The English company likewise carry on some traffic at Dabul, about forty leagues farther to the south, in the province of Cuncan. In the same southerly progression, towards the point of the peninsula, we arrive at Carwar, in the latitude of fifteen degrees, where there is a small fort and factory belonging to the company, standing on the south side of a bay, with a river capable of receiving ships of pretty large burthen. The climate here is remarkably salubrious; the country abounds with provisions of all sorts, and the best pepper of India grows in this neighbourhood.

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Account of
the English
settlements
along the
coasts of Ma-
labar and Co-
romandel.

The next English settlement we find at Tillechery, where the company has erected a fort, to defend their commerce of pepper and cardamoms from the insults of the raja, who governs this part of Malabar. Hither the English trade was removed from Calicut, a large town, that stands fifteen leagues to the southward of Tillechery, and was as well frequented as any port on the coast of the Indian peninsula.

The most southerly settlement which the English possess on the Malabar coast is that of Anjengo, between the eighth and ninth degrees of latitude. It is defended by a regular fort, situated on a broad river which falls into the sea, and would be very commodious for trade, were not the water on the bar too shallow to admit ships of considerable burthen.

Then turning the cape, and passing through the strait of Chilao, formed by the island of Ceylon, we arrive on the coast of Coromandel, which forms the eastern side of the isthmus. Prosecuting our course in a northern direction, the first English factory we reach is that of Fort St. David's, formerly called Tegapatan, situated in the latitude of eleven degrees forty minutes north, within the kingdom of Gingi. It was, about six and twenty years ago,

Ann. 1754. sold by a Marahatta prince to the East India company, and, next to Bombay, is the most considerable settlement we have yet mentioned. Its territory extends about eight miles along the coast, and half that space up the country, which is delightfully watered by a variety of rivers: the soil is fertile, and the climate healthy. The fort is regular, well provided with cannon, ammunition, and a numerous garrison, which is the more necessary on account of the neighbourhood of the French settlement at Pondicherry.*

But the chief settlement belonging to the company on this coast is that of Madrafs, or Fort St. George, standing farther to the northward, between the thirteenth and fourteenth degrees of latitude, and not a great way from the diamond mines of Golconda. It is seated on a flat, barren, scorching sand, so near the sea, that, in bad weather, the walls are endangered by the mighty surges rolled in from the ocean. As the soil is barren, the climate is so intensely hot, that it would be altogether uninhabitable, were not the heat mitigated by the sea-breezes. On the land side it is defended by a salt-water river, which, while it contributes to the security of the place, robs the inhabitants of one great comfort, by obstructing the springs of fresh water. The fort is a regular square, the town surrounded with walls well mounted with artillery, and the place, including the Black Town, is very populous. Madrafs, with several villages in the neighbourhood, was purchased of the king of Golconda, before the Mogul became sovereign of this country. The governor of this place is not only president of Fort St. George, but also of all the other settlements on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel as far as the island of Sumatra. He lives in great pomp, having inferior judges who pass sentence of death occasionally on malefactors of any nation, except the subjects of Great Britain. All the company's affairs are directed by him and his council, who are invested with the power of inflicting corporal punishment, short of life and member, upon such Europeans as are in the service, and dispose of all places of trust and profit. By virtue of an act passed in the course of this very session, the military officers belonging to the company were permitted to hold courts-martial, and punish their soldiers according to the degree of their delinquency. In a word, Madrafs is of the utmost importance to the company for its strength, wealth, and the great returns it makes in calicoes and muslins.

Towards the latter end of the last century the English company had a flourishing factory at Massulipatam, standing on the north side of the river Nagundi, which separates the provinces of Golconda and Bisnagar, in the latitude of sixteen degrees and thirty minutes; but now there is no European settlement here, except a Dutch factory, maintained for carrying on the chintz commerce.

At Visigapatam, situated still farther to the northward, the English possess a factory, regularly fortified, on the side of a river, which, however, a dangerous bar has rendered unfit for navigation. The adjacent country affords cotton cloths, and the best striped muslins of India. It is chiefly for the use of this settlement, that the company maintains a factory at Ganjam, the most eastern town in the province or kingdom of Golconda, situated in a country abounding with rice and sugar canes. Still farther to the north coast, in the

* The trade consists in long cloths of different colours, fallampores, morees, dimitties, gingham, and succatoons.

latitude of twenty-two degrees, the company maintains a factory at Balasore, which was formerly very considerable; but hath been of very little consequence since the navigation of the river Huguely was improved. At this place every European ship bound for Bengal and the Ganges takes in a pilot. The climate is not counted very salubrious; but the adjacent country is fruitful to admiration, and here are considerable manufactures of cotton and silk. Without skilful pilots, the English would find it very difficult to navigate the different channels through which the river Ganges discharges itself into the sea at the bottom of the bay of Bengal. On the southern branch is a town called Pipely, where there was formerly an English factory: but this was removed to Huguely, one hundred and sixty miles farther up the river; a place which, together with the company's settlement at Calcutta, were the emporiums of their commerce for the whole kingdom of Bengal. Indeed Huguely is now abandoned by the English, and their whole trade centers at Calcutta or Fort William, which is a regular fortification, containing lodgings for the factors and writers, store-houses for the company's merchandize, and magazines for their ammunition. As for the governor's house, which likewise stands within the fort, it is one of the most regular structures in all India. Besides these settlements along the sea-coast of the peninsula, and on the banks of the Ganges, the English East India company possess certain inland factories and posts for the convenience and defence of their commerce, either purchased of the nabobs and rajahs, or conquered in the course of the war. As the operations we propose to record, were confined to the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, or the interior countries which form the peninsula intra Gangem, it will be unnecessary to describe the factory at Bencoolen on the island of Sumatra, or any settlement which the English possess in other parts of the East Indies.

In order to understand the military transactions of the English company in India, the reader will take notice, that immediately after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, Monsieur Dupleix, who commanded for the French in that country, began by his intrigues to sow the seeds of dissension among the nabobs, that he might be the better able to fish in troubled waters. Nizam Almuluck, the Mogul's viceroy of Decan, having the right of nominating a governor of the Carnatick, now more generally known by the name of the nabob of Arcot, appointed Anaverdy Khan to that office, in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-five. The viceroy dying was succeeded in his viceroyalty, or subaship, by his second son Nazirzing, whom the Mogul confirmed. He was opposed in his pretensions by his own cousin Muzapherzing, who had recourse to the assistance of Mr. Dupleix, and obtained from him a reinforcement of Europeans and artillery, in consideration of many presents, and promises which he fulfilled in the sequel. Thus reinforced, and joined by one Chunda Saib, an active Indian chief, he took the field against his kinsman Nazirzing, who was supported by a body of English troops under colonel Laurence. The French, dreading an engagement, retired in the night; and Muzapherzing, seeing himself abandoned by all his own troops, appealed to the clemency of his cousin, who spared his life, but detained him as a state prisoner. In this situation, he formed a conspiracy against his kinsman's life, with Nazirzing's prime minister, and the nabobs of Cadupab and Condaneor, then in his camp; and the conspirators were encouraged in their scheme by Dupleix

Dispute about the government of Arcot.

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pleix and Chunda Saib, who had retired to Pondicherry. Thus stimulated, they murdered Nazirzing in his camp, and proclaimed Muzapherzing viceroy of Decan. In the tents of the murdered viceroy they found an immense treasure, of which a great share fell to Mr. Dupleix, whom Muzapherzing the usurper at this time associated in the government. By virtue of this association the Frenchman assumed the state and formalities of an eastern prince; and he and his colleague Muzapherzing, appointed Chunda Saib nabob of Arcot. Anaverdy Khan the late nabob, had been, in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine, defeated and slain by Muzapherzing and Chunda Saib, with the assistance of their French auxiliaries; and his son Mahommed Ali Khan had put himself under the protection of the English at Madras, and was confirmed by Nazirzing as his father's successor in the nabobship or government of Arcot. This government, therefore, was disputed between Mahommed Ali Khan, appointed by the legal viceroy Nazirzing, supported by the English company, and Chunda Saib, nominated by the usurper Muzapherzing, and protected by Dupleix, who commanded at Pondicherry. Muzapherzing did not long survive his usurpation. In the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-one, the same nabobs who had promoted him to his kinsman's place, thinking themselves ill rewarded for their services, fell upon him suddenly, routed his troops, and put him to death; and next day the chiefs of the army proclaimed Sallabatzing, brother to Nazirzing, viceroy of Decan: on the other hand, the Mogul appointed Gauzedy Khan, who was the elder brother of Sallabatzing; and this prince confirmed Mahommed Ali Khan in the government of Arcot: but the affairs of the Mogul's court were then in such confusion, that he could not spare an army to support the nomination he had made. Sundah Saib, nabob of Arcot, having been deposed by the great Mogul, who placed Anaverdy Khan in his room, he resolved to recover his government by force, and had recourse to the French general at Pondicherry, who reinforced him with two thousand sipoys, or soldiers of the country, sixty kafres, and four hundred and twenty French troops, on condition that, if he proved successful in his enterprize, he should cede to the French the town of Velur in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry, with its dependencies, consisting of forty-five villages. Thus reinforced, he defeated his rival Anaverdy Khan, who lost his life in the engagement, reassumed the government of Arcot, and punctually performed the conditions which had been stipulated by his French allies.

Mahommed Ali Khan is supported by the English company.

Mahommed Ali Khan, at the death of his father, had fled to Tiruchirapalli,* and solicited the assistance of the English, who favoured him with a reinforcement of money, men, and ammunition, under the conduct of major Laurence, a brave and experienced officer. By dint of this supply, he gained some advantages over the enemy, who were obliged to retreat; but no decisive blow was given. Mahommed afterwards repaired in person to Fort St. David's to demand more powerful succours, alledging that his fate was con-

* Tiruchirapalli, commonly called Trichinopoly, situated near the river Cauveri, above two hundred miles to the southward of Madras, is the capital of a small kingdom be-

longing to the government of Arcot, and bounded on the east by the kingdom of Tanjaor.

connected

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ned with the interest of the English company, which in time would be obliged to abandon the whole coast, should they allow the enemy to proceed in their conquests. In consequence of these representations, he received another strong reinforcement under the command of captain Cope; but nothing of importance was attempted, and the English auxiliaries retired. Then Mahommed was attacked by the enemy, who obtained over him a complete victory. Finding it impossible to maintain his footing by his own strength, he entered into a close alliance with the English, and ceded to them some commercial points, which had been long in dispute. Then they detached captain Cope to put Tiruchirapalli in a posture of defence; while captain de Gings, a Swiss officer, marched at the head of four hundred Europeans to the nabob's assistance. The two armies being pretty equal in strength, lay encamped in sight of each other a whole month; during which nothing happened but a few skirmishes, which generally terminated to the advantage of the English auxiliaries.

In order to make a diversion, and divide the French forces, the company resolved to send a detachment into the province of Arcot; and this was one of the first occasions upon which the extraordinary talents of Mr. Clive were displayed. He had entered into the service of the East India company as a writer, and was considered as a person very indifferently qualified for succeeding in any civil station of life. He now offered his service in a military capacity, and actually began his march to Arcot, at the head of two hundred and ten Europeans with five hundred sipoys.*

Such was the resolution, secrecy, and dispatch with which he conducted this enterprize, that the enemy knew nothing of his motions until he was in possession of the capital, which he took without opposition. The inhabitants, expecting to be plundered, offered him a large sum to spare their city; but they derived their security from the generosity and discretion of the conqueror. He refused the proffered ransom, and issued a proclamation, intimating, That those who were willing to remain in their houses should be protected from insult and injury, and the rest have leave to retire with all their effects, except provisions, for which he promised to pay the full value. By this sage conduct he conciliated the affections of the people so intirely, that even those who quitted the place supplied him with exact intelligence of the enemy's designs, when he was besieged in the sequel. The town was in a little time invested by Raja Saib, son of Chunda Saib, at the head of a numerous army, and the operations of the siege were conducted by European engineers. Though their approaches were retarded by the repeated and resolute sallies of Mr. Clive, they at length effected two breaches, supposed to be practicable; and on the fourteenth day of October, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-one, gave a general assault. Mr. Clive having received intimation of their design, had made such preparations for their reception, that they were repulsed in every quarter with great loss, and obliged to raise the siege with the utmost precipitation.

Mr. Clive takes possession of Arcot, in which he is besieged.

This gallant Englishman, not contented with the reputation he had acquired from his noble defence, was no sooner reinforced by a detachment

* The sipoys are the mercenaries of the country, who are hired as soldiers occasionally by all parties.

under

Ann. 1754. under captain Kirkpatrick from Trichinopoly, than he marched in pursuit of the enemy, whom he overtook in the plains of Arani. There, on the third day of December, he attacked them with irresistible impetuosity; and, after an obstinate dispute, obtained a complete victory at a very small expence. The forts of Timery, Caujeveram and Aranie, surrendered to the terror of his name, rather than to the force of his arms; and he returned to Fort St David's in triumph. He had enjoyed a very few weeks of repose, when he was summoned to the field by fresh incursions of the enemy.

Mr. Clive defeats the enemy in the plains of Arani, and obtains a second complete victory over them at Koveripauk.

In the beginning of the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-two, he marched with a small detachment to Madras, where he was joined by a reinforcement from Bengal, the whole number not exceeding three hundred Europeans, and assembled a body of the natives, that he might have at least the appearance of an army. With these he proceeded to Koveripauk, about fifteen miles from Arcot, where he found the French and Indians, consisting of fifteen hundred sipoys, seventeen hundred horse, a body of natives, and one hundred and fifty Europeans, with eight pieces of cannon. Though they were advantageously posted and intrenched, and the day was already far advanced, Mr. Clive advanced against them with his usual intrepidity; but the victory remained for some time in suspense. It was now dark, and the battle doubtful, when Mr. Clive sent round a detachment to fall on the rear of the French battery. This attack was executed with great resolution, while the English in front entered the entrenchments with their bayonets fixed; and, though very little tinctured with discipline, displayed the spirit and activity of hardy veterans. This double attack disconcerted the enemy in such a manner, that they soon desisted from all opposition. A considerable carnage ensued; yet the greater part of the enemy, both horse and foot, saved themselves by flight, under cover of the darkness. The French, to a man, threw down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war; and all the cannon and baggage fell into the hands of the victor.

He reduces three forts, and takes Mr. D'Anteuil prisoner.

The province of Arcot being thus cleared of the enemy, Mr. Clive with his forces returned to Fort St. David's, where he found major Laurence just arrived from England, * to take upon him the command of the troops in the company's service. On the eighteenth day of March this officer, accompanied by Mr. Clive, took the field, and was joined by captain de Gingins at Tiruchirapalli. From hence he detached Mr. Clive with four hundred European soldiers, a few Marahatta horse, and a body of sipoys, to cut off the enemy's retreat to Pondicherry. In the course of this expedition he dislodged a strong body of the foe posted at Samiaveram, and obliged Chunda Saib to throw a body of troops into a strong fortified temple, or pagoda, upon the river Kollercon, which was immediately invested. The commanding officer, in attempting to escape, was slain with some others, and the rest surrendered at discretion. They were still in possession of another fortified temple, which he also besieged in form, and reduced by capitulation. Having subdued these forts, he marched directly to Volconda, whither he understood the French commander D'Anteuil had retired. He found that officer intrenched in a village, from whence he drove him with precipitation, and made himself master of the French cannon. The enemy attempted to save themselves in a neighbouring fort; but

* Major Laurence had sailed for England in the year 1750.

the gates being shut against them by the governor, who was apprehensive that they would be followed pell-mell by the English, Mr. Clive attacked them with great fury, and made a considerable slaughter: but his humanity being shocked at this carnage, he sent a flag of truce to the vanquished with terms of capitulation, which they readily embraced. These articles imported, That D'Anteuil, and three other officers, should remain prisoners on parole for one year; that the garrison should be exchanged; and the money and stores be delivered to the nabob whom the English supported. Ann. 1754.

During these transactions Chunda Saib lay encamped with an army of thirty thousand men at Syrinham, an island in the neighbourhood of Tiruchirapalli, which he longed eagerly to possess. Hither major Laurence marched with his Indian allies*, and took his measures so well, that the enemy's provisions were entirely intercepted. Chunda Saib, in attempting to fly, was taken prisoner by the nabob of Tanjour, an ally of the English company, who ordered his head to be struck off, in order to prevent the disputes which otherwise would have risen among the captors†. The main body of the army being attacked by major Laurence, and totally defeated, the island of Syrinham was surrendered, and about a thousand European French soldiers, under the command of Mr. Law nephew to the famous Law who schemed the Mississippi company, fell into the hands of the conquerors, including thirty officers, with forty pieces of cannon and ten mortars. Chunda Saib taken and put to death, and his army routed.

Mr. Dupleix, though exceedingly mortified by this disaster, resolved to maintain the cause which he had espoused. He proclaimed Raja Saib, the son of Chunda Saib, nabob of Arcot; and afterwards pretended that he himself had received from the Mogul, sanids or commissions appointing him governor of all the Carnatick, from the river Kristnah to the sea: but these sanids appeared in the sequel to be forged. In order to compleat the comedy, a supposed messenger from Delly, was received at Pondicherry as ambassador from the Mogul. Dupleix mounted on an elephant, preceded by musick and dancing women in the oriental manner, received in public his commission from the hands of the pretended ambassador. He affected the eastern state; kept his darbar or court, where he appeared sitting cross-legged on a sofa, and received presents as prince of the country, from his own council, as well as from the natives. In the mean time hostilities continued between the forces of the two companies, as auxiliaries to the contending nabobs. The English under major Kinnier, made an unsuccessful attempt upon Gingee, a strong town situated to the west of Pondicherry. Major Laurence defeated a strong body of French and natives commanded by Dupleix's nephew Mr. de Kerjean, in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry, and took him prisoner together with fifteen officers: after this

* His army consisted of twelve hundred Europeans and topasses in battalions, two thousand sipoys; with the forces of the nabob, the kings of Tanjaor, Muisfac and the Murattas; amounting to fifteen hundred horse and ten thousand infantry. Topasses are descendants from the Portuguese. The Murattas are native Indians of a very numerous and powerful nation, which hath more than once given law to the Mogul.

† Chunda Saib demanded leave of the Tanjore general to pass through his camp to Tanjore; and this request was granted; but instead of being allowed to pass, he was detained prisoner, and as the allies could not agree about the manner in which he should be disposed, some of the Tanjore officers of their own accord ended the dispute by cutting off his head.

Ann. 1754. success, Mr. Clive reduced the forts of Covelong and Chengalaput, the last very strong, situated about forty miles to the southward of Madrafs. On the other hand Mr. Dupleix intercepted at sea captain Schaub with his whole Swiss company, whom he detained prisoners at Pondicherry, although the two nations were not at war with each other. During these transactions Sallabatzing, with a body of French under Mr. de Buffy, advanced towards Aurengabad, which was the seat of government; but he was opposed by a chief of the Marattas, at the head of a numerous army. In the meantime, Gawzedy Khan, the elder brother of Sallabatzing, whom the Mogul had appointed viceroy of Decan, took possession of his government at Aurengabad, where, in fourteen days after his arrival, he was poisoned by his own sister. The Mogul immediately appointed his son Schah Abadin Khan to succeed his father; and this prince actually raised an army to come and take possession: but the Mogul's affairs requiring his presence at Delly, he was obliged to postpone his design, so that Sallabatzing was left without a competitor, and made a present to the French of all the English settlements to the northward. Thus concluded the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-two. Next campaign was chiefly confined to the neighbourhood of Trichenopoly, where major Laurence made several vigorous attacks upon the enemy's army, and obtained many advantages, which, however, did not prove decisive, because he was so much out-numbered that he could never follow his blow. In the course of this year, the Mogul was deposed by his general Schah Abadin Khan, the viceroy of Decan, who raised to the throne Allum Geer, another prince of the blood. In the succeeding year, a negotiation was set on foot by Mr. Saunders, governor of Madrafs, and Mr. Dupleix, and conferences were opened at Sadrafs, a Dutch settlement between Pondicherry and Fort St. George: but this proved abortive; and many other gallant efforts were made by major Laurence in the territory of Trichenopoly, which still continued to be the scene of action. In the course of this year Admiral Watson arrived on the coast of Coromandel with a squadron of ships of war, having on board a regiment commanded by colonel Aldercroon: at the same time the ships from France brought over to Pondicherry the Sieur Godeheu, commissary general and governor-general of all their settlements, at whose arrival Dupleix departed for Europe. The new governor immediately wrote a letter to Mr. Saunders, professing the most pacific inclinations, and proposing a suspension of arms between the two companies, until their disputes could be amicably adjusted. This proposal was very agreeable to the governor and council at Madrafs, and a cessation of arms actually took place in the month of October, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-four. Deputies being sent to Pondicherry, a provisional treaty and truce were concluded, on condition that neither of the two companies should for the future interfere in any difference that might rise between the princes of the country. The other articles related to the places and settlements that should be retained or possessed by the respective companies, until fresh orders, relating to this agreement, should arrive from the courts of London and Versailles, transmitted by the two East India companies of France and England. Until such orders should arrive, it was stipulated that neither nation should be allowed to procure any new grant or cession, or to build forts for the defence of new establishments; and that they

Convention
between the
East India
companies of
England and
France.

they should not proceed to any cession, retrocession, or evacuation of what they then possessed; but every thing should remain on the footing of *uti possidetis*. Ann. 1754.

How pacific soever the sentiments of the French subjects might have been at this period in the East Indies, certain it is, the designs of the French governors in America were altogether hostile, and their conduct hastening towards a rupture, which hath kindled up a bloody war in every division of the globe.

As this war may be termed a native of America, and the principal scenes of it have been acted on that continent, we shall, for the information of the reader, sketch out the situation of the British colonies as they border on each other, and extend along the sea-coast from the gulph of St. Laurence as far south as the country of Florida. We shall enumerate the Indian nations that lie scattered about their confines, and delineate the manner in which the French have hemmed them in by a surprising line of fortifications. Should we comprehend Hudson's bay, with the adjacent countries, and the banks of Newfoundland, in this geographical detail, we might affirm that Great Britain possesses a territory, along the sea-coast, extending seventeen hundred miles in a direct line, from the sixtieth to the thirty-first degree of northern latitude: but as these two countries have not yet been concerned in the present dispute, we shall advance from the northward to the southern side of the gulph of St. Laurence; and beginning with Acadie, or Nova Scotia, describe our settlements as they lie in a southerly direction as far as the gulph of Florida.

A general view of the British colonies in North America.

This great tract of country, stretching fifteen degrees of latitude, is washed on the east by the Atlantic ocean: the southern boundary is Spanish Florida; but to the westward the limits are uncertain, some affirming, that the jurisdiction of the colonies penetrates through the whole continent as far as the South-sea; while others, with more moderation, think they are naturally bounded by the river Illinois that runs into the Mississippi, and in a manner connects that river with the chain of lakes known by the names of Michigan, Huron, Erie, and Ontario, the three first communicating with each other, and the last discharging itself in the river of St. Laurence, which, running by Montreal and Quebec, issues in the bay of the same denomination, forming the northern boundary of Nova Scotia. The French, who had no legal claim to any lands on the south side of this river, have nevertheless, with an insolence of ambition peculiar to themselves, not only extended their forts from the source of the St. Laurence, through an immense tract of country as far as the Mississippi, which disembogues itself into the gulph of Florida; but also, by a series of unparalleled encroachments, have endeavoured to contract the English colonies within such narrow limits as will cut off almost one half of their possessions.

As we have already given a geographical description of Nova Scotia, and mentioned the particulars of the new settlement of Halifax, we shall now only observe, that it is surrounded on three sides by the sea, the gulph, and river of St. Laurence; that its original boundary to the west was the river Pentagoet; but it is now contracted within the river St. Croix, because the crown of Great Britain did, in the year one thousand six hundred and sixty-three, grant to the duke of York the territory of Sagadahac, stretching from St. Croix to

Ann. 1754. the river of this name; which was in the sequel, by an express charter from the crown, annexed to the province of the Massachuset's bay, one of the four governments of New England. This country situated next to Nova Scotia, lies between the forty-first and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude, extending near three hundred miles in length, and about two hundred in breadth, if we bound it by those tracts which the French have possessed: no part of the settlements of this country, however, stretches above sixty miles from the sea. The summer is here intensely hot, and the winter proportionably severe: nevertheless the climate is healthy, and the sky generally serene. The soil is not favourable to any of the European kinds of grain; but produces great plenty of maiz, which the people bake into bread, and brew into beer, though their favourite drink is made of molasses hopped, and impregnated with the tops of the spruce-fir, which is a native of this country. The ground raises good flax and tolerable hemp. Here are great herds of black cattle, some of them very large in size, a vast number of excellent hogs, a breed of small horses, graceful, swift, and hardy; and large flocks of sheep, whose wool, though not so fine as that of England, is manufactured with great success.

The people mostly consist of a substantial yeomanry, who cultivate their own freeholds, and breathe the true spirit of independence, which is encouraged by a republican form of government as well as of religion.

New Eng-
land.

New England is composed of the four provinces known by the names of New Hampshire, Massachuset's Bay, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, confederated for their common defence.

The province of the Massachuset's Bay is ruled by a governor, a lieutenant-governor, a council, and an assembly. The two first places, together with the militia, the chief posts in the law and revenue, are in the disposal of the crown; but the council is chosen by the representatives of the people; yet the governor has a negative, from which he derives very considerable influence.

The colony of Connecticut enjoys still greater privileges.

Rhode island is the smallest of the four, consisting of the island so called, and the old plantation of Providence. Their charter is the same with that of Connecticut, and the province is extremely populous; a circumstance intirely owing to an unlimited freedom of religion, with which the inhabitants are indulged.

New Hampshire, the most northern of the four, is the least populous; perhaps because it is a royal government, the crown having the nomination of all the officers of justice, the militia, and the members of the council.

These four provinces contain about three hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, including a small number of Blacks and Indians, from which an excellent militia might be raised. This country abounds with trading towns. Boston, the capital of Massachuset's Bay, is the first city of all North America, seated on a peninsula, at the bottom of a fine capacious harbour, defended from the violence of the sea by a number of islands, and rocks, which appear above water. The entrance is narrow, and defended by the cannon of a regular fortress. This town contains ten churches, and about twenty thousand inhabitants, who carry on a very considerable commerce,

The

The commodities of New England consist of masts and yards, pitch, tar, and turpentine, staves, lumber, boards, beef, pork, butter, cheese, Indian corn, and pease, cyder, apples, hemp, and flax, horses, and live cattle. The trade in peltry is not very considerable; but their fishery employs a vast number of people, and above thirty-two thousand quintals of cod-fish are annually exported from New England to Spain, Italy, and the Mediterranean. About nineteen thousand quintals of an inferior sort are sent to the West Indies, for the use of the negroes. From the sugar-islands the traders of New England import a vast quantity of molasses, from which they distill spirits sufficient almost to supply the other British colonies in North America, the Indian trade of that continent, the Newfoundland fishery, and their commerce to the coast of Guinea.

A great number of ships for sale are built at Boston, and other towns in New England; and, with respect to trade, the inhabitants are carriers for all the other colonies. They have set up manufactures for hats, woollen, and linen, and exceed all the other colonists in industry and courage. The French have intruded themselves a considerable way into the northern part of New Hampshire, where they built the fort of Cohasset.

New England is bounded on the south by New York, extending northerly, New York. on both sides of the river Hudson, about two hundred miles into the country possessed by the Indians of the Five Nations, whom the French distinguish by the name of the Iroquois; but in breadth this province does not exceed fifty miles, though it comprehends Long Island, lying to the southward of Connecticut, remarkable for yielding plenty of grain, excellent pasture, with a great number of horses, sheep, and oxen.

The capital, which from the province derives the name of New York, is situated on an excellent harbour in the island Manahatton, extending fourteen miles in length, and five in breadth, at the mouth of the noble river Hudson, which is navigable for above two hundred miles. The city of New York is neatly built, adorned with four churches, and contains about eight thousand inhabitants, the descendants of English and Dutch, who enjoy a flourishing trade in corn, flour, and other species of provision.

At the distance of one hundred and fifty miles from New York stands the town of Albany, upon the same river, which, though neither large nor populous, drives a great trade with the Indians, who are here supplied with coarse woollen cloths and shirts, guns, hatchets, knives, hoes, kettles, powder and shot, with divers other articles. In this place all the treaties and other transactions are negotiated between the English and the Iroquois, a confederacy of five Indian nations, who, by their union, courage, and military skill, had reduced a great number of other Indian tribes, and subdued a territory more extensive than the whole kingdom of France. They were about threescore years ago able to bring ten thousand warriors into the field; but now their number is so greatly diminished by wars, epidemical diseases, and the use of spirituous liquors, that they cannot raise above fifteen hundred men, even though they have admitted into their confederacy the nation of the Tuscaroras, whom the English drove from the confines of Carolina.

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The number of souls in the province of New York amounts to about four-score thousand; an hospitable people, who live happily under a general indulgence in liberty of conscience.

The Mohok Indians inhabit the country advanced from Albany. The northern extremities of New Hampshire and New York are divided by the lakes Champlain and Sacrament, between which the French had raised the fort of Crown Point, which is now in possession of the English.

New Jersey.

Contiguous to New York, and lying along the coast, in a southerly direction, is the small province of New Jersey, bounded on the west by the river Delaware, which divides it from Pennsylvania, extending about one hundred and fifty miles in length, but in breadth not more than one third part of that extent. The climate, soil, and produce of these two provinces, as well as of Pennsylvania, are similar. They yield great quantities of grain, sheep, horses, hogs, and horned cattle; all kinds of poultry and game in great abundance; vegetables of every sort in perfection, and excellent fruit, particularly peaches and melons. Their vast forests abound with oak, ash, beech, chesnut, cedar, walnut-tree, cypress, hickery, sassafras, and pine; but the timber is not counted so fit for shipping as that of New England and Nova Scotia. These provinces produce great quantities of flax and hemp. New York affords mines of iron; and very rich copper ore is found in New Jersey. New Jersey is supposed to contain about sixty thousand souls; but as yet they have no town of any consequence, Perth-Amboy, which is their capital, being very thinly inhabited, though it has the advantage of a commodious harbour, capable of receiving ships of great burthen. The people of New Jersey send the greater part of their produce to the markets of New York and Pennsylvania, to which they are contiguous.

sylvania.

Pennsylvania, lying to the southward of New York and New Jersey, is bounded on the other side by Maryland, stretching two hundred and fifty miles in length, two hundred in breadth, and having no communication with the sea, except by the mouth of the river Delaware. The inhabitants of this flourishing province, which was originally settled by quakers under the auspices of the celebrated William Penn, whose descendants are still proprietaries of the country, amount to above two hundred and fifty thousand, one half of which number consists of Dutch, Swedes, and Germans, who live together in admirable harmony, though divided by a surprising diversity of religions, comprehending quakers, churchmen, calvinists, lutherans, catholics, methodists, moravians, independants, anabaptists, and a German sect called dumplers, who live in a kind of religious society, wearing long beards, and a habit resembling that of friars. This province may boast of many considerable towns; but the capital Philadelphia is remarkably large, rich, and flourishing. It stands on a tongue of land, at the confluence of two navigable rivers, the Delaware and the Schuylkel, disposed in the form of a regular oblong, and designed by the original plan to extend from the one to the other. The streets, which are broad, spacious, and uniform, cross each other at right angles, leaving proper spaces for churches, markets, and other public edifices. The houses are neatly built of brick, the quays spacious and magnificent, the warehouses large and numerous, and the docks commodious and well contrived for ship-building. The number of inhabitants amounts to about fifteen thousand,

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land, and they carry on a considerable trade with the English, French, Spanish, and Dutch colonies in America, with the Azores, Canaries, Madeira, Great Britain and Ireland, Spain, Portugal and Holland. The colonists, who cultivate the country, are hardy, industrious, and generally substantial; and the inferior people among them manufacture both linen and woollen cloth for their own wearing. The commodities in which they trade, are wheat, flour, barley, oats, Indian corn, peas, beef, pork, cheese, butter, cyder, beer, flax, hemp, linseed oil, furs and deer-skins, staves, lumber and iron. The importance of this colony may be estimated by the value of the imports from England; which in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven, amounted to two hundred sixty-eight thousand four hundred and twenty-six pounds, six shillings, and six-pence sterling. The greatest inconvenience to which this province is exposed arises from the pacific principles of the quakers, who engross the greatest share in the government, and are generally averse to vigorous measures, even when they seem necessary for their own preservation. Pennsylvania is understood to extend as far northerly as the banks of the lake Erie, where the French erected a fort. They raised another at some distance to the southward of the river Au-Beuf, and made other encroachments on this colony, which we shall mention in due order.

Adjoining to part of Pennsylvania on the sea coast lies the province of Maryland. Maryland, a tract of land situated along the bay of Chesapeak, in length about one hundred and forty miles, and nearly of the same breadth, bounded on the north by Pennsylvania, on the east by the Atlantic ocean, and by the river Potowmack on the south. This country was first planted with Roman catholics by lord Baltimore, to whom Charles II. granted it by patent. In the sequel, however, people of all religions were admitted into this settlement, and indulged with liberty of conscience, and at present the reigning religion is that of the English church. The climate is very sultry in summer, and not very salubrious. The soil is fruitful, and produces a great quantity of tobacco, which the people cultivate as their staple commodity. The seat of government is established at Annapolis, a small town beautifully situated on the river Patuxent, and here the governor resides. The number of white inhabitants within this province does not exceed forty thousand; but there are upwards of sixty-thousand negroes, employed for the most part in the culture of tobacco, which they raise annually to the amount of forty thousand hog-heads.

Tracing the sea-coast still southerly, the next settlement is Virginia, Virginia. on the north by the river Potowmack, which is the boundary between this and the colony last described, having the bay of Chesapeak to the east, bounded on the south by Carolina, and extending westward without any prescribed limits, though the plantations have reached no farther than the great Allegany mountains; so that the province, as now possessed, stretches in length about two hundred and forty miles, and in breadth not above two hundred, lying between the fifty-fifth and fortieth degrees of latitude.

In sailing to Virginia, navigators steer through a streight formed by two points called the Capes, into the bay of Chesapeak, a large inlet that runs three hundred miles into the country from south to north, covered from the Atlantic ocean by the eastern side of Maryland, and a small portion of Virginia

Ann. 1754. ginia on the same peninsula. This noble bay is about eighteen miles broad for a considerable space, and seven at its narrowest part, yielding generally nine fathoms depth of water; on both sides it receives many navigable rivers, those on the Virginia side being known by the names of James river, York river, the Rappahannock and Potowmack. This country, especially towards the sea, lies very low and swampy, and the soil is extremely fertile. The air and weather are variable; the heats of summer excessive; the frosts of winter sudden and intensely cold; so that, upon the whole, the climate is neither very agreeable nor healthy, the people being particularly subject to agues and pleuritic disorders. The province abounds with vast forests of timber: the plains are covered with a surprising luxuriance of vegetables, flowers, and flowering shrubs, diffusing the most delicious fragrance. The ground yields plenty of corn, and every sort of fruit in great abundance and perfection. Horned cattle and hogs have here multiplied to admiration, since they were first imported from Europe. The animals, natives of this and the neighbouring countries, are deer, panthers or tygers, bears, wolves, foxes, squirrels, racoons, and creatures called opossums, with an infinite variety of beautiful birds, and a diversity of serpents, among which the rattlesnake is the most remarkable.

There are very few towns in Virginia: James-town, the ancient capital, is dwindled down to an inconsiderable village; and Williamsburg is far from being extensive or populous, although the seat of government, where the governor resides, where the assembly and courts of justice are held, and a college hath been established for the study of the arts and sciences.

The number of white people in Virginia may amount to seventy thousand; but the negroes are much more numerous. These are chiefly employed in the culture of tobacco, the staple commodity, of which above forty thousand hogsheads are yearly exported from this province. The natives likewise supply Great Britain with a considerable quantity of flax, hemp, iron, staves, walnut-tree, and cedar-planks; and they trade largely with the West Indian Islands in lumber, pitch, tar, corn, and provisions.

The two Carolinas.

Virginia is bounded to the south by the two Carolinas, situated between the forty-sixth and thirty-first degrees of latitude; the length amounting to upwards of four hundred miles, and the breadth extending near three hundred, as far as the Indian nations called the Catawbass, the Creeks, and Cherokees.

The country of Carolina is divided into two governments, of which the most northern is the most inconsiderable. The climate in both is the same, as well as the soil: the first is warm, though not unhealthy; the last extremely fertile, yielding every thing in plenty which is produced in Virginia, besides abundance of excellent oranges, and some commodities which are not found to the northward. North Carolina, though not so opulent, is more populous than the southern part. The chief town, called Edenton, is no better than a trifling village; but the present governor has projected another capital farther south, upon the river Neus. The colonists of North Carolina carry on a considerable traffick in tar, pitch, turpentine, staves, shingles, lumber, corn, peas, pork and beef, tobacco, deer-skins, indigo, wheat, rice, bees-wax, tallow, bacon, and hog's lard, cotton, and squared timber, live cattle, with the

the skins of beaver, racoon, fox, minx, wild cat, and otter. South Carolina Ann. 1754. is much better cultivated; the people are more civilized, and the commerce more important. The capital of this province, called Charles-town, is finely situated at the confluence of two navigable rivers, having the advantage of a commodious harbour. The town, which, for size, beauty, and commerce, may be deemed one of the first in North America, contains about eight hundred houses well built; and is regularly fortified. Here the governor resides, and the assembly is convoked. The merchants are rich, and the people in general, gay, liberal, and expensive. Their trade, exclusive of the articles we have already mentioned, as common to this government, and that of North Carolina, consists of two chief staple commodities, rice and indigo, which they cultivate with great success; and they have likewise made some progress in the culture of silk, which it is to be hoped will prosper under the cherishing wings of the legislature.

The most southern of all our settlements on this coast is Georgia, extending Georgia. about sixty miles from north to south along the sea-shore; but widening in the inland parts to above one hundred and fifty, and stretching almost three hundred from the sea to the Apalachian mountains. This country differs very little from that of South Carolina, with which it borders; yet the summer is here more hot, and the soil not so fertile.

Savannah, the capital, stands commodiously for trade, about ten miles from the sea, on a river of the same name, navigable with large boats two hundred miles farther up to the second town, called Augusta, a place that flourishes by the Indian trade of skins, which the inhabitants carry on with their neighbours the Creeks, the Chickesaws, and the Cherokees, who are the most numerous and powerful tribes in America.

Georgia is bounded on the south by the river Attamaha, at no great distance from the Spanish fort of St. Augustin. The colony is but thinly inhabited, though it increases in population, and the inhabitants begin to raise large quantities of rice and indigo.

Having thus exhibited a succinct view of the British colonies in North America, for the information of the reader, we shall now resume the thread of our history, and particularize the transactions by which the present year was distinguished on this extensive continent.

The government of England having received nothing but evasive answers from the court of France, touching the complaints that were made of the encroachments in America, dispatched orders to all the governors of that country to repel force by force, and drive the French from their settlements on the river Ohio. Accordingly the provinces of Virginia and Pennsylvania took this important affair into their consideration; but, while they deliberated, the French vigorously prosecuted their designs on the other side of the mountains. They surprised Logs-town, which the Virginians had built upon the Ohio; made themselves masters of the Block-house and Truck-house, where they found skins and other commodities to the amount of twenty thousand pounds, and destroyed all the British traders, except two who found means to escape. At the same time M. de Contrecoeur, with a thousand men and eighteen pieces of cannon, arrived in three hundred canoes from Venango, a fort they had raised on the banks of the Ohio, and reduced by surprise

The French surprise Logs-town on the river Ohio.

Ann. 1754. a British fort which the Virginians had built on the forks of the Monangahela, that runs into the same river.

These hostilities were followed by divers skirmishes between the people of the two nations, which were fought with various success.

A conference with the Indians at Albany.

At length the governors of the English settlements received orders from England to form a political confederacy, for their mutual defence: and the governor of New York was directed to confer with the chiefs of the Six Nations, with a view to detach them from the French interest by dint of promises and presents of value, sent over for that purpose. A congress was accordingly appointed at Albany, to which place the governor of New York repaired, accompanied by commissioners from all the other British settlements: but a very small number of Indians arrived, and even these seemed to be indifferent to the advances and exhortations that were made by the English orator. The truth is, the French had artfully weaned them from their attachment to the subjects of Great Britain. Nevertheless, they accepted the presents, renewed their treaties with the king of England, and even demanded his assistance in driving the French from the posts and possessions they had usurped within the Indian territories.

Colonel Washington defeated and taken by the French on the Ohio.

It was in consequence of the measures here taken, that colonel Washington was detached from Virginia with four hundred men, and occupied a post on the banks of the river Ohio, where he threw up some works, and erected a kind of an occasional fort, in hope of being able to defend himself in that situation, until he should be joined by a reinforcement from New York, which however did not arrive. While he remained in this situation, De Viller, a French commander, at the head of nine hundred men, being on his march to dislodge Washington, detached one Jamonville, an inferior officer, with a small party, and a formal summons to Washington, requiring him to quit the fort, which he pretended was built on ground belonging to the French, or their allies. So little regard was payed to this intimation, that the English fell upon this party, and, as the French affirm, without the least provocation, either slew or took the whole detachment. De Viller, incensed at these unprovoked hostilities, marched up to the attack, which Washington for some time sustained under manifold disadvantages. At length, however, he surrendered the fort upon capitulation, for the performance of which he left two officers as hostages in the hands of the French; and in his retreat was terribly harrassed by the Indians, who plundered his baggage and massacred his people.

This event was no sooner known in England, than the British ambassador at Paris received directions to complain of it to the French ministry as an open violation of the peace; but this representation had no effect.

Both nations by this time foresaw that a rupture would be inevitable, and each resolved to make suitable preparations. France continued to send reinforcements of men, and supplies of ammunition to Quebec, for the prosecution of her ambitious projects; and the ministry of Great Britain transmitted salutary cautions to the governors of the provinces in North America, exhorting them to join their endeavours for repelling the incursions of the enemy.

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Divisions among the British colonies in America.

Instructions to Sir Danvers Osborn.

Such an union as seemed necessary for their common preservation was not easily effected. The different colonies were divided by different views and interests, both religious and political: besides, every settlement was distracted into factions, formed by the governor and the demagogues of the assembly: in other words, an opposition like that in parliament, and a continual struggle between the liberties of the people and the prerogative of the proprietor, whether sovereign or subject. Mr. Dinwiddie, governor of Virginia, having demanded a certain perquisite, or fee, for every patent he should pass for land, the assembly voted his demand illegal, arbitrary, and oppressive. They declared, that every man who payed it should be deemed an enemy to his country, and sent over an agent to London to solicit the suppression of this imposition. The representatives of the people in Pennsylvania wasted the time in vain deliberations and violent disputes with their proprietaries, while the enemy infested their frontiers. The colony of New York was filled with discontent and animosity. Sir Danvers Osborn, who had been appointed governor of this province, died immediately after his arrival at New York, and the instructions he had received were exposed to public censure. The preamble inveighed severely against the want of duty, allegiance, loyalty, and unanimity, which had lately appeared so notorious in the assembly of that province, who had violated the royal commission and instructions, by assuming to themselves the power to dispose of public money in the laws which they had occasionally passed. This gentleman was therefore directed to insist upon the reformation of all those public abuses, and upon the establishment of a certain supply for the service of the government, as well as upon the settlement of a salary for himself. Moreover, his Majesty, in these instructions, signified his will and pleasure, That all money raised for the supply and support of government, or upon any emergency for immediate service, should be disposed of and applied properly to the use for which it might be granted, by warrant from the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the council of the province, and no otherwise: That, nevertheless, the assembly should be permitted, from time to time, to view and examine the accounts of money disposed of, by virtue of laws which they had enacted: That if any member of the council, or officer holding place of trust or profit within the government, should, in any manner whatever, give his assent to, or in any wise advise or concur with the assembly in passing any act or vote, whereby the royal prerogative might be lessened or impaired, or any money be raised or disposed of for the public service, contrary to or inconsistent with the method prescribed by these instructions, the governor should forthwith remove or suspend such counsellor or officer so offending, and give an immediate account of his proceedings to the commissioners of trade and plantations. These were peremptory injunctions, which plainly proved, that the ministry was determined to support the prerogative with a high hand; but it must be owned, at the same time, that abundance of provocation had been given by the insolent opposition of some turbulent individuals, who had exerted all their influence in disturbing and distressing the views and designs of the government.

Ann. 1754. While the British colonies in America were, by these divisions, in a great measure disabled from making vigorous efforts against the common enemy, the administration at home began to exert itself for their defence. Officers were appointed for two regiments, consisting of two battalions each, to be raised in America, and commanded by Sir William Pepperel and governor Shirley, who had enjoyed the same command in the last war; and a body of troops was destined for the same service.

The hereditary prince of Hesse Cassel professes the Roman catholic religion. The most remarkable incident that marked this year on the continent of Europe was the conversion of the hereditary prince of Hesse Cassel, who had espoused the princess Mary of England. He now declared himself a Roman catholic, and was supposed to have been cajoled to this profession by the promises of certain powers, who flattered his ambition, in order to weaken the protestant interest in Germany. His father, though deeply affected by his son's apostacy, did not fail to take immediate measures for preventing the evil consequences which might otherwise have flowed from his defection. He forthwith assembled the states of the landgraviate, in order to take such measures as might appear necessary to maintain the religion, laws, and constitution of the country; and the prince was laid under certain restrictions, which he will not find it an easy task to set aside. It was enacted, that when the regency should devolve to him by succession, he should not have it in his power to alter the established laws, or grant any church to persons of the Roman communion, for the public exercise of their religion; and that he should be excluded from all share in the education of his sons, the eldest of whom should be put in possession of the county of Hanau upon his father's accession to the regency of the landgraviate. These resolutions were guarantied by the kings of Prussia and Denmark, by the Maritime Powers, and the Evangelic Body of the empire.

The exile of the parliament of Paris, far from having intimidated the other tribunals from performing what they apprehended to be their duty, served only to inflame the discontents of the people, and to animate all the courts of justice to a full exertion of their authority. The chatelet continued to prosecute those priests who refused the sacrament to persons whose consciences would not allow them to subscribe to the bull Unigenitus, even after three of their members were sent to the Bastile. The same prosecutions were carried on, and bold remonstrances published by the parliaments of Aix and Rouen. In a word, the whole kingdom was filled with such confusion as threatened a total suppression of justice, a general spirit of disaffection, and universal anarchy. The prelates, mean while, seemed to triumph in the combustion they had raised. They entered into associations to support each other: they intrigued at court, and harrassed the king with insolent declarations, until he grew tired of their proceedings, and opened his eyes to the fatal consequences of their pride and obstinacy. He even took an opportunity of exhorting the archbishop of Paris to act more suitably to the character of a clergyman. He recalled the parliament from exile, and they returned in triumph, amidst the acclamations of the people, who celebrated their arrival at Paris with the most extravagant demonstrations of joy; and the archbishop, notwithstanding the king's express declaration to the contrary, still persisting in countenancing the recusant priests, was banished to Conflans-sous-Charenton.

In

In Spain the interest of Great Britain was so warmly espoused, and so power-fully supported by Mr. Wall, who had been resident in England, that the French party, though countenanced by the queen-mother, and sustained with all the influence of the marquis de la Ensenada the prime minister, was totally defeated. The king being convinced that it would be for the interest of his subjects to live on good terms with England, and well apprised of Ensenada's intrigues, ordered that minister to be arrested and confined, and bestowed upon Mr. Wall the best part of his employments. Nevertheless the Spaniards in the West Indies continued to oppress the subjects of Great Britain employed in cutting logwood in the bay of Honduras; and representations on this head being made to the court of Madrid, the dispute was amicably adjusted between Mr. Wall and Sir Benjamin Keene the British ambassador.

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Affairs of
Spain and
Portugal.

While the interest of Britain thus triumphed in Spain, it seemed to lose ground at the court of Lisbon. His Portuguese majesty had formed vast projects of an active commerce, and even established an East India company: in the mean time he could not help manifesting his chagrin at the great quantities of gold which were yearly exported from his dominions, as the balance due from his subjects on English commodities. In his endeavours to check this traffic, which he deemed so detrimental to his subjects, he inflicted hardships on the British merchants settled at Lisbon: some were imprisoned on frivolous pretences; others deprived of their property, and obliged to quit the kingdom. He insisted upon laying an imposition of two per centum on all the Portuguese gold that should be exported; but the profits of the trade would not bear such an exaction. Mean while, there being a scarcity of corn in Portugal, the kingdom was supplied from England; and the people having nothing but gold to purchase this necessary supply, the king saw the necessity of conniving at the exportation of his coin, and the trade reverted into its former channel.

On the fourteenth day of November the king of Great Britain opened the session of parliament with an harangue, which intimated nothing of an approaching rupture. He said, That the general state of affairs in Europe had undergone very little alteration since their last meeting; that he had lately received the strongest assurances from his good brother the king of Spain of friendship and confidence, which he would cultivate with harmony and good faith. He declared his principal view should be to strengthen the foundation, and secure the duration of a general peace; to improve the present advantages of it for promoting the trade of his good subjects, and protecting those possessions which constituted one great source of their wealth and commerce. Finally, he exhorted them to compleat their plan for appropriating the forfeited estates in the Highlands to the service of the public.

The British
parliament
opened.

He probably avoided mentioning the encroachments of France, that he might supply no handle for debates on the address, which was carried in both houses almost without opposition.

The government seemed determined to humble the insolence of the French councils; and this disposition was so agreeable to the people in general, that they grudged no expence, and heartily concurred with the demands of the ministry.

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Supplies
granted.

The commons granted for the service of the ensuing year four millions seventy-three thousand seven hundred and twenty-nine pounds; one million of that sum expressly given for enabling his majesty to augment his forces by land and sea. Thirty-two thousand pounds were allotted as a subsidy to the king of Poland, and twenty thousand to the elector of Bavaria. These gratifications met with little or no opposition in the committee of supply; because it was taken for granted, that, in case of a rupture, France would endeavour to avail herself of her superiority by land, by invading his Britannic majesty's German dominions; and therefore it might be necessary to secure the assistance of such allies on the continent.

That they prognosticated aright, with respect to the designs of that ambitious power, will soon appear in the course of this history; which will also demonstrate how little dependence is to be placed upon the professed attachment of subsidiary princes.

The supplies were raised by the standing branches of the revenue, the land tax and malt tax, and a lottery for one million; one hundred thousand pounds of it to be deducted for the service of the public, and the remaining nine hundred thousand to be charged on the produce of the sinking fund, at the rate of three per centum per annum, to commence from the fifth day of January in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty six.

The civil transactions of this session were confined to a few objects. Divers new regulations were made for encouraging and improving the whale and white herring fishery, as well as for finishing and putting in a proper state of defence a new fort, lately built at Anamaboe on the coast of Africa.

Bill in behalf
of Chelsea
pensioners.

Mr. Pitt, the paymaster-general of the forces, brought in a bill, which will ever remain a standing monument of his humanity. The poor disabled veterans, who enjoyed the pension of Chelsea hospital, were so iniquitously oppressed by a set of miscreants, who supplied them with money per advance, at the most exorbitant rates of usury, that many of them with their families were in danger of starving; and the intention of the government in granting such a comfortable subsistence, was in a great measure defeated. Mr. Pitt, perceiving that this evil originally flowed from the delay of the first payment, which the pensioner could not touch till the expiration of a whole year after he had been put upon the list, removed this necessity of borrowing, by providing in the bill, that half a year's pension should be advanced half a year before it is due; and the practice of usury was effectually prevented by a clause, enacting, that all contracts should be void, by which any pension might be mortgaged. This humane regulation was unanimously approved, and having passed through both houses with uncommon expedition, received the royal assent.

Oxfordshire
election.

Notwithstanding the unanimity manifested by the commons, in every thing relating to the measures for acting vigorously against the common enemy of the nation, they were remarkably disturbed and divided by a contested election of members for Oxfordshire. In the course of this dispute, the strength and influence of what they called the old and new interest, or, to speak more intelligibly, of the Tories and Whigs in that county, were fully displayed. The candidates sustained on the shoulders of the old interest, were the lord viscount Wenman, and Sir James Dashwood: their competitors, whom the new interest supported, and of consequence the ministry countenanced, were

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were lord Parker and Sir Edward Turner. Never was any contention of this kind maintained with more spirit and animosity, or carried on at a greater expence. One would have imagined that each side considered it as a dispute which must have determined, whether the nation should enjoy its antient liberty, or tamely submit to the fetters of corruption. Noblemen and gentlemen, clergymen and ladies, employed all their talents and industry in canvassing for either side, throughout every township and village in the county. Scandal emptied her whole quiver of insinuation, calumny, and lampoon; corruption was not remiss in promises and presents: houses of entertainment were opened; and nothing was for some time to be seen but scenes of tumult, riot, and intoxication. The revenue of many an independent prince on the continent, would not have been sufficient to afford such sums of money as were expended in the course of this dispute. At length they proceeded to election, and the sheriff made a double return of all the four candidates, so that not one of them could sit, and the county remained without a representative until this ambiguous affair could be decided in the house of commons. About the middle of November petitions being presented by the four candidates, as well as by the gentlemen, clergy, and other freeholders of the county, complaining of an undue election, and double return, the matter of these petitions was heard at the bar of the house on the third day of December. The counsel for lord Wenman and Sir James Dashwood alledged, that they had the majority of votes upon the poll; and this circumstance was admitted by the counsel on the other side: then they proceeded to prove by evidence, that, after closing the poll, the sheriff declared the majority of votes to be in favour of these two candidates, and adjourned the court from the twenty-third day of April to the eighth of May; so that the scrutiny demanded, and granted on the behalf of lord Parker and Sir Edward Turner could not be discussed before the last day of the month, when the writ was returnable: that the scrutiny did not begin till the ninth day of May, when the time was protracted by disputes about the manner in which it should be carried on; that lord Parker and Sir Edward Turner were allowed to object, through the whole poll, to the votes on the other side, on pretence that their competitors should be permitted to answer these objections, and in their turn, object through the whole poll to the voters for lord Parker and Sir Edward Turner, who should, in the last place, have leave to answer: that lord Wenman and Sir James Dashwood had disapproved of this method, because they apprehended it might induce their competitors to make such a number of frivolous objections, that they should not have time to answer one half of them, much less to make objections of their own before the writ should be returned: that, they foresaw, such a number of frivolous objections were made, as engrossed the attention of the court till the twenty-seventh day of May; so that they could not begin to answer any of these objections till the twenty-eighth; and on the thirtieth the sheriff, having closed the scrutiny, made the double return. The proof being exhibited, the counsel insisted, that, as they had established a majority on the poll, and demonstrated that this majority neither was nor could be overthrown by such an unfinished scrutiny, it was incumbent on the other side to proceed upon the merits of the election, by endeavouring to overthrow that majority of which their clients were in possession.

A question

Ann. 1755. A question in the house being carried to the same purpose, lord Wenman and Sir James Dashwood objected to five hundred and thirty voters on the other side, whom they proposed to disqualify. Their counsel examined several witnesses, to prove the partiality of the sheriff in favour of lord Parker and Sir Edward Turner, and to detect these candidates in the practice of bribery; for which purpose they produced a letter in their own hand-writing. They afterwards proceeded to disqualify particular votes, and summed up their evidence on the twenty-first day of January. Then the counsel for the other side, began to refute the charge of partiality and corruption; and to answer the objections that had been made to particular voters. They produced evidence to prove, that customary freeholds, or customary holdings, had voted at elections in the counties of Glamorgan, Monmouth, Gloucester, Wells, and Hereford; and that the customary tenants of the manor of Wodestock, in Oxfordshire, had been reputed capable of voting, and even voted at elections for that county. In a word, they continued to examine evidences, argue and refute, prove and disprove, until the twenty-third day of April, when, after some warm debates and divisions in the house, lord Parker and Sir Edward Turner were declared duly elected; and the clerk of the crown was ordered to amend the return, by erasing the names of lord Wenman and Sir James Dashwood. Many who presumed to think for themselves, without recollecting the power and influence of the administration, were astonished at the issue of this dispute; which, however, might have easily been foreseen; inasmuch as, during the course of the proceedings, most, if not all, of the many questions debated in the house, were determined by a great majority in favour of the new interest. A great number of copy-holders had been admitted to vote at this election, and the sheriff incurred no censure for allowing them to take the oath appointed by law to be taken by freeholders: nevertheless the commons carefully avoided determining the question, Whether copy-holders, possessed of the yearly value of forty shillings, clear of all deductions, have not a right to vote for knights to represent the shire within which their copy-hold estates are situated? This point being left doubtful by the legislature, puts it often in the power of the sheriff to return which of the candidates he pleases to support; for, if the majority of the voting copy-holders adheres to the interests of his favourites, he will admit their votes both on the poll and the scrutiny; whereas, should they be otherwise disposed, he will reject them as unqualified. What effect this practice may have upon the independency of parliament, every person must perceive, who reflects, that in almost all the counties of England the high sheriffs are annually appointed by the minister for the time being.

The attention of the legislature was chiefly turned upon the conduct of France, which preserved no medium, but seemed intent upon striking some important blow, that might serve as a declaration of war. At Brest, and other ports in that kingdom, the French were employed in equipping a powerful armament, and made no scruple to own it was intended for North America.

Message from
the king to
the house of
commons.

Towards the latter end of March Sir Thomas Robinson, secretary of state, brought a message from the king to the parliament, intimating, That his majesty having at the beginning of the session declared, his principal object

object was to preserve the public tranquillity, and at the same time to protect those possessions which constitute one great source of the commerce and wealth of his kingdoms; he now found it necessary to acquaint the house of commons, that the present situation of affairs made it requisite to augment his forces by sea and land, and to take such other measures as might best tend to preserve the general peace of Europe, and to secure the just rights and possessions of his crown in America, as well as to repel any attempts whatsoever that might be made to support or countenance any designs which should be formed against his majesty and his kingdoms; and his majesty doubted not but his faithful commons, on whose affection and zeal he entirely relied, would enable him to make such augmentations, and to take such measures for supporting the honour of his crown, and the true interests of his people, and for the security of his dominions in the present critical conjuncture, as the exigency of affairs might require; in doing which his majesty would have as much regard to the ease of his good subjects, as should be consistent with their safety and welfare.

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In answer to this message a very warm and affectionate address was presented to his majesty; and it was on this occasion that the million was granted, for augmenting his forces by sea and land. *

The court of Versailles, notwithstanding the assiduity and dispatch which they were exerting in equipping armaments and embarking troops for the support of their ambitious schemes in America, still continued to amuse the British ministry with general declarations that no hostility was intended, nor the least infringement of the treaty.

The earl of Albemarle, the English ambassador at Paris, having lately died in that city, these assurances were communicated to the court of London by the marquis de Mirepoix, who resided in England with the same character, which he had supported since his first arrival with equal honour and politeness. On this occasion he himself was so far imposed upon by the instructions he had received, that he believed the professions of his court were sincere, and seriously endeavoured to prevent a rupture between the two nations. At length, however, their preparations were so notorious that he began to suspect the consequence; and the English ministry produced such proofs of their insincerity and double dealing, that he seemed to be struck with astonishment and chagrin. He repaired to France, and upbraided the ministry of Versailles for having made him the tool of their dissimulation. They referred him to the king,

The court of Versailles amuses the English ministry.

* The ministry having resolved to send a body of forces to America, to act in conjunction with the provincial troops raised on that continent, it became necessary that the mutiny-act should be rendered more clear and extensive. When this bill therefore fell under consideration, it was improved with a new clause, providing, That all officers and soldiers of any troops, being mustered and in pay, which are or shall be raised in any of the British provin-

ces in America, by authority of the respective governors or governments hereof, shall, at all times and in all places, when they happen to join or act in conjunction with his majesty's British forces, be liable to martial law and discipline, in like manner, to all intents and purposes, as the British forces are and shall be subject to the same trial, penalties, and punishments,

Ann. 1755. who ordered him to return to London, with fresh assurances of his pacific intentions: but his practice agreed so ill with his professions, that the ambassador had scarce obtained an audience to communicate them, when undoubted intelligence arrived, that a powerful armament was ready to sail from Brest and Rochfort.

French fleet
destined for
America.

The government of Great Britain, aroused by this information, immediately took the most expeditious methods for equipping a squadron; and towards the latter end of April, admiral Boscawen sailed with eleven ships of the line and one frigate, having on board a considerable number of land-forces, to attend the motions of the enemy: but more certain and particular intelligence arriving soon after, touching the strength of the French fleet, which consisted of twenty-five ships of the line, besides frigates and transports, with a great quantity of warlike stores, and four thousand regular troops, commanded by the baron Dieskau, admiral Holbourne was detached with six ships of the line, and one frigate, to reinforce Mr. Boscawen; and a great number of capital ships were put in commission.

Sails from
Brest.

In the beginning of May the French fleet, commanded by Mr. Macnamara, an officer of Irish extraction, sailed from Brest, directing his course to North America; but, after having proceeded beyond the chops of the English channel, he returned with nine of the capital ships, while the rest of the armament continued their course under the direction of Mr. Bois de la Mothe.

End of the
Session.

On the twenty-fifth day of April the king went to the house of lords, where, after giving the royal assent to the bills then depending; for granting a certain sum out of the sinking-fund, for the relief of insolvent debtors, for the better regulation of the marine forces on shore, for the better raising of marines and seamen, and to several other public and private bills; his majesty put an end to the session of parliament by a speech, in which he acquainted the two houses, That the zeal they had shewn for supporting the honour, rights, and possessions of his crown, had afforded him the greatest satisfaction: That his desire to preserve the public tranquillity had been sincere and uniform: That he had religiously adhered to the stipulations of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and made it his care not to injure or offend any power whatsoever; but that he never could entertain a thought of purchasing the name of peace at the expence of suffering incroachments upon, or of yielding up, what justly belonged to Great Britain, either by antient possession or by solemn treaties: That the vigour and firmness of his parliament, on this important occasion, had enabled him to be prepared for such contingencies as might happen: That if reasonable and honourable terms of accommodation could be agreed upon, he would be satisfied, and, in all events, rely on the justice of his cause, the effectual support of his people, and the protection of Divine Providence. The parliament was then prorogued to the twenty-seventh of May.

Preparations
for war.

Whilst all Europe was in suspense about the fate of the English and French squadrons, preparations for a vigorous sea-war were going forward in England with an unparalleled spirit and success. Still the French court flattered itself that Great Britain, out of tenderness to his majesty's German dominions, would abstain from hostilities. Mirepoix continued to have frequent conferences

rences with the British ministry, who made no secret that their admirals, particularly Boscawen, had orders to attack the French ships wherever they should meet them. On the other hand, Mons. de Mirepoix declared, That his master would consider the first gun fired at sea, in an hostile manner, as a declaration of war. This menace, far from intimidating the English, animated them to redouble their preparations for war. The press for seamen was carried on with extraordinary vigour in all parts of this kingdom, as well as in Ireland; and great premiums were given not only by the government, but also, over and above his majesty's bounty, by almost all the considerable cities and towns in England, to such as should enlist voluntarily for sailors or soldiers. Other branches of the public service went on with equal alacrity: and such was the eagerness of the people to lend their money to the government, that instead of one million, which was to be raised by way of lottery, three millions eight hundred and eighty thousand pounds were subscribed immediately.

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The French ambassador's declaration.

The situation of affairs requiring his majesty to go to Germany this summer, great apprehensions arose in the minds of many, lest the French should either intercept him in his journey, or prevent his return. The earl Poulet had made a motion in the house of lords, humbly to represent to his majesty, "That it was an article in the original act of settlement, by which the succession of these kingdoms devolved to his electoral house, that the king should not go to his foreign dominions without the consent of parliament; and that this was a principal article in the compact between the crown and the people: That though this article was repealed in the late reign, yet, till of late, it had always been the custom for his majesty to acquaint the parliament with his intended departure to his German dominions, both in regard to the true sense and spirit of the act that placed him on the throne, as well as for the paternal kindness of his royal heart, and the condescension he had been so good to shew his parliament on all occasions; but that his majesty's declaration of his design to visit his electoral estates had always come on the last day of a session, when it was too late for the great constitutional council of the crown to offer such advice as might otherwise have been expedient and necessary: That his majesty's leaving his kingdoms in a conjuncture so pregnant with distress, so denunciative of danger, would not only give the greatest advantage to such as might be disposed to stir up disaffection and discontent, and to the constitutional and national enemies of England; but would also fill his loyal subjects with the most affecting concern, and most gloomy fears, as well for their own safety as for that of their sovereign, whose invaluable life, at all times of the utmost consequence to his people, was then infinitely so, by reason of his great experience, the affection of every one to his royal person, and the minority of the heir apparent." Such was the purport of this motion; but it was not seconded by any of the other lords.

Earl Poulet's motion against his majesty's going to Germany.

The general uneasiness, on account of his majesty's departure, was greatly increased by an apprehension that there would, during his absence, be no good agreement amongst the regency, which consisted of the following persons: his royal highness William duke of Cumberland; Thomas lord archbishop of Canterbury; Philip earl of Hardwicke, lord high chancellor; John earl of Granville, president of the council; Charles duke of Marlborough, lord privy seal; John duke of Rutland, steward of the household; Charles duke

Regency appointed upon the king's going to Hanover.

Ann. 1755. of Grafton, lord chamberlain; Archibald duke of Argyle; the duke of Newcastle, first commissioner of the treasury; the duke of Dorset, master of the horse; the earl of Holderness, one of the secretaries of state; the earl of Rochford, groom of the stole; the marquis of Hartington, lord lieutenant of Ireland; lord Anson, first commissioner of the admiralty; Sir Thomas Robinson, secretary of state; and Henry Fox, Esq; secretary at war.

His majesty set out from St. James's on the twenty-eighth of April early in the morning, embarked at Harwich in the afternoon, landed the next day at Helvoetsluys, and arrived at Hanover on the second of May.

Boscawen's expedition.

Admiral Boscawen, with eleven ships of the line and a frigate, having taken on board two regiments at Plymouth, sailed from thence on the twenty-seventh of April for the banks of Newfoundland; and, in a few days after his arrival there, the French fleet from Brest came to the same station, under the command of M. Bois de la Mothe. But the thick fogs, which prevail upon those coasts, especially at that time of the year, kept the two armaments from seeing each other; and part of the French squadron escaped up the river St. Laurence, whilst another part of them went round, and got into the same river through the streights of Belleisle, by a way which was never known to be attempted before by ships of the line. However, whilst the English fleet lay off cape Race, which is the southernmost point of Newfoundland, and was thought to be the most proper situation for intercepting the enemy, two French ships, the Alcide, of sixty-four guns, and four hundred and eighty men, and the Lys, pierced for sixty-four guns, but mounting only twenty-two, having eight companies of land-forces on board, being separated from the rest of their fleet in the fog, fell in with the Dunkirk, captain Howe, and the Defiance, captain Andrews, two sixty-gun ships of the English squadron; and after a smart engagement, which lasted some hours, and in which captain (afterwards lord) Howe behaved with the greatest skill and intrepidity, were both taken, with several considerable officers and engineers, and about eight thousand pounds in money.

The Alcide and Lys taken.

Though the capture of these ships, from which the commencement of the war may in fact be dated, fell greatly short of what was hoped for from this expedition; yet, when the news of it reached England, it was of infinite service to the public credit of every kind, and animated the whole nation, who now saw plainly that the government was determined to keep no farther measures with the French, but justly to repel force by force, and put a stop to their sending more men and arms to invade the property of the English in America, as they had hitherto done with impunity. The French, who, for some time, did not even attempt to make reprisals on our shipping, would gladly have chosen to avoid a war at that time, and to have continued extending their incroachments on our settlements, till they had executed their grand plan of securing a communication from the Mississippi to Canada by a line of forts, many of which they had already erected.

The ambassador of France recalled.

Upon the arrival of the news of this action at Paris, the French ambassador, M. de Mirepoix, was recalled from London, and M. de Buffly from Hanover, where he had just arrived, to attend the king of England in a public character. They complained loudly of Boscawen's attacking the ships, as a breach of national faith: but it was justly retorted on the part of England, that

that their incroachments in America had rendered reprisals both justifiable and necessary. The resolution of making them was the effect of mature deliberation in the English council. The vast increase of the French marine of late years, which, in all probability, would soon be employed against Great Britain, occasioned an order for making reprisals general in Europe as well as in America; and that all French ships, whether outward or homeward bound, should be stopt and brought into British ports. To give the greater weight to these orders, it was resolved to send out those admirals who had distinguished themselves most towards the end of the last war. Accordingly, on the twenty-first of July, Sir Edward Hawke sailed on a cruize to the westward with eighteen ships of the line, a frigate, and a sloop; but, not meeting with the French fleet, these ships returned to England about the latter end of September and the beginning of October; on the fourteenth of which last month another fleet, consisting of twenty-two ships of the line, two frigates, and two sloops, sailed again on a cruize to the westward under admiral Byng, in hopes of intercepting the French squadron under Duguay, and likewise that commanded by La Mothe, in case of its return from America. But this fleet likewise returned to Spithead on the twenty-second of November, without having been able to effect any thing, though it was allowed by all, that the admiral had acted judiciously in the choice of his stations.

Ann. 1755.
Orders for making general reprisals upon the French.

Cruises of the admirals Hawke and Byng.

While these measures were pursued, for the general security of the British coasts and trade in Europe, several new ships of war were begun, and finished with the utmost expedition, in his majesty's docks: twelve frigates and sloops, contracted for in private yards, were compleated by the month of August; and twenty-four ships and twelve colliers were then taken into the service of the government, to be fitted out as vessels of war, to carry twenty guns and a hundred and twenty men each.

Preparations for war continued.

In the mean time the French trade was so annoyed by the English cruisers, that, before the end of this year, three hundred of their merchant-ships, many of which, from St. Domingo and Martinico, were extremely rich, and eight thousand of their sailors, were brought into English ports. By these captures the British ministry answered many purposes: they deprived the French of a great body of seamen, and withheld from them a very large property, the want of which greatly distressed their people, and ruined many of their traders*. Their outward-bound merchant-ships were insured at the rate of thirty per cent. whilst the English paid no more than the common insurance. This intolerable burden was felt by all degrees of people amongst them: their ministry was publicly reviled, even by their parliaments; and the French name, from being the terror, began to be the contempt of Europe. Their uneasiness was also not a little heightened by new broils between their king and the parliament of Paris, occasioned by the obstinacy of the clergy of that kingdom, who seemed determined to support the church, in all events, against the secular tribunals, and, as much as possible, to enforce the observance of the bull Unigenitus, which had long been the occasion of

The trade of the French greatly distressed.

* After all, it must be owned, that to seize, good a handle to the French king, to accuse in this manner, the property of merchants trading under the faith of treaties, without any previous declaration of war, afforded but too much a handle to the French king, to accuse the British government of deviating from the law of nations, as well as from the rules of common humanity.

Ann. 1755. so many disputes among them. However, the parliament continuing firm, and the French king approving of its conduct, the ecclesiastics thought proper to submit for the present; and in their general assembly this year, granted him a free gift of sixteen millions of livres, which he demanded of them; a greater sum than they had ever given before, even in time of war.

Affairs of the
English in
America.

In the beginning of this year the assembly of Massachusetts Bay in New England passed an act, prohibiting all correspondence with the French at Louisbourg; and early in the spring they raised a body of troops, which was transported to Nova Scotia, to assist lieutenant governor Laurence in driving the French from the incroachments they had made upon that province.

Accordingly, towards the end of May, the governor sent a large detachment of troops, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Monckton, upon this service; and three frigates and a sloop were dispatched up the bay of Fundy, under the command of captain Rous, to give their assistance by sea. The troops, upon their arrival at the river Massaguash, found the passage stopt by a large number of regular forces, rebel neutrals, or Acadians, and Indians, four hundred and fifty of whom occupied a block-house, with cannon mounted on their side of the river; and the rest were posted within a strong breast-work of timber, thrown up by way of outwork to the block-house. The English provincials attacked this place with such spirit, that the enemy were obliged to fly, and leave them in possession of the breast-work; then the garrison in the block-house deserted it, and left the passage of the river free.

Beau-sejour
taken by co-
lonel Monck-
ton.

From thence colonel Monckton advanced to the French fort of Beau-sejour, which he invested, as far at least as the small number of his troops would permit, on the twelfth of June; and, after four days bombardment, obliged it to surrender, though the French had twenty-six pieces of cannon mounted, and plenty of ammunition, and the English had not yet placed a single cannon upon their batteries. The garrison was sent to Louisbourg, on condition of not bearing arms in America for the space of six months; and the Acadians, who had joined the French, were pardoned, in consideration of their having been forced into that service.

Colonel Monckton, after putting a garrison into this place, and changing its name into that of Cumberland, the next day attacked and reduced the other French fort upon the river Gaspereau, which runs into bay Verte; where he likewise found a large quantity of provisions and stores of all kinds, that being the chief magazine for supplying the French Indians and Acadians with arms, ammunition, and other necessaries. He then disarmed these last, to the number of fifteen thousand: and, in the mean time, captain Rous with his ships sailed to the mouth of the river St. John, to attack the new fort the French had erected there; but they saved him that trouble, by abandoning it upon his appearance, after having burst their cannon, blown up their magazine, and destroyed, as far as they had time, all the works they had lately raised. The English had but twenty men killed, and about the same number wounded, in the whole of this expedition, the success of which secured the tranquillity of Nova Scotia.

While the New Englanders were thus employed in reducing the French in Nova Scotia, preparations were made in Virginia for attacking them upon the

the Ohio. A fort was built, which was likewise called Fort Cumberland, and a camp formed, at Wills's Creek. On the fourteenth of January of this year, major general Braddock, with colonel Dunbar's and colonel Halket's regiments of foot, sailed from Cork in Ireland for Virginia, where they all landed safe before the end of February. This general might consequently have entered upon action early in the spring, had he not been unfortunately delayed by the Virginian contractors for the army, who, when he was ready to march, had neither provided a sufficient quantity of provisions for his troops, nor a competent number of carriages for his army.

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General
Braddock's
unfortunate
expedition.

This accident was foreseen by almost every person who knew any thing of our plantations upon the continent of America: for the people of Virginia, who think of no produce but their tobacco, and do not raise corn enough even for their own subsistence, being, by the nature of their country, well provided with the conveniency of water-conveyance, have but few wheel-carriages, or beasts of burden; whereas Pennsylvania, which abounds in corn, and most other sorts of provisions, has but little water-carriage, especially in its western settlements, where its inhabitants have great numbers of carts, waggons, and horses. Mr. Braddock should therefore certainly, in point of prudence, have landed in Pennsylvania: the contract for supplying his troops should have been made with some of the chief planters there, who could easily have performed their engagements; and if his camp had been formed near Frank's-town, or somewhere upon the south-west borders of that province, he would not have had eighty miles to march from thence to Fort Du Quesne, instead of an hundred and thirty miles that he had to advance from Wills's Creek, where he did encamp, through roads neither better nor more practicable than the other would have been. This error, in the very beginning of the expedition, whether owing to an injudicious preference fondly given to the Virginians in the lucrative job of supplying these troops, or to any other cause, delayed the march of the army for some weeks, during which it was in the utmost distress for necessaries of all kinds; and would probably have defeated the expedition intirely for that summer, had not the contractors found means to procure some assistance from the back settlements of Pennsylvania. But even when these supplies did arrive, they consisted of only fifteen waggons, and an hundred draught horses, instead of an hundred and fifty waggons and three hundred horses, which the Virginian contractors had engaged to furnish, and the provisions were so bad that they could not be used. However, some gentlemen in Pennsylvania, being applied to in this exigency, amply made up for these deficiencies, and the troops were by this means supplied with every thing they wanted.

Obstacles to
his march.

Another, and still more fatal, error was committed in the choice of the commander for this expedition. Major-general Braddock, who was appointed to it, was undoubtedly a man of courage, and expert in all the punctilios of a review, having been brought up in the English guards; but he was naturally very haughty, positive, and difficult of access; qualities ill suited to the temper of the people amongst whom he was to command. His extreme

Ann. 1755. extreme severity in matters of discipline had rendered him unpopular among the soldiers; and the strict military education in which he had been trained from his youth, and which he prided himself on scrupulously following, made him hold the American militia in great contempt, because they could not go through their exercise with the same dexterity and regularity as a regiment of guards in Hyde Park, little knowing, or indeed being able to form any idea of the difference between the European manner of fighting, and an American expedition through woods, deserts, and morasses. Before he left England, he received, in the hand-writing of colonel Napier, a set of instructions from the duke of Cumberland. By these, the attempt upon Niagara was, in a great measure, referred to him; and the reduction of Crown-Point was to be left chiefly to the provincial forces. But above all, his royal highness, both verbally and in this writing, frequently cautioned him carefully to beware of an ambush or surprize. Instead of regarding this salutary caution, his conceit of his own abilities made him disdain to ask the opinion of any under his command; and the Indians, who would have been his safest guards against this danger in particular, were so disgusted by the haughtiness of his behaviour, that most of them forsook his banners.

His incautious march towards Fort Du Quesne.

Under these disadvantages he began his march from Fort Cumberland on the tenth of June, at the head of about two thousand two hundred men, for the Meadows, where colonel Washington was defeated the year before. Upon his arrival there, he was informed, that the French at Fort du Quesne, which had lately been built on the same river, near its confluence with the Monongahela, expected a reinforcement of five hundred regular troops: therefore, that he might march with the greater dispatch, he left colonel Dunbar, with eight hundred men, to bring up the provisions, stores, and heavy baggage, as fast as the nature of the service would permit; and with the other twelve hundred, together with ten pieces of cannon, and the necessary ammunition and provisions, he marched on with so much expedition, that he seldom took any time to reconnoitre the woods or thickets he was to pass through; as if the nearer he approached the enemy, the farther he was removed from danger.

He falls into an ambuscade.

Is defeated.

On the eighth of July, he encamped within ten miles of Fort du Quesne. Though colonel Dunbar was then near forty miles behind him, and his officers, particularly Sir Peter Halket, earnestly intreated him to proceed with caution, and to employ the friendly Indians that were with him, by way of advanced guard, in case of ambuscades; yet he resumed his march the next day, without so much as endeavouring to obtain any intelligence of the situation or disposition of the enemy, or even sending out any scouts to visit the woods and thickets on both sides of him, as well as in his front. With this carelessness he was advancing, when, about noon, he was saluted with a general fire upon his front, and all along his left flank, from an enemy so artfully concealed behind the trees and bushes, that not a man of them could be seen. The vanguard immediately fell back upon the main body, and in an instant the panic and confusion became general; so that most of the troops fled with great precipitation, notwithstanding all that their officers, some of whom behaved very gallantly, could do to stop their career. As to Braddock himself, instead of

of scouring the thickets and bushes from whence the fire came, with grape-shot from the ten pieces of cannon he had with him, or ordering flanking parties of his Indians to advance against the enemy, he obstinately remained upon the spot where he was, and gave orders for the few brave officers and men who stayed with him, to form regularly and advance. Meanwhile his men fell thick about him, and almost all his officers were singled out, one after another, and killed or wounded; for the Indians, who always take aim when they fire, and aim chiefly at the officers, distinguished them by their dress. At last the general, whose obstinacy seemed to increase with the danger, after having had some horses shot under him, received a musket-shot through the right arm and lungs, of which he died in a few hours, having been carried off the field by the bravery of lieutenant colonel Gage, and another of his officers. When he dropped, the confusion of the few that remained, turned into a downright and very disorderly flight, across a river which they had just passed, though no enemy appeared, or attempted to attack them. All the artillery, ammunition, and baggage of the army were left to the enemy, and among the rest the general's cabinet, with all his letters and instructions, which the French court afterwards made great use of in their printed memorials or manifestoes.

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Is killed.

The loss of the English in this unhappy affair amounted to seven hundred men. Their officers, in particular, suffered much more than in the ordinary proportion of battles in Europe. Sir Peter Halket fell by the very first fire, at the head of his regiment; and the general's secretary, son to governor Shirley, was killed soon after. Neither the number of men which the enemy had in this engagement, nor the loss which they sustained, could be so much as guessed at: but the French afterwards gave out, that their number did not, in the whole, exceed four hundred men, mostly Indians; and that their loss was quite inconsiderable, as it probably was, because they lay concealed in such a manner that the English knew not whither to point their muskets. The panic of these last continued so long, that they never stopped till they met the rear division; and even then they infected those troops with their terrors; so that the army retreated without stopping, till they reached fort Cumberland, though the enemy did not so much as attempt to pursue, nor ever appeared in sight, either in the battle, or after the defeat. On the whole, this was perhaps the most extraordinary victory that ever was obtained, and the farthest flight that ever was made. This seems to be the clearest account that has yet been given of this unfortunate affair, which, though recent in remembrance, is darker, and related with a greater variety of circumstances, than might have been expected of an event which had happened in distant ages.

Had the shattered remains of this army continued at fort Cumberland, and fortified themselves there, as they might easily have done during the rest of the summer, they would have been such a check upon the French and their scalping Indians, as would have prevented many of those ravages that were committed in the ensuing winter upon the western borders of Virginia and Pennsylvania; but instead of taking that prudent step, their commander left only the sick and wounded at that fort, under the protection of two compa-

Error of the English commander after this defeat.

Ann. 1755. nies of the provincial militia, posted there by way of garrison, and began his march on the second of August, with about sixteen hundred men, from Philadelphia; where those troops could be of no immediate service. From thence they were ordered away to Albany in New York by general Shirley, on whom the chief command of the troops in America had devolved by the death of major-general Braddock.

Defenceless
state of Vir-
ginia, Mary-
land, and Pen-
sylvania.

Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, were by these means left intirely to take care of themselves, which they might have done effectually, had they been united in their councils: but the usual disputes, between their governors and assemblies, defeated every salutary plan that was proposed.

Disagree-
ment between
the governor
and assembly
of Pennsylva-
nia.

Pensylvania, the most powerful of the three, was rendered quite impotent, either for its own defence, or that of its neighbours, by these unhappy contests; though, at last, the assembly of that province, sensible of the danger to which they were exposed, and seeing the absolute necessity of providing a standing military force, and of erecting some forts to defend their western frontier, passed a bill for raising fifty thousand pounds. But even this sum, small as it was, even to a degree of ridicule, considering the richness of the province, and the extent of its frontier, could not be obtained; the governor positively refusing to give his assent to the act of the assembly, because they had taxed the proprietaries estate equally with those of the inhabitants, which, he said, he was ordered by his instructions not to consent to, nor indeed to any new tax upon the proprietaries; and the assembly, consisting chiefly of members whose estates lay in the eastern or interior parts of the province, as positively refusing to alter their bill.

One would be apt to think, that, in a case of such urgent necessity, the governor might have ventured to give his assent to the bill under a protest, that it should not prejudice the rights of the proprietaries upon any future occasion: but as he did not, the bill was dropt, and the province left defenceless; by which means it afterwards suffered severely, to the destruction of many of the poor inhabitants upon the western frontier, and to the impressing the Indians with a contemptible opinion of the English, and the highest esteem of the French.

The colonies
to the north-
ward more
active.

Our colonies to the north of Pennsylvania were more active, and more successful in their preparations for war. New York, following the example of New England, passed an act to prohibit the sending of provisions to any French port or settlement on the continent of North America, or any of the adjacent islands; and also for raising forty-five thousand pounds, on estates real and personal, for the better defence of their colony, which lay more exposed than any other to a French invasion from Crown-Point. However, this sum, great as it might seem to them, was far from being sufficient; nor indeed could they have provided properly for their security, without the assistance of our other colonies to the east of them; but with their help, and the additional succour of the small body of regular troops expected under colonel Dunbar, they boldly resolved upon offensive measures, which, when practicable, are always the safest; and two expeditions, one against the French fort at Crown-Point, and the other against their fort at Niagara, between the lakes Ontario and Erie, were set on foot at the same time.

The expedi-
tion against
Crown-Point
and Niagara
resolved on.

The

The former of these expeditions was appointed to be executed under the command of colonel, now general Johnson, a native of Ireland, who had long resided upon the Mohock river, in the western parts of New York, where he had acquired a considerable estate, and was universally beloved, not only by the inhabitants, but also by the neighbouring Indians, whose language he had learnt, and whose affections he had gained by his humanity towards them. The expedition against Niagara was commanded by general Shirley himself. Ann. 1755.

The rendezvous of the troops for both these expeditions was appointed to be at Albany, where most of them arrived before the end of June: but the artillery, battoes, provisions, and other necessaries for the attempt upon Crown-Point, could not be prepared until the eighth of August, when general Johnson set out with them from Albany for the Carrying-place, from Hudson's river to lake George. There the troops had already arrived, under the command of major-general Lyman, and consisted of between five and six thousand men, besides Indians, raised by the governments of Boston, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and New York. Every thing was then prepared as fast as possible for a march; and towards the end of the month general Johnson advanced about fourteen miles forward with his troops, and encamped in a very strong situation, covered on each side by a thick wooded swamp, by Lake George in his rear, and by a breast-work of trees, cut down for that purpose, in his front. Here he resolved to wait the arrival of his battoes, and afterwards to proceed to Ticonderoga, at the other end of the lake, from whence it was but about fifteen miles to the fort at the south end of Lake Corlaer, or Champlain, called Fort Frederic by the French, and by us Crown-Point. Whilst he was thus encamped, some of his Indian scouts, of which he took care to send out numbers along both sides, and to the farther end of Lake George, brought him intelligence that a considerable number of the enemy were then on their march from Ticonderoga, by the way of the south bay, towards the fortified encampment, since called Fort Edward, which general Lyman had built at the Carrying-place, and in which four or five hundred of the New Hampshire and New York men had been left as a garrison. Upon this information general Johnson sent two expresses, one after the other, to colonel Blanchard, their commander, with orders to call in all his out-parties, and to keep his whole force within the intrenchments. About twelve o'clock at night, those who had been sent upon the second express, returned with an account of their having seen the enemy within four miles of the camp at the Carrying-place, which they scarcely doubted their having by that time attacked. Important as the defence of this place was for the safety of the whole army, and imminent as the danger seemed to be, it does not appear that the general then called any council of war, or resolved upon any thing for its relief: but early the next morning he called a council, wherein it was unadvisedly resolved to detach a thousand men, with a number of Indians, to intercept, or, as the general's expression is in his letter, to catch the enemy in their retreat, either as victors, or as defeated in their design. This expedient was resolved on, though no one knew the number of the enemy, nor could obtain any information in that respect from the Indian scouts, because the Indians have no words or signs for expressing any large number, which, General Johnson encamps at lake George.

Ann. 1755. when it exceeds their reckoning, they signify by pointing to the stars in the firmament, or to the hair of the head; and this they often do to denote a number less than a thousand, as well as to signify ten thousand, or any greater number.

Where he is
attacked by
the French;

Between eight and nine o'clock in the morning a thousand men, with two hundred Indians, were detached under the command of colonel Williams: but they had not been gone two hours, when those in the camp began to hear a close firing, at about three or four miles distance, as they judged: as it approached nearer and nearer, they rightly supposed that their detachment was overpowered, and retreating towards the camp; which was soon confirmed by some fugitives, and presently after by whole companies, who fled back in great confusion. In a very short time after, the enemy appeared marching in regular order up to the center of the camp, where the consternation was so great, that, if they had attacked the breast-work directly, they might probably have thrown all into confusion, and obtained an easy victory: but, fortunately for the English, they halted for some time at about an hundred and fifty yards distance, and from thence began their attack with platoon firing, too far off to do much hurt, especially against troops who were defended by a strong breast-work. On the contrary, this ineffectual fire served only to raise the spirits of these last, who, having prepared their artillery during the time that the French halted, began to play it so briskly upon the enemy, that the Canadians and Indians in their service fled immediately into the woods on each side of the camp, and there squatted under bushes, or sculked behind trees, from whence they continued firing with very little execution, most of their shot being intercepted by the brakes and thickets; for they never had the courage to advance to the verge of the wood.

who are in-
tirely defeat-
ed..

Baron Dieskau, who commanded the French, being thus left alone, with his regular troops, at the front of the camp, finding he could not make a close attack upon the center with his small number of men, moved first to the left, and then to the right, at both which places he endeavoured to force a passage; but was repulsed, as being unsupported by the irregulars. Instead of retreating, as he ought in prudence to have done, he still continued his platoon and bush-firing till four o'clock in the afternoon, during which time his regular troops suffered greatly by the fire from the camp, and were at last thrown into confusion; which was no sooner perceived by general Johnson's men, than they, without waiting for orders, leaped over their breast-work, attacked the enemy on all sides, and, after killing or taking a considerable number of them, intirely dispersed the rest.

The French, whose numbers, at the beginning of this engagement, amounted to about two thousand men, including two hundred grenadiers, eight hundred Canadians, and the rest Indians of different nations, had between seven and eight hundred men killed, and thirty taken prisoners: among these last was baron Dieskau himself, whom they found at a little distance from the field of battle dangerously wounded, and leaning on the stump of a tree for his support. The English lost about two hundred men, and those chiefly of the detachment under colonel Williams; for they had very few either killed or wounded in the attack upon their camp, and not any of distinction, except colonel Titcomb killed, and the general himself and major Nichols wounded.

Among

Among the slain of the detachment, which would probably have been intirely cut off, had not lieutenant-colonel Cole been sent out from the camp with three hundred men, with which he stopt the enemy's pursuit, and covered the retreat of his friends, were colonel Williams, major Ashley, six captains, and several subalterns, besides private men; and the Indians reckoned that they had lost forty men, besides the brave old Hendrick, the Mohock Sachem, or chief captain. Ann. 1755.

When baron Dieskau set out from Ticonderoga, his design was only to surprize and cut off the intrenched camp, now called Fort Edward, at the Carrying-place, where there were but four or five hundred men. If he had executed this scheme, our army would have been thrown into great difficulties; for it could neither have proceeded farther, nor have subsisted where it was, and he might have found an opportunity to attack it with great advantage in its retreat. But when he was within four or five miles of that fort, his people were informed that there were several cannon there, and none at the camp; upon which they all desired to be led on to this last, which he the more readily consented to, as he himself had been told by an English prisoner, who had left this camp but a few days before, that it was quite defenceless, being without any lines, and destitute of cannon; which, in effect, was true at that time; for the cannon did not arrive, nor was the breast-work erected, till about two days before the engagement. To this misinformation, therefore, must be imputed this step, which would otherwise be inconsistent with the general character and abilities of baron Dieskau. A less justifiable error seems to have been committed by general Johnson, in not detaching a party to pursue the enemy when they were defeated, and fled. Perhaps he was prevented from so doing by the ill fate of the detachment he had sent out in the morning under colonel Williams. However that may be, his neglect, in this respect, had like to have been fatal the next day to a detachment sent from Fort Edward, consisting of an hundred and twenty men of the New Hampshire regiment, under captain M'Ginnes, as a reinforcement to the army at the camp. This party fell in with between three and four hundred men of Dieskau's troops, near the spot where colonel Williams had been defeated the day before; but M'Ginnes, having timely notice by his scouts of the approach of an enemy, made such a disposition, that he not only repulsed the assailants, but defeated and intirely dispersed them, with the loss only of two men killed, eleven wounded, and five missing. He himself unfortunately died of the wounds he received in this engagement, a few days after he arrived at the camp with his party. Errors of the commanders on both sides.

It was now judged too late in the year to proceed to the attack of Crown-Point, as it would have been necessary, in that case, to build a strong fort in the place where the camp then was, in order to secure a communication with Albany, from whence only the troops could expect to be reinforced, or supplied with fresh stores of ammunition or provisions. They therefore set out upon their return soon after this engagement, having first erected a little stockaded fort, at the hither end of Lake George, in which they left a small garrison, as a future prey for the enemy; a misfortune which might easily have been foreseen, because this whole army, being country militia, was to be disbanded, and return to their respective homes, as they actually did, soon after their retreat to Albany. Bravery of captain M'Ginnes.

This

Ann. 1755.

Rewards bestowed upon him by the king and parliament.

General Shirley's expedition against Niagara.

Description of Fort Oswego,

and of the lake Ontario.

This was all the glory, this all the advantage, that the English nation acquired by such an expensive expedition. But so little had the English been accustomed of late to hear of victory, that they rejoiced at this advantage, as if it had been an action of the greatest consequence. The general was highly applauded for his conduct, and liberally rewarded; for he was created a baronet by his majesty, and presented with five thousand pounds by the parliament.

The preparations for general Shirley's expedition against Niagara, were not only deficient, but shamefully slow; though it was well known that even the possibility of his success must, in a great measure, depend upon his setting out early in the year, as will appear to any person that considers the situation of our fort at Oswego, this being the only way by which he could proceed to Niagara.

Oswego lies on the south-east side of the lake Ontario, near three hundred miles almost due-west from Albany in New York. The way to it from thence, though long and tedious, is the more convenient, as the far greatest part of it admits of water-carriage, by what the inhabitants call battoes, which is a kind of light flat-bottomed boat, widest in the middle, and pointed at each end, of about fifteen hundred weight burden, and managed by two men, called battoe-men, with paddles and setting-poles, the rivers being in many places too narrow to admit of oars. From Albany to the village of Shenectady, about sixteen miles, is a good waggon-road. From thence to the little Falls in the Mohock river, being sixty-five miles, the passage is by water-carriage up that river, and consequently against the stream, which in many places is somewhat rapid, and in others so shallow, that, when the river is low, the watermen are obliged to get out, and draw their battoes over the rifts. At the little Falls is a postage, or land-carriage, for about a mile, over a ground so marshy, that it will not bear any wheel-carriage: but a colony of Germans, settled there, attend with sledges, on which they draw the loaded battoes to the next place of embarkation upon the same river. From thence they proceed by water up that river, for fifty miles, to the Carrying place, near the head of it, where there is another postage, the length of which depends upon the dryness or wetness of the season, but is generally above six or eight miles over in the summer months. Here the battoes are again carried upon sledges, till they come to a narrow river called Wood's Creek, down which they are wafted on a gentle stream, for about forty miles, into the lake Oneyada, which stretches from east to west about thirty miles, and is passed with great ease and safety in calm weather. At the western end of this lake is the river Onondaga, which, after a course of between twenty and thirty miles, unites with the river Cayuga, or Seneca, and their united stream runs into the lake Ontario, at the place where Oswego-fort is situated. But this river is so rapid as to be sometimes dangerous, besides its being full of rifts and rocks; and about twelve miles on this side of Oswego there is a fall of eleven feet perpendicular, where there is consequently a postage, which, however, does not exceed forty yards. From thence the passage is easy quite to Oswego.

The lake Ontario, on which this fort stands, is near two hundred and eighty leagues in circumference: its figure is oval, and its depth runs from twenty to twenty-five fathoms. On the north side of it are several little gulphs.

There

There is a communication between this lake and that of the Hurons by the river Tanasuate, from whence it is a land-carriage of six or eight leagues to the river Toronto, which falls into it. The French have two forts of consequence on this lake; Frontenac, which commands the river St. Laurence, where the lake communicates with it; and Niagara, which commands the communication between the lake Ontario and the lake Erie. But of these forts, and this last lake, which is one of the finest in the world, we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

Though we had long been in possession of fort Oswego, and though it lay greatly exposed to the French, particularly to those of Canada, upon any rupture between the two nations, we had never taken care to render it tolerably defensible, or even to build a single vessel fit for navigating the lake: nor was this strange neglect ever taken effectual notice of, till the beginning of this year, when, at a meeting which general Braddock had in April with the governors and chief gentlemen of several of our colonies, at Alexandria in Virginia, it was resolved to strengthen both the fort and garrison at Oswego, and to build some large vessels at that place. Accordingly, a number of shipwrights and workmen were sent thither in May and June. At the same time captain Bradstreet marched thither, with two companies of an hundred men each, to reinforce the hundred that were there before under captain King, to which number the garrison had been increased since our contests with France began to grow serious. For a long time before, not above twenty-five men were left to defend this post, which, from its great importance, and the situation of affairs at this juncture, most certainly required a much stronger garrison than was put into it even at this juncture: but œconomy was the chief thing consulted in the beginning of this war, and to that, in a great measure, has been owing its long duration.

Neglect of
the English
in not forti-
fying it.

From the above description of the passage from Albany to Oswego, it is plain how necessary it was that the troops intended for this expedition should have set out early in the spring. But, instead of that, the very first of them, colonel Schuyler's New Jersey regiment, did not begin their march till after the beginning of July; and just as Shirley's and Pepperell's regiments were preparing to follow, the melancholy account of Braddock's disaster arrived at Albany, where it so damped the spirits of the people, and spread such a terror, that many of the troops deserted, and most of the battoe-men dispersed and ran home, by which means even all the necessary stores could not be carried along with the troops. Notwithstanding this disappointment, general Shirley set out from Albany before the end of July, with as many of the troops and stores as he could procure a conveyance for, hoping to be joined in his route by great numbers of the Indians of the Six Nations, to whom he sent invitations to that effect as he passed by their settlements: but they, instead of complying with his desire, absolutely declared against all hostilities on that side of the country; and insisted, that Oswego, being a place of traffic and peace, ought not to be disturbed either by the English or the French, as if they could have persuaded both parties to agree to such a local truce. Upon this refusal, Mr. Shirley proceeded forward, being joined by very few Indians, and arrived at Oswego on the seventeenth or eighteenth of August; but the rest of the troops and artillery did not arrive till the last day of that month;

Slowness of
the prepara-
tions for the
expedition a-
gainst Niaga-
ra.

Ann. 1755. month; and, even then, their store of provisions was not sufficient to enable them to proceed against Niagara, though some tolerable good vessels had by this time been built and got ready for that purpose.

The general now resolved to take but six hundred men with him for the attack of Niagara, and to leave the rest of his army, consisting of about fourteen hundred more, at Oswego, to defend that place, in case the French should attack it in his absence, which there was reason to apprehend they might, as they had then a considerable force at Fort Frontenac, from whence they could easily cross over the lake Ontario to Oswego. However, he was still obliged to wait at Oswego for provisions, of which at length a small supply arrived on the twenty-sixth of September, barely sufficient to support his men during their intended expedition, and to allow twelve days short subsistence for those he left behind. But by this time the rainy boisterous season had begun, on which account most of his Indians had already left him, and were returned home; and the few that remained with him declared, that there was no crossing the lake Ontario in battoes at that season, or any time before the next summer. In this perplexity he called a council of war, which, after weighing all circumstances, unanimously resolved to defer the attempt upon Niagara till the next year, and to employ the troops, whilst they remained at Oswego, in building barracks, and erecting, or at least beginning to erect, two new forts, one on the east side of the river Onondaga, four hundred and fifty yards distant from the old fort, which it was to command, as well as the entrance of the harbour, and to be called Ontario-fort; and the other four hundred and fifty yards west of the old fort, to be called Oswego new fort.

Two new
forts begun
on the river
Onondaga.

General Shir-
ley returns to
Albany.

These things being agreed on, general Shirley, with the greatest part of the troops under his command, set out on his return to Albany on the twenty-fourth of October, leaving colonel Mercer, with a garrison of about seven hundred men, at Oswego; though repeated advice had been received, that the French had then at least a thousand men at their fort of Frontenac, upon the same lake: and, what was still worse, the new forts were not yet near completed; but left to be finished by the hard labour of colonel Mercer and his little garrison, with the addition of this melancholy circumstance, that, if besieged by the enemy in the winter, it would not be possible for his friends to come to his assistance.

End of this
year's cam-
paign in
America.

Thus ended this year's unfortunate campaign, during which the French, with the assistance of their Indian allies, continued their murders, scalping, captivating, and laying waste the western frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania, during the whole winter.

Fruitless in-
trigues of the
French in
Spain.

The ministers of the two jarring powers were very busily employed this year at most of the courts of Europe; but their transactions were kept extremely secret. The French endeavoured to inspire the Spaniards with a jealousy of the strength of the English by sea, especially in America; and the Spanish court seemed inclined to accept of the office of mediator: but Mr. Wall, who was perfectly well acquainted with the state of affairs between England and France, seconded the representations of the British ministry, which demonstrated, that however willing Great Britain might be to accept of the mediation of Spain, she could not agree to any suspension of arms in America, which France insisted on as a preliminary condition, without hazard-
ing

ing the whole of her interest there; and that the captures which had been made by the English were the necessary consequence of the incroachments and injustice of the French, particularly in that country. Upon this remonstrance, all farther talk of the mediation of Spain was dropt, and the ministry of Versailles had recourse to the princes of Germany; amongst whom the elector of Cologne was soon brought over to their party, so as to consent to their forming magazines in his territories in Westphalia. This was a plain indication of their design against Hanover, which they soon after made his Britannic majesty, who was then at Hanover, an offer of sparing, if he would agree to certain conditions of neutrality for that electorate, which he rejected with disdain. Then the count D'Aubeterre, envoy extraordinary from France at the court of Vienna, proposed a secret negotiation with the ministers of the Empress-queen. The secret articles of the treaty of Petersburgh, between the two Empresses, had stipulated a kind of partition of the Prussian territories, in case that prince should infringe the treaty of Dresden; but his Britannic majesty, though often invited, had always refused to agree to any such stipulation; and the king of Poland, howsoever he might be inclined to favour the scheme, did not dare to avow it formally, till matters should be more ripe for carrying it into execution. The court of Vienna, whose favourite measure this was, began to listen to D'Aubeterre's insinuations, and, by degrees, entered into negotiations with him, which, in the end, were productive of that unnatural confederacy between the Empress-queen and the king of France; of which further notice will be taken in the occurrences of the next year, when the treaty between them, into which they afterwards found means secretly to bring the empress of Russia, was concluded at Versailles.

The king of England taking it for granted that the French would invade Hanover, in consequence of their rupture with Great Britain, which seemed to be near at hand, began to take measures for the defence of that electorate. To this end, during his stay at Hanover, he concluded, on the eighteenth of June, a treaty with the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, by which his serene highness engaged to hold in readiness, during four years, for his majesty's service, a body of eight thousand men, to be employed, if required upon the continent, or in Britain or Ireland; but not on board the fleet, or beyond the seas: and also, if his Britannic majesty should judge it necessary or advantageous for his service, to furnish and join to this body of eight thousand men, within six months after they should be demanded, four thousand more, of which seven hundred were to be horse or dragoons, and each regiment of infantry to have two field-pieces of cannon *.

Another

* The king, on his side, promised to pay to the landgrave, for these succours, eighty crowns banco, by way of levy-money, for every trooper or dragoon duly armed and mounted, and thirty crowns banco for every foot-soldier; the crown to be reckoned at fifty-three sols of Holland, or at four shillings and nine pence three farthings English money: and also to pay to his serene highness, for the eight thousand men, an annual subsidy of an hundred and fifty thousand crowns banco, during the four years, to commence from the day of signing the treaty; which subsidy was to be increased to three hundred thousand crowns yearly, from the time of requiring the troops, to the time of their entering into British pay; and in case of their being dismissed, the said subsidy of three hundred thousand crowns was then to revive, and be continued during the residue of the term: but if twelve thousand men were demanded and furnished, the subsidy was then to be increased in proportion: and in case

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Another treaty was begun with Russia about the same time; but this did not take effect during his majesty's residence at Hanover: that others were not concluded was the more surprising, as our subsidy treaty with Saxony had then expired, and that with Bavaria was near expiring; and as the securing of these two princes in our interest was at least as necessary towards forming a sufficient confederacy upon the continent for the defence of Hanover, as it was to secure the landgrave of Hesse Cassel. If the reason of their not being engaged, and no other seems so probable, was, that they refused to renew their treaties with England upon any terms, all that can be said is, that they were guilty of flagrant ingratitude, as they had both received a subsidy from this kingdom for many years in time of peace, when they neither were nor could be of any service to the interest of Great Britain.

The news of
the Alcide and
the Lys being
taken reaches
England.

On the fifteenth of July an express arrived from admiral Boscawen, with an account of his having taken the two French ships of war, the Alcide and the Lys. This was certainly contrary to the expectation of the court of France; for, had they apprehended any such attack, they would not have ordered Mr. M'Namara to return to Brest with the chief part of their squadron; nor was it, perhaps, less contrary to the expectation of some of our own ministry: but as matters had been carried so far, it was then too late to retreat; and therefore orders were soon after given to all our ships of war to make reprisals upon the French, by taking their ships wherever they should meet them. Sir Edward Hawke sailed from Portsmouth on the twenty-first of July, with eighteen ships of war, to watch the return of the French fleet from America, which however escaped him, and arrived at Brest on the third day of September. Commodore Frankland sailed from Spithead for the West Indies on the thirteenth of August with four ships of war, furnished with orders to commit hostilities, as well as to protect our trade and sugar-islands from any insult that the French might offer; and the duke de Mirepoix, their ambassador at the court of London, set out for Paris on the twenty-second of July, without taking leave.

Return of the
king to Eng-
land.

A war being thus in some measure begun, his majesty thought proper, perhaps for that reason, to return to his British dominions sooner than usual; for he left Hanover on the eighth of September, and arrived on the fifteenth at Kensington, where the treaty of alliance between him and the empress of Russia, which he had begun during his absence, was concluded on the thirtieth of the same month. By this treaty her Russian majesty engaged to hold in readiness in Livonia, upon the frontiers of Lithuania, a body of troops consisting of forty thousand infantry, with the necessary artillery, and fifteen thousand cavalry; and also, on the coasts of the said province, forty or fifty galleys, with the necessary crews; to be ready to act, upon the first order, in his majesty's service, in case, said the fifth article, which was the most remarkable, that the dominions of his Britannic majesty in Germany should be invaded on account of the interests or disputes which regard his kingdoms; her Imperial majesty declaring, that she would look upon such an in-

His treaty
with Russia.

case the king of Great Britain should at any time think fit to send back these troops, before the expiration of the treaty, notice thereof was to be given to his serene high-

ness three months beforehand; one month's pay was to be allowed them for their return, and they were to be furnished gratis with the necessary transport vessels.

vasion

vaſion as a caſe of the alliance of the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-two; and that the ſaid dominions ſhould be therein comprised in this reſpect: but neither theſe troops nor gallies were to be put in motion, unleſs his Britanniſh majeſty, or his allies, ſhould be ſomewhere attacked; in which caſe the Ruſſian general ſhould march, as ſoon as poſſible after requiſition, to make a diverſion with thirty thouſand infantry and fifteen thouſand cavalry; and ſhould embark on board the gallies the other ten thouſand infantry, to make a deſcent according to the exigency of the affair. On the other ſide, his Britanniſh majeſty engaged to pay to her Ruſſian majeſty an annual ſubſidy of an hundred thouſand pounds ſterling a year, each year to be paid in advance, and to be reckoned from the day of the exchange of the ratifications, to the day that theſe troops ſhould upon requiſition march out of Ruſſia; from which day the annual ſubſidy to her Imperial majeſty was to be five hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, to be paid always four months in advance, until the troops ſhould return into the Ruſſian dominions, and for three months after their return. His Britanniſh majeſty, who was to be at liberty to ſend once every year into the ſaid province of Livonia a commiſſary, to ſee and examine the number and condition of the ſaid troops, further engaged, that, in caſe her Ruſſian majeſty ſhould be diſturbed in this diverſion, or attacked herſelf, he would furniſh immediately the ſuccour ſtipulated in the treaty of one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-two; and that, in caſe a war ſhould break out, he would ſend into the Baltic a ſquadron of his ſhips, of a force ſuitable to the circumſtances.

This was the chief ſubſtance of the treaty, which, by agreement of both parties, was to ſubſiſt for four years from the exchange of the ratifications: but in the ſeventh article theſe words were unluckily inſerted: "Conſidering alſo the proximity of the countries wherein the diverſion in queſtion will probably be made, and the facility her troops will probably have of ſubſiſting immediately in an enemy's country, ſhe takes upon herſelf alone, during ſuch a diverſion, the ſubſiſtence and treatment of the ſaid troops by ſea and land." And in the eleventh article it was ſtipulated, that all the plunder the Ruſſian army ſhould take from the enemy ſhould belong to them.

That his Britanniſh majeſty, who now knew enough of the court of Vienna to be ſenſible that he could expect no aſſiſtance from thence, in caſe his German dominions were invaded, ſhould enter into this convention with the empreſs of Ruſſia, in order to ſtrengthen his defence upon the continent, was extremely natural; eſpecially as he had lately lived in great friendſhip with her, and her tranſactions with the court of France had been ſo ſecret, by paſſing through only that of Vienna, that he had not yet been informed of them; neither had the project of the treaty of Verſailles then come to his knowledge, or to that of the king of Prussia, nor had either of theſe princes yet made any formal advances to the other.

The firſt intimation that appeared publicly of the negotiations of France with the Empreſs of Germany, was, when the French miniſter, count d'Aubeterre, declared at Vienna, "That the warlike deſigns, with which the king his maſter was charged, were ſufficiently confuted by his great moderation, of which all Europe had manifold proofs: that his majeſty was perſuaded this groundleſs charge had given as much indignation to their Imperial Majeſties

Declaration
of the French
miniſter at the
court of Vi-
enna.

Ann. 1755. as to himself: that he was firmly resolved to preserve to Christendom that tranquillity which it enjoyed through his good faith, in religiously observing the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle: but that if his Britannic majesty's allies should take part in the war which was kindled in America, by furnishing succours to the English, his majesty would be authorised to consider and treat them as principals in it." France likewise made the same declaration to other courts.

Spirited declaration of the king of Prussia, in consequence of our treaty with Russia.

The words and stipulation in the above-recited clause, in the seventh article of the treaty of Great Britain with Russia, were looked on as a menace levelled at the king of Prussia, who, having some time after, found means to procure a copy of this treaty, and seeing it in that light, boldly declared, by his ministers at all the courts of Europe, that he would oppose with his utmost force the entrance of any foreign troops into the empire, under any pretence whatever. This declaration was particularly displeasing to the French, who had already marched large bodies of troops towards the frontiers of the empire, and erected several great magazines in Westphalia, with the permission of the elector of Cologne, for which the English minister at his court was, in August, ordered to withdraw from thence without taking leave. However, as soon as this declaration of the king of Prussia was notified to the court of Versailles, they sent an ambassador extraordinary, the duke de Nivernois, to Berlin, to try to persuade his majesty to retract his declaration, and enter into a new alliance with them. His Prussian majesty received this ambassador in such a manner, as seemed to denote a disposition to agree to every thing he had to propose. This awakened in England a jealousy that his declaration alone was not to be relied on, but that it was necessary to bring him under some more solemn engagement; especially as the French had by this time a numerous army near the Lower Rhine, with magazines provided for their march all the way to Hanover; and if the king of Prussia suffered them to pass through his dominions, that electorate must be swallowed up before the Russian auxiliaries could possibly be brought thither, or any army be formed for protecting it *. For this reason a negotiation was set on foot by Great Britain at Berlin; but as it was not concluded before the beginning of the next year, we shall defer entering into the particulars of it, till we come to that period.

A treaty between England and Prussia begun.

The French make another unsuccessful attempt upon the court of Spain.

Mean while the French made another attempt upon the court of Madrid, loudly complaining of the taking of their two men of war by Boscawen's squadron, before any declaration of war was made, representing it as a most unjustifiable proceeding, which threatened a dissolution of all faith amongst nations. This produced a strong memorial from Sir Benjamin Keene, our minister at that court, importing, "That it was well known that the French fleet carried troops, ammunition, and every thing necessary for defending the countries which the French had unjustly usurped in America, and of which the English claimed the property: that the rules of self-defence authorise every nation to render fruitless any attempt that may tend to its prejudice:

* Perhaps the elector of H——r was more afraid of the P——n monarch than of the most christian king, knowing with what ease and rapidity this enterprising neighbour could in a few days subdue the whole electorate.

that this right had been made use of only in taking the two French ships of war; and that the distinction of place might be interpreted in favour of the English, seeing the two ships were taken on the coasts of the countries where the contest arose." In answer to this observation, the French minister represented the vast number of ships that had been taken in the European seas; for in fact the English ports soon began to be filled with them, in consequence of the general orders for making reprisals. But the court of Madrid was so far from being persuaded by any thing he could say, that it gave his Britannic majesty the strongest assurances of its friendship, and of its intention to take no part in the differences between him and France, but such as should be reconciliatory, and tending to restore the public tranquillity.

On the other hand, his Britannic majesty required, as king of Great Britain, the auxiliaries stipulated to him by treaty from the Empress-queen. But these were refused, under pretence that as the contest between him and France related to America only, it was not a case of the alliance; though at the same time the French made no scruple of owning, that they intended to make a powerful descent on Great Britain early in the spring. When, a little while after, France being employed in making great preparations for a land war in Europe, the king of England required her to defend her own possessions, the Barrier in the Low Countries, with the number of men stipulated by treaty, which countries, acquired by English blood and English treasure, had been given to her on that express condition; she declared that she could not spare troops for that purpose on account of her dangerous enemy the king of Prussia: and afterwards, when he was secured by his treaty with England, she urged that as a reason for her alliance with France. It must be owned, however, for the sake of historical truth, that this was no bad reason, considering the power, the genius, and the character of that prince, who hovered over her dominions with an army of one hundred and fifty thousand veterans. It must likewise be owned that she undertook to procure the French king's consent to a neutrality for Hanover, which would have effectually secured that electorate from the invasion of every other power but P——a itself; and it is no strained conjecture to suppose that the dread of this very power, was the true source of those connections in G——y, which have entailed such a ruinous continental war upon Great Britain.

Though the English continued to make reprisals upon the French, not only in the seas of America, but also in those of Europe, by taking every ship they could meet with, and detaining them, their cargoes, and crews; yet the French, whether from a consciousness of their want of power by sea, or that they might have a more plausible plea to represent England as the aggressor, were so far from returning these hostilities, that their fleet, which escaped Sir Edward Hawke, having, on the thirteenth of August, taken the Blandford ship of war, with governor Lyttelton on board, going to Carolina, they set the governor at liberty, as soon as the court was informed of the ship's being brought into Nantes, and shortly after released both the ship and crew. However, at the same time, their preparations for a land war still went on with great diligence, and their utmost arts and efforts were fruitlessly exerted to persuade the Spaniards and Dutch to join with them against Great Britain.

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The Imperial court refuses auxiliaries to England.

Ingratitude of that court.

Policy of the French in refraining from open hostilities.

They take the Blandford ship of war; but return it.

In

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In England the preparations by sea became greater than ever; several new ships of war were put in commission, and many others taken into the service of the government: the exportation of gunpowder was forbid: the bounties to seamen were continued; and the number of those that either entered voluntarily, or were pressed, increased daily, as did also the captures from the French, among which was their ship the *Esperance*, of seventy guns, taken as she was going from Rochfort to Brest to be manned. The land forces of Great Britain were likewise ordered to be augmented; several new regiments were raised; and all half-pay officers, and the out-pensioners belonging to Chelsea hospital, were directed to send in their names, ages, and time of service, in order that such of them as were yet able to serve might be employed again, if wanted.

State of the
English and
French na-
vies.

The English navy, so early as in the month of September of this year, consisted of one ship of an hundred and ten guns, five of an hundred guns each, thirteen of ninety, eight of eighty, five of seventy-four, twenty-nine of seventy, four of sixty-six, one of sixty-four, thirty-three of sixty, three of fifty-four, twenty-eight of fifty, four of forty four, thirty-five of forty, and forty-two of twenty, four sloops of war of eighteen guns each, two of sixteen, eleven of fourteen, thirteen of twelve, and one of ten, besides a great number of bomb-ketches, fire-ships, and tenders; a force sufficient to oppose the united maritime strength of all the powers in Europe; whilst that of the French, even at the end of this year, and including the ships then upon the stocks, amounted to no more than six ships of eighty guns, twenty-one of seventy-four, one of seventy-two, four of seventy, thirty-one of sixty-four, two of sixty, six of fifty, and thirty-two frigates.

Meeting of
the parlia-
ment.

His majesty's
speech.

Such was the situation of the two kingdoms, when on the thirteenth of November the parliament met, and his majesty opened the session with a speech from the throne, in which he acquainted them, "That the most proper measures had been taken to protect our possessions in America, and to regain such parts thereof as had been incroached upon, or invaded; that to preserve his people from the calamities of war, as well as to prevent a general war from being lighted up in Europe, he had been always ready to accept reasonable and honourable terms of accommodation; but that none such had been proposed by France: that he had also confined his views and operations to hinder France from making new encroachments, or supporting those already made; to exert his people's right to a satisfaction for hostilities committed in a time of profound peace; and to disappoint such designs, as, from various appearances and preparations, there was reason to think had been formed against his kingdoms and dominions: that the king of Spain earnestly wished the preservation of the public tranquillity, and had given assurances of his intention to continue in the same pacific sentiments: that he himself had greatly increased his naval armaments, and augmented his land forces in such a manner as might be least burthensome; and finally, that he had concluded a treaty with the empress of Russia, and another with the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, which should be laid before them."

Remarkable
addresses of
the lords and
commons.

In answer to this speech, both houses voted most loyal addresses, but not without a warm opposition, in each, to some of the particular expressions; for it having been proposed in the house of lords to insert in their address the words following, viz. "That they looked upon themselves as obliged, by

by the strongest ties of duty, gratitude, and honour, to stand by and support his majesty in all such wise and necessary measures and engagements, as his majesty might have taken in vindication of the rights of his crown, or to defeat any attempts which might be made by France, in resentment for such measures; and to assist his majesty in disappointing or repelling all such enterprises as might be formed, not only against his kingdoms, but also against any other of his dominions, "though not belonging to the crown of Great Britain," in case they should be attacked on account of the part which his majesty had taken for maintaining the essential interests of his kingdoms." The inserting of these words in their address was opposed by the earl Temple, and several other lords; because by the first part of them they engaged to approve of the treaties with Russia and Hesse Cassel, neither of which they had ever seen, nor could it be supposed that either of them could be of any advantage to this nation; and by the second part of these words it seemed to be resolved, to engage this nation in a continental connection for the defence of Hanover, which it was impossible for England to support, and which would be so far from being of any advantage to it at sea, or in America, that it might at last disable the nation from defending itself in either of those parts of the world. But upon putting the question, the inserting of these words was agreed to by a great majority, and accordingly they stand as part of the address of the house upon that occasion.

To this remarkable address his majesty returned the following as remarkable answer: "My lords, I give you my hearty thanks for this dutiful and affectionate address. I see, with the greatest satisfaction, the zeal you express for my person and government, and for the true interest of your country, which I am determined to adhere to. The assurances which you give me for the defence of my territories abroad, are a strong proof of your affection for me, and regard for my honour. Nothing shall divert me from pursuing those measures which will effectually maintain the possessions and rights of my kingdoms, and procure reasonable and honourable terms of accommodation." His majesty's answer.

The address of the house of commons breathed the same spirit of zeal and gratitude, and was full of the warmest assurances of a ready support of his majesty, and of his foreign dominions, if attacked in resentment of his maintaining the rights of his crown and kingdom; and his majesty's answer to it was to the same effect as that to the house of lords. The same, or nearly the same words, relating to the treaties concluded by his majesty, and to the defence of his foreign dominions, were proposed to be inserted in this address, which was opposed by William Pitt, Esq; then paymaster of his majesty's forces; the right honourable Henry Legge, Esq; then chancellor and under-treasurer of his majesty's exchequer, and one of the commissioners of the treasury; and by several other gentlemen in high posts under the government, as well as by many others; but, upon putting the question, it was by a considerable majority agreed to insert the words objected to; and very soon after, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Legge, and most, if not all of the gentlemen who had appeared in the opposition, were dismissed from their employments. In the mean time, a draught came over from Russia for part of the new subsidy stipulated to that crown; but some of the ministry, who were then at the head of the finances, refused to pay it, at least before the treaty should be approved of by parliament.

Sir

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Alterations
in the minis-
try.Mr Fox made
secretary of
state.The treaties
with Russia
and Hesse
Cassel con-
firmed by the
parliament.Seamen,
troops, sub-
sidies, and
supplies vo-
ted.Earthquake
at Lisbon.

Sir Thomas Robinson had not been long in possession of the office of secretary of state, before it was generally perceived, that, though an honest well-meaning man, and a favourite with the king, his abilities were not equal to the functions of that post. Much less were they so at this juncture, when the nation was on the point of being engaged in a difficult and expensive war, and plunged into foreign measures and connections, which would require the utmost skill of an able politician to render them palatable to the people. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, though they scarce ever agreed in any other particular, had generally united in opposing his measures; and their superior influence in the house of commons, and universally acknowledged abilities, though of very different kinds, had always prevailed; uncommon as it was, to see two persons who held considerable places under the government, one of them being paymaster-general, and the other secretary at war, oppose, upon almost every occasion, a secretary of state, who was supposed to know and speak the sentiments of his master. Sir Thomas himself soon grew sensible of his want of sufficient weight in the senate of the nation; and therefore, of his own accord, on the tenth of November, wisely and dutifully resigned the seals of his office to his majesty, who delivered them to Mr. Fox, and appointed Sir Thomas master of the wardrobe, with a pension to him during his life, and after his death to his sons. Lord Barrington succeeded Mr. Fox as secretary at war; and soon after Sir George Lyttelton was made chancellor of the exchequer, and a lord of the treasury, in the room of Mr. Legge, who had declared himself against the new continental system. However, notwithstanding even these changes in the ministry, very warm debates arose in both houses, when the treaties of Russia and Hesse Cassel came to be considered by them: some of the members were for referring them to a committee; but this motion was over-ruled, in consideration of his majesty's having engaged in them to guard against a storm that seemed ready to break upon his electoral dominions, merely on account of our quarrel with the French. They were at length approved of by a majority of three hundred and eighteen against one hundred and twenty-six, in the house of commons; and by eighty-four against eleven, in the house of lords.

The house of commons then proceeded to provide for the service of the ensuing year, and for the deficiencies of the provisions for the former. Fifty thousand seamen, including nine thousand one hundred and thirty-eight marines, were voted on the twenty-fourth of November, for the service of the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, together with two millions six hundred thousand pounds for their maintenance; and thirty-four thousand two hundred and sixty-three land soldiers, with nine hundred and thirty thousand six hundred and three pounds six shillings and nine pence for their support. An hundred thousand pounds were voted as a subsidy to the empress of Russia; fifty-four thousand one hundred and forty pounds twelve shillings and six-pence, were voted to the landgrave of Hesse Cassel; and ten thousand pounds to the elector of Bavaria.

During these transactions, the public was overwhelmed with consternation, by the tidings of a dreadful earthquake, which, on the first of November, shook all Spain and Portugal, and many other places in Europe, and laid the city

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city of Lisbon in ruins. When the news of this great calamity first reached England, it was feared the consequences of it might affect our public credit, considering the vast interest which the English merchants had in the Portuguese trade: but, fortunately, it afterwards proved inconsiderable, in comparison of what had been apprehended; the quarter in which the English chiefly lived, and where they had their warehouses, having suffered the least of any part of the city; and most of the English merchants then residing there, together with their families, being at their country houses, to avoid the insults to which they might have been exposed from the Portuguese populace, during the celebration of their Auto da fe, which was kept that very day. The two first shocks of this dreadful visitation, continued near a quarter of an hour, after which the water of the river Tagus rose perpendicularly above twenty feet, and subsided to its natural bed in less than a minute. Great numbers of houses, of which this city then contained about thirty-six thousand, extending in length near six miles, in form of a crescent, on the ascent of a hill upon the north shore of the mouth of the river Tagus, within nine miles from the ocean, were thrown down by the repeated commotions of the earth, together with several magnificent churches, monasteries, and public buildings. But what entirely completed the ruin of this then most opulent capital of the Portuguese dominions, was a devouring conflagration, partly fortuitous or natural, but chiefly occasioned by a set of impious villains, who, unawed by the tremendous scene at that very instant passing before their eyes, with a wickedness scarcely to be credited, set fire even to the falling edifices in different parts of the city, to increase the general confusion, that they might have the better opportunity to rob and plunder their already desolated fellow-citizens. Out of three hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, which Lisbon was then supposed to contain, about ten thousand perished by this calamity; and the survivors, deprived of their habitations, and destitute even of the necessaries of life, were forced to seek for shelter in the open fields.

As soon as his majesty received an account of this deplorable event, from his ambassador at the court of Madrid, he sent a message to both houses of parliament, on the twenty-eighth of November, acquainting them therewith, and desiring their concurrence and assistance towards speedily relieving the unhappy sufferers; and the parliament thereupon, to the honour of British humanity, unanimously voted, on the eighth of December, a gift of an hundred thousand pounds for the distressed people of Portugal. A circumstance which enhances the merit of this action is, that though the English themselves were, at that very time, in great want of grain, a considerable part of the sum was sent in corn, flour, rice, and a large quantity of beef from Ireland: supplies which came very seasonably for the poor Portuguese, who were in actual want of the necessaries of life. Their king was so affected by this instance of British generosity, that, to shew his gratitude for the timely relief, he ordered Mr. Castres, the British resident at his court, to give the preference, in the distribution of these supplies, to the British subjects who had suffered by the earthquake: accordingly about a thirtieth part of the provisions, and two thousand pounds in money, were set apart for that purpose; and his Portuguese majesty returned his thanks, in very warm terms, to the British crown and nation.

Relief voted
by the parlia-
ment to the
Portuguese,

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Troops, supplies, &c. voted by parliament.

The report of an intended invasion of these kingdoms by the French, increasing daily, on the twenty-second day of January the lord Barrington, as secretary at war, laid before the house an estimate for defraying the charge of ten new regiments of foot, over and above the thirty-four thousand two hundred and sixty-three land-soldiers before ordered to be raised; and a sum of ninety-one thousand nine hundred and nineteen pounds ten shillings, was voted for these additional forces: upon another estimate, presented a little after by the same lord, and founded upon the same reasons, for raising, for the farther defence of the kingdom, eleven troops of light dragoons, forty-nine thousand six hundred and twenty eight pounds eleven shillings and three pence, were voted for the ensuing year; together with eighty-one thousand one hundred and seventy-eight pounds sixteen shillings, for a regiment of foot to be raised in North America; two hundred and ninety-eight thousand five hundred and thirty-four pounds seventeen shillings and ten pence half-penny, for the maintenance of our forces already established in our American colonies; and seventy-nine thousand nine hundred and fifteen pounds six shillings, for six regiments of foot from Ireland, to serve in North America and the East Indies. Besides all these supplies, Mr. Fox, on the twenty-eighth of January, presented to the house a message from the king, desiring them to take into consideration the faithful services of the people of New England, and of some other parts of North America; upon which an hundred and fifteen thousand pounds more were voted, and five thousand as a reward to Sir William Johnson in particular. In short, including several other sums, as well for defraying the expence of the army and navy, as for a subsidy of twenty thousand pounds to the king of Prussia, and an hundred and twenty-one thousand four hundred and forty-seven pounds two shillings and six pence for Hanoverian troops, of which two last articles farther notice will be taken hereafter; the whole of the supplies granted by parliament, in this session, amounted to seven millions two hundred and twenty-nine thousand one hundred and seventeen pounds four shillings and six pence three farthings. For raising this sum, besides the malt-tax, and the land-tax of four shillings in the pound, the whole produce of the sinking-fund, from the fifth of January one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, until it should amount to one million five hundred and fifty-five thousand nine hundred and fifty-five pounds eleven shillings and eleven pence half-penny, was ordered to be applied thereunto; together with a million to be raised by loans, or exchequer-bills, at three per centum interest; one million five hundred thousand pounds to be raised by the sale of redeemable annuities, at three and a half per centum; and five hundred thousand pounds to be raised by a lottery, at three per centum: all which sums, with eighty-three thousand four hundred and twelve pounds two shillings and five pence half-penny, then remaining in the Exchequer, amounted to seven millions four hundred and twenty-seven thousand two hundred and sixty-one pounds five shillings and seven pence.

Mutiny-bill, marine, and mariners acts continued.

The clause inserted in the mutiny bill last year, subjecting all officers and soldiers raised in America, by authority of the respective governors or governments there, to the same rules and articles of war, and the same penalties and punishments, as the British forces were liable to; the act passed at the same time for regulating the marine-forces, while on shore; and that for the more speedy

and

and effectual manning of his majesty's navy; were not only confirmed now; but it was farther enacted, with respect to this last, as well as for the more speedy and effectual recruiting of his majesty's land-forces, That the commissioners appointed by the present act should be impowered to raise and levy, within their respective jurisdictions, such able-bodied men as did not follow any lawful calling or employment, or had not some other lawful and sufficient support; and might order, wherever and whenever they pleased, a general search to be made for such persons, in order to their being brought before them to be examined; nay, that the parish or town officers might, without any such order, search for and secure such persons, in order to convey them before the said commissioners to be examined: That if any three commissioners should find any person, so brought before them, to be within the above description; and if the recruiting officer attending should judge him to be a man fit for his majesty's service, they should cause him to be delivered to such officer, who might secure him in any place of safety provided by the justices of peace for that purpose, or even in any public prison; and that every such man was from that time to be deemed a listed soldier, and not to be taken out of his majesty's service by any process, other than for some criminal matter.

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New act for recruiting the army and navy.

Nothing could more plainly shew either the zeal of the parliament for a vigorous prosecution of the war, or their confidence in the justice and moderation of our ministry, than their agreeing to this act, which was to continue in force till the end of the next session; and which, in the hands of a wicked and enterprising administration, might have been made such an use of, as would have been inconsistent with that security which is provided by our happy constitution for the liberty of the subject.

The next object of the immediate attention of the parliament, in this session, was the raising of a new regiment of foot in North America; for which purpose the sum of eighty-one thousand one hundred and seventy-eight pounds sixteen shillings, to which the estimate thereof amounted, was voted. This regiment, which was to consist of four battalions of a thousand men each, was intended to be raised chiefly out of the Germans and Swiss, who, for many years past, had annually transported themselves in great numbers to the British plantations in America, where waste lands had been assigned them upon the frontiers of the provinces; but, very injudiciously, no care had been taken to intermix them with the English inhabitants of the place. To this circumstance it is owing, that they have continued to correspond and converse only with one another; so that very few of them, even of those who have been born there, have yet learnt to speak or understand the English tongue. However, as they are all zealous protestants, and in general strong, hardy men, and accustomed to the climate, it was judged that a regiment of good and faithful soldiers might be raised out of them, particularly proper to oppose the French: but to this end it was necessary to appoint some officers, especially subalterns, who understood military discipline, and could speak the German language; and as a sufficient number of such could not be found among the English officers, it was necessary to bring over and to grant commissions to several German and Swiss officers and engineers: but as this step, by the act of settlement, could not be taken without the authority of parliament, an act was now passed for enabling his majesty to grant commissions to a certain

Act for raising a regiment of foot in North America.

Ann. 1755. number of foreign protestants, who had served abroad as officers, or engineers, to act and rank as officers, or engineers, in America only.

Act for preventing his majesty's subjects inlisting into foreign service.

An act was likewise passed in this session, strictly forbidding, under pain of death, any of his majesty's subjects to serve as officers under the French king, or to enlist as soldiers in his service, without his majesty's previous licence; and also for obliging such of his majesty's subjects as should, in time to come, accept of commissions in the Scotch brigade in the Dutch service, to take the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, on pain of forfeiture of five hundred pounds.

The maritime laws of England extended to America.

As it had been resolved, in the beginning of the preceding summer, to build vessels of force upon the lake Ontario, an act was now passed for extending the maritime laws of England, relating to the government of his majesty's ships and forces by sea, to such officers, seamen, and others, as should serve on board his majesty's ships or vessels employed upon the lakes, great waters, or rivers, in North America: and also, but not without opposition to this last, for the better recruiting of his majesty's forces upon the continent of America; to which end, by a new clause now added to a former act, a recruiting officer was empowered to enlist and detain an indented servant, even though his master should reclaim him, upon paying to the master such a sum as two justices of peace within the precinct should adjudge to be a reasonable equivalent for the original purchase-money, and the remaining time such servant might have to serve.

The quiet of Ireland restored.

The intestine broils of Ireland were happily composed this year, by the prudent management of the marquis of Hartington, lord lieutenant of that kingdom. By his steady and disinterested conduct, his candour and humanity, the Irish were not only brought to a much better temper, even among themselves, than they were before their late outrageous riots and dangerous dissensions happened; but also prevailed upon to acquiesce in the measures of England, without this last being obliged to give up any one point of her superiority. The leading men in the parliament of Ireland were the first that conformed: and though the ferment continued very high for some time after, among the middling and lower ranks of people, it was at length intirely allayed by the wisdom of the lord lieutenant, and the excellent laws which he encouraged and passed for the benefit of that nation*. The P—— of Ireland, who had been very busy in fomenting many of the late disturbances, was, by his majesty's command, struck off the list of privy-counsellors; and the greatest part of those patriots, whom faction had turned out of their employments there, were reinstated with honour.

* Among other objects of the attention of the legislature of that country, ten thousand pounds were granted for making the river Nore navigable from the city of Kilkenny to the town of Innestalge; twenty thousand pounds towards carrying on an inland navigation from the city of Dublin to the river Shannon; four thousand pounds for making the river Newry navigable; a thousand pounds a year for two years, for

the encouragement of English protestant schools; several sums, to be distributed in premiums, for the encouragement of the cambrick, hempen, and flaxen manufactures; and three hundred thousand pounds to his majesty, towards supporting the several branches of the establishment, and for defraying the expences of the government for two years.

The

The parliament of England, which had adjourned on the twenty-third of Ann. 1756. December, met again; the house of commons on the thirteenth of January, Continuation and the lords on the nineteenth. In the mean time, that is to say, on the of the session sixteenth of the same month, the treaty between his Britannic majesty and the of parliament king of Prussia was signed, importing, That, for the defence of their common country, Germany, and in order to preserve her peace and tranquillity, Treaty with which, it was feared, was in danger of being disturbed, on account of the Prussia. disputes in America; the two kings, for that end only, entered into a convention of neutrality, by which they reciprocally bound themselves not to suffer foreign troops of any nation whatsoever to enter into Germany, or pass thro' it, during the troubles aforesaid, and the consequences that might result from them; but to oppose the same with their utmost might, in order to secure Germany from the calamities of war, maintain her fundamental laws and constitutions, and preserve her peace uninterrupted. Thus the late treaty with Russia, was virtually renounced. Their majesties, moreover, seized this favourable opportunity to adjust the differences that had subsisted between them, in relation to the remainder of the Silesia loan due to the subjects of his Britannic majesty, and the indemnification claimed by the subjects of his Prussian majesty for their losses by sea during the late war; so that the attachment laid on the said debt was agreed to be taken off, as soon as the ratification of this treaty should be exchanged.

On the twenty-first of January the house took into consideration the laws A new militia then in being, relating to the militia of this kingdom; and, finding them in- bill ordered. sufficient, ordered a new bill to be prepared, and brought in, for the better regulating of the militia forces in the several counties of England. A bill was accordingly prepared to that effect, much the same as that which has been since passed into a law, and presented to the house on the twelfth of March by the honourable Charles Townshend, Esq; who, to his honour, was one of the chief promoters of it. After receiving many amendments in the house of commons, it was on the tenth of May passed, and sent to the lords: but several objections being made to it by some of the peers, and it seeming to them, that some farther amendments were still necessary, which they thought they could not in that session spare time to consider so maturely as the importance of the subject required, a negative of fifty-nine against twenty-three was put upon the motion for passing the bill; though every one must have been sensible not only of the propriety, but even of the absolute necessity of such a law, which was ardently desired by the whole nation. passed by the commons; but rejected by the lords.

On the twenty-seventh of May his majesty went to the house of peers, and, after having given the royal assent to the bills then depending, thanked his End of the session. parliament. in a speech from the throne, for their vigorous and effectual support. He acquainted them, that the injuries and hostilities which had been for some time committed by the French against his dominions and subjects, were then followed by the actual invasion of the island of Minorca, though guarantied to him by all the great powers of Europe, and particularly by the French king: That he had therefore found himself obliged, in vindication of the honour of his crown, and of the rights of his people, to declare war in form against France; and that he relied on the Divine Protection, and the vigorous assistance of his faithful subjects, in so just a cause. The parliament was then adjourned

Ann. 1756. journeyed to the eighteenth of June; from thence afterwards to the eighteenth of July, and then it was prorogued.

Letter from M. Rouillé to the secretary of state. In the month of January Mr. Fox, lately appointed secretary of state, received a letter from Mr. Rouillé, minister and secretary of state for foreign affairs to the king of France, expostulating, in the name of his sovereign, upon the orders and instructions for committing hostilities, which his Britannic majesty had given to general Braddock and admiral Boscawen, in diametrical opposition to the most solemn assurances so often repeated by word of mouth, as well as in writing. He complained of the insult which had been offered to his master's flag, in attacking and taking two of his ships in the open sea, without any previous declaration of war; as also by committing depredations on the commerce of his most Christian majesty's subjects, in contempt of the law of nations, the faith of treaties, and the usages established among civilized nations. He said, the sentiments and character of his Britannic majesty gave the king his master room to expect, that, at his return to London, he would disavow the conduct of his admiralty; but seeing that, instead of punishing, he rather encouraged those who had been guilty of such depredations, his most Christian majesty would be deemed deficient in what he owed to his own glory, the dignity of his crown, and the defence of his people, if he deferred any longer demanding a signal reparation for the outrage done to the French flag, and the damage sustained by his subjects. He therefore demanded immediate and full restitution of all the French ships, which, contrary to law and decorum, had been taken by the English navy, together with all the officers, soldiers, mariners, guns, stores, and merchandize. He declared, that should this restitution be made, he should be willing to engage in a negotiation for what further satisfaction he might claim, and continue desirous to see the differences relating to America determined by a solid and equitable accommodation: but if, contrary to all hopes, these demands should be rejected, he would consider such a denial of justice as the most authentic declaration of war, and as a formed design in the court of London to disturb the peace of Europe.

To this peremptory remonstrance the British secretary was directed to answer, That though the king of England would readily consent to an equitable and solid accommodation, he would not comply with the demand of immediate and full restitution as a preliminary condition; for his majesty had taken no steps but such as were rendered just and indispensable by the hostilities which the French began in time of profound peace, and a proper regard for his own honour, the rights and possessions of his crown, and the security of his kingdoms.

The two nations recriminate upon each other.

Without all doubt the late transactions had afforded specious arguments for both nations to impeach the conduct of each other. The French court, conscious of their encroachments in Nova Scotia, affected to draw a shade over these, as particulars belonging to a disputed territory, and to divert the attention to the banks of the Ohio, where Jamonville and his detachment had been attacked and massacred by the English, without the least provocation. They likewise inveighed against the capture of their ships, before any declaration of war, as flagrant acts of piracy; and some neutral powers of Europe seemed to consider them in the same point of view.

It

It was certainly high time to check the insolence of the French by force of arms, and surely this might have been as effectually and expeditiously exerted under the usual sanction of a formal declaration; the omission of which exposed the administration to the censure of our neighbours, and fixed the imputation of fraud and free-booting on the beginning of the war. The ministry was said to have delayed the ceremony of denouncing war from political considerations, supposing that, should the French be provoked into the first declaration of this kind, the powers of Europe would consider his most Christian majesty as the aggressor, and Great Britain would reap all the fruits of the defensive alliances in which she had engaged. But nothing could be more weak and frivolous than such a conjecture. The aggressor is he who first violates the peace; and every ally will interpret the aggression according to his own interest and convenience. The administration maintained the appearance of candour in the midst of their hostilities. The merchant-ships, of which a great number had been taken from the French, were not sold and divided among the captors, according to the practice of war; but carefully sequestered, with all their cargoes and effects, in order to be restored to the right owners, in case the disputes between the two nations should not be productive of an open rupture. In this particular, however, it was pity that a little common sense had not been blended with their honourable intention. Great part of the cargoes consisted of fish, and other perishable commodities, which were left to rot and putrefy, and afterwards thrown overboard to prevent contagion; so that the owners and captors were equally disappointed, and the value of them lost to both nations.

The court of Versailles, while they presented remonstrances which they knew would prove ineffectual, and exclaimed against the conduct of Great Britain with all the arts of calumny and exaggeration at every court in Christendom, continued nevertheless to make such preparations as denoted a design to prosecute the war with uncommon vigour. They began to repair and fortify Dunkirk: orders were published, that all British subjects should quit the dominions of France: many English vessels were seized in different ports of that kingdom, and their crews sent to prison. At the same time an edict was issued, inviting the French subjects to equip privateers, offering a premium of forty livres for every gun, and as much for every man they should take from the enemy; and promising that, in case a peace should be speedily concluded, the king would purchase the privateers at prime cost. They employed great numbers of artificers and seamen in equipping a formidable squadron of ships at Brest; and, assembling a strong body of land-forces, as well as a considerable number of transports, threatened the island of Great Britain with a dangerous invasion.

The French threaten Great Britain with an invasion.

The English people were seized with consternation: the ministry were alarmed and perplexed. Colonel Yorke, the British resident at the Hague, was ordered by his majesty to make a requisition of the six thousand men whom the States General are obliged by treaty to furnish, when Great Britain shall be threatened with an invasion; and in February he presented a memorial for this purpose. Monsieur d'Affry, the French king's minister at the Hague, having received intimation of this demand, produced a counter memorial from his master, charging the English as the aggressors, and giving the States

Requisition of six thousand Dutch troops according to treaty.

Ann. 1756. States General plainly to understand, that should they grant the succours demanded by Great Britain, he would consider their compliance as an act of hostility against himself. The Dutch, though divided among themselves by faction, were unanimously averse to any measure that might involve them in the approaching war. Their commerce was in a great measure decayed, and their finances were too much exhausted to admit of an immediate augmentation of their forces, which for many other reasons they strove to avoid. They foresaw a great increase of trade in their adhering to a punctual neutrality: they were afraid of the French by land, and jealous of the English by sea; and perhaps enjoyed the prospect of seeing these two proud and powerful nations humble and impoverish each other. Certain it is, the States General protracted their answer to Mr. Yorke's memorial by such affected delays, that the court of London perceived their intention, and in order to avoid the mortification of a flat denial, the king ordered his resident to acquaint the prince's regent, that he would not insist upon his demand. The States, thus freed from their perplexity, at length delivered an answer to Mr. Yorke, in which they expatiated on the difficulties they were laid under, and thanked his Britannic majesty for having freed them by his declaration from that embarrassment into which they were thrown by his first demand and the counter memorial of the French minister. The real sentiments of those people, however, more plainly appeared in the previous resolution delivered to the states of Holland by the towns of Amsterdam, Dort, Haerlem, Gouda, Rotterdam, and Enckhuysen, declaring flatly that England was uncontrovertibly the aggressor in Europe, by seizing a considerable number of French vessels; that the threatened invasion of Great Britain did not affect the republic's guarantee of the protestant succession, inasmuch as it was only intended to obtain reparation for the injury sustained by the subjects of his most Christian majesty; finally, that the succours demanded could be of no advantage to the king of England, as it appeared by the declaration of his most Christian majesty, that their granting these succours would immediately lay them under a necessity of demanding, in their turn, assistance from Great Britain. From this way of arguing, the English may perceive what they have to expect in cases of emergency from the friendship of their nearest allies, who must always be furnished with the same excuse whenever they find it convenient or necessary to their own interest. Such a consideration, joined to other concurring motives, ought to induce the British legislature to withdraw its dependence from all foreign connexions, and provide such a constitutional force within itself, as will be fully sufficient to baffle all the efforts of an external enemy. The apprehensions and distraction of the people at this juncture plainly evinced the expediency of such a national force: but different parties were divided in their opinions about the nature of such a provision. Some of the warmest friends of their country proposed a well-regulated militia, as an institution that would effectually answer the purpose of defending a wide extended sea-coast from invasion; while, on the other hand, this proposal was ridiculed and refuted as impracticable or useless by all the retainers to the court, and all the officers of the standing army. In the mean time, as the experiment could not be immediately tried, and the present juncture demanded some instant determination, recourse was had to a foreign remedy.

Towards

Towards the latter end of March, the king sent a written message to parliament, intimating he had received repeated advices from different persons and places, that a design had been formed by the French court to invade Great Britain or Ireland; and the great preparations of forces, ships, artillery, and warlike stores, then notoriously making in the ports of France opposite to the British coasts, together with the language of the French ministers in some foreign courts, left little room to doubt the reality of such a design: that his majesty had augmented his forces both by sea and land, and taken proper measures and precautions for putting his kingdom in a posture of defence: that, in order further to strengthen himself, he had made a requisition of a body of Hessian troops, pursuant to the late treaty, to be forthwith brought over, and for that purpose ordered transports to be prepared: that he doubted not of being enabled and supported by his parliament in taking all such measures as might be conducive to an end so essential to the honour of his crown, the preservation of the protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of these kingdoms.

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Message from the king to the parliament.

This message was no sooner received, than both houses voted, composed, and presented very warm and affectionate addresses, in which his majesty was thanked for the requisition he had made of the Hessian troops; a measure which at any other time would have been stigmatized with all the satire and rhetoric of the opposition.

Even this precaution was not thought sufficient to secure the island, and quiet the terrors of the people. In a few days Mr. Fox, the new minister, encouraged by the unanimity which had appeared so conspicuous in the motions for the late addresses, ventured to move again, in the house of commons, that another address should be presented to the king, beseeching his majesty, that for the more effectual defence of this island, and for the better security of the religion and liberties of his subjects, against the threatened attack by a foreign enemy, he would be graciously pleased to order twelve battalions of his electoral troops, together with the usual detachment of artillery, to be forthwith brought into this kingdom. There was a considerable party in the house, to whom such a motion was odious and detestable: but, considering the critical situation of affairs, they were afraid that a direct opposition might expose them to a more odious suspicion: they therefore moved for the order of the day, and insisted on the question's being put upon that motion; but it was carried in the negative by a considerable majority, which also agreed to the other proposal. The resolution of the house was communicated to the lords, who unanimously concurred; and their joint address being presented, his majesty assured them he would immediately comply with their request. Accordingly, such expedition was used, that in the course of the next month both Hanoverians and Hessians arrived in England, and encamped in different parts of the kingdom.

A body of Hanoverians and Hessians transported to England.

As the fears of an invasion subsided in the minds of the people, their antipathy to these foreign auxiliaries, emerged. They were beheld with the eyes of jealousy, suspicion, and disdain. They were treated with contempt, reserve, and rigour. The ministry was execrated for having reduced the nation to such a low circumstance of disgrace, as that they should owe their security to German mercenaries. There were not wanting some incendiaries who circu-

Ann. 1756. lated hints and insinuations, that the kingdom had been purposely left unprovided; and that the natives of South Britain had been formerly subdued and expelled by a body of Saxon auxiliaries, whom they had hired for their preservation. In a word, the doubts and suspicions of a people naturally blunt and jealous, were inflamed to such a degree of animosity, that nothing would have restrained them from violent acts of outrage, but the most orderly, modest, and inoffensive behaviour by which both the Hanoverians and Hessians were distinguished.

French preparations at Toulon.

Under the cloak of an invading armament, which engrossed the attention of the British nation, the French were actually employed in preparations for an expedition, which succeeded according to their wish. In the beginning of the year advice was received that a French squadron would soon be in a condition to sail from Toulon: this was afterwards confirmed by repeated intelligence not only from foreign gazettes, but also from English ministers and consuls residing in Spain and Italy. They affirmed that the Toulon squadron consisted of twelve or fifteen ships of the line, with a great number of transports; that they were supplied with provision for two months only, consequently could not be intended for America; and that strong bodies of troops were on their march from different parts of the French dominions to Dauphiné and Provence, in order to be embarked. Notwithstanding these particulars of information, which plainly pointed out Minorca as the object of their expedition; notwithstanding the extensive and important commerce carried on by the subjects of Great Britain in the Mediterranean; no care was taken to send thither a squadron of ships capable to protect the trade, and frustrate the designs of the enemy. That great province was left to a few inconsiderable ships and frigates, which could serve no other purpose than that of carrying intelligence from port to port, and enriching their commanders by making prize of merchant vessels. Nay, the ministry seemed to pay little or no regard to the remonstrance of general Blakeney, deputy governor of Minorca, who, in repeated advices, represented the weakness of the garrison which he commanded in St. Philip's castle, the chief fortress on the island. Far from strengthening the garrison with a proper reinforcement, they did not even send thither the officers belonging to it, who were in England upon leave of absence, nor give directions for any vessel to transport them, until the French armament was ready to make a descent upon that island*.

At

* It is with pleasure we seize this opportunity of recording an instance of gallantry and patriotism in a British officer, which would have done honour to the character of a Roman tribune. Captain Cunningham, an accomplished young gentleman, who acted as engineer in second at Minorca, being preferred to a majority at home, and recalled to his regiment by an express order, had repaired with his family to Nice in Italy, where he waited for the opportunity of a ship bound for England, when he received certain intelligence that the French armament was destined for the place he had quitted. His lady, whom he tenderly loved, was just delivered, and two of his chil-

dren were dangerously ill of the small pox. He recollected that the chief engineer at Minorca was infirm, and indeed disabled by the gout, and that many things were wanting for the defence of the fortress. His zeal for the honour and service of his country immediately triumphed over the calls of tenderness and of nature. He expended a considerable sum of money in purchasing timber for the platforms, and other necessaries for the garrison; hired a ship for transporting them thither; and tearing himself from his wife and children, thus left among strangers in a foreign country, embarked again for Minorca, where he knew he would be in a peculiar manner exposed

At length the destination of the enemy's fleet being universally known, the ministry seemed to rouse from their lethargy, and, like persons suddenly waking, acted with hurry and precipitation. Instead of detaching a squadron that in all respects should be superior to the French fleet in the Mediterranean, and bestowing the command of it upon an officer of approved courage and activity, they allotted no more than ten ships of the line for this service, vesting the command of them in admiral Byng, who had never met with any occasion to signalize his courage, and whose character was not very popular in the navy: but Mr. West, the second in command, was a gentleman universally respected for his probity, ability, and resolution. The ten ships destined for this expedition were but in very indifferent order, poorly manned, and unprovided with either hospital or fire-ship. They sailed from Spithead on the seventh day of April, having on board, as part of their complement, a regiment of soldiers to be landed at Gibraltar, with major general Stuart, the lord Effingham, and colonel Cornwallis, whose regiments were in garrison at Minorca, about forty inferior officers, and near one hundred recruits, as a reinforcement to St Philip's fortress.

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Admiral Byng sails for the Mediterranean.

After all the intelligence which had been received, one would imagine the government of England was still ignorant of the enemy's force and destination; for the instructions delivered to admiral Byng imported, that, on his arrival at Gibraltar, he should inquire whether any French squadron had passed through the Streights; and that, being certified in the affirmative, as it was probably designed for North America, he should immediately detach rear-admiral West to Louisbourg, on the island Cape Breton, with such a number of ships as, when joined with those at Halifax, would constitute a force superior to the armament of the enemy.

On the second day of May admiral Byng arrived at Gibraltar, where he found captain Edgecumbe with the Princess Louisa ship of war, and a sloop, who informed him, that the French armament, commanded by Mr. de la Galissoniere, consisting of thirteen ships of the line, with a great number of transports, having on board a body of fifteen thousand land-forces, had sailed from Toulon on the tenth day of April, and made a descent upon the island of Minorca, from whence he (captain Edgecumbe) had been obliged to retire at their approach.

His arrival at Gibraltar.

General Fowke, who commanded at Gibraltar, had received two successive orders from the secretary at war, with respect to his sparing a battalion of troops, to be transported by Mr. Byng, as a reinforcement to Minorca; but as the two orders appeared inconsistent, or equivocal, a council of war was consulted; and the majority were of opinion, that no troops should be sent from thence to Minorca, except a detachment to supply the deficiency in the

exposed to all the dangers of a furious siege. In the course of this desperate service he acquitted himself with that vigilance, skill, and active courage, which he had on divers former occasions displayed; until the assault was given to the Queen's bastion, when, mixing with the enemy sword in hand, he was disabled in his right arm by the shot of a musket and the thrust of a bayonet. His behaviour was so ac-

ceptable to his sovereign, that when he returned to England he was preferred to the rank of colonel in the guards. He afterwards acted as chief engineer in the attempts and descents that were made on the French coast. Though grievously maimed, he accepted the same office in the expedition to Guadalupe, where he died universally regretted.

Ann. 1756. little squadron of captain Edgecumbe, who had left a good number of his seamen and mariners, under the command of captain Scroop, to assist in the defence of Fort St. Philip's. These articles of intelligence the admiral dispatched by an express to the lords of the admiralty, and in his letter made use of some impolitic expressions, which, in all probability, it would have been well for him had he omitted. He said, if he had been so happy as to have arrived at Mahon before the French had landed, he flattered himself he should have been able to prevent their getting a footing on that island. He complained, that there were no magazines in Gibraltar for supplying the squadron with necessaries; that the careening-wharfs, pits, and storehouses, were intirely decayed, so that he should find the greatest difficulty in cleaning the ships that were foul; and this was the case with some of those he carried out from England, as well as with those which had been for some time cruising in the Mediterranean. He signified his opinion, that, even if it should be found practicable, it would be very impolitic to throw any men into St. Philip's castle, which could not be saved without a land-force sufficient to raise the siege; therefore a small reinforcement would only add so many men to the number which must fall into the hands of the enemy. He observed, that such engineers and artillery-men in Gibraltar, as had been at Minorca, were of opinion, that it would be impossible to throw any number of men into St. Philip's, if the French had erected batteries on the two shores near the entrance of the harbour, so as to bar all passage up to the Sally-port of the fortress; and with this opinion he signified the concurrence of his own sentiments.

The first part of this letter was a downright impeachment of the ministry, for having delayed the expedition, for having sent out ships unfit for service, and for having neglected the magazines and wharfs at Gibraltar. In the latter part he seemed to prepare them for the subsequent account of his misconduct and miscarriage. It cannot be supposed, that they underwent this accusation without apprehension and resentment; and as they foresaw the loss of Minorca, which would not fail to excite a national clamour, perhaps they now began to take measures for gratifying their resentment, and transferring the blame from themselves to the person who had presumed to hint a disapprobation of their conduct: for this purpose they could not have found a fairer opportunity than Mr. Byng's subsequent behaviour afforded.

This admiral, being strengthened by Mr. Edgecumbe, and reinforced by a detachment from the garrison, set sail from Gibraltar on the eighth day of May, and was joined off Majorca by his majesty's ship the Phoenix, under the command of captain Hervey, who confirmed the intelligence he had already received, touching the strength and destination of the French squadron. When he approached Minorca, he descried the British colours still flying at the castle of St. Philip's, and several bomb batteries playing upon it from different quarters, where the French banners were displayed. Thus informed, he detached three ships a-head, with captain Hervey, to reconnoitre the harbour's mouth, and land, if possible, a letter for general Blakeney, giving him to understand the fleet was come to his assistance. Before this attempt could be made, the French fleet appearing to the south-east, and the wind blowing strong off shore, he recalled his ships, and formed the line of battle. About

fix

Falls in with
the French
fleet off Mi-
norca.

fix o'clock in the evening the enemy, to the number of seventeen ships, thirteen of which appeared to be very large, advanced in order; but about seven tacked, with a view to gain the weather-gage. Mr. Byng, in order to preserve that advantage, as well as to make sure of the land-wind in the morning, followed their example, being then about five leagues from Cape Mola. Ann. 1756.

At day-light the enemy could not be descried; but two tartanes appearing close to the rear of the English squadron, they were immediately chased by signal. One escaped; and the other being taken, was found to have on board two French captains, two lieutenants, and about one hundred private soldiers, part of six hundred who had been sent out in tartanes the preceding day, to reinforce the enemy's squadron. This soon re-appearing, the line of battle was formed on each side; and about two o'clock admiral Byng threw out a signal to bear away two points from the wind, and engage. At this time his distance from the enemy was so great, that rear-admiral West, perceiving it impossible to comply with both orders, bore away with his division seven points from the wind, and, closing down upon the enemy, attacked them with such impetuosity, that the ships which opposed him were in a little time driven out of the line. Had he been properly sustained by the van, in all probability the British fleet would have obtained a complete victory; but the other division did not bear down, and the enemy's centre keeping their station, rear-admiral West could not pursue his advantage without running the risque of seeing his communication with the rest of the line entirely cut off. Engagement with La Galissoniere.

In the beginning of the action, the Intrepid, in Mr. Byng's division, was so disabled in her rigging, that she could not be managed, and drove on the ship that was next in position: a circumstance which obliged several others to throw all a-back, in order to avoid confusion, and for some time retarded the action. Certain it is, that Mr. Byng, though accommodated with a noble ship of ninety guns, made little or no use of his artillery; but kept aloof, either from an overstrained observance of discipline, or timidity. When his captain exhorted him to bear down upon the enemy, he very coolly replied, that he would avoid the error of admiral Matthews, who, in his engagement with the French and Spanish squadrons off Toulon, during the preceding war, had broke the line by his own precipitation, and exposed himself singly to a fire that he could not sustain. Mr. Byng, on the contrary, was determined against acting, except with the line entire; and, on pretence of rectifying the disorder, which had happened among some of the ships, hesitated so long, and kept at such a wary distance, that he never was properly engaged, though he received some few shots in his hull. Mr. de la Galissoniere seemed equally averse to the continuance of the battle: part of his squadron had been fairly obliged to quit the line; and though he was rather superior to the English in number of men and weight of metal, he did not chuse to abide the consequence of a closer fight with an enemy, so expert in naval operations: he therefore took advantage of Mr. Byng's hesitation, and edged away with an easy sail to join his van, which had been discomfited. The English admiral gave chase; but the French ships being clean, he could not come up and close them again, so they retired

at

Ann. 1756. at their leisure. Then he put his squadron on the other tack, in order to keep the wind of the enemy; and next morning they were altogether out of sight.

While, with the rest of his fleet, he lay to, at the distance of ten leagues from Mahon, he detached cruisers to look for some missing ships, which joined him accordingly, and made an inquiry into the condition of the squadron. The number of killed amounted to forty-two, including captain Andrews of the *Defiance*, and about one hundred and sixty-eight were wounded. Three of the capital ships were so damaged in their masts, that they could not keep the sea, with any regard to their safety: a great number of the seamen were ill, and there was no vessel which could be converted into an hospital for the sick and wounded. In this situation Mr. Byng called a council of war, at which the land officers were present. He represented to them, that he was much inferior to the enemy in weight of metal and numbers of men; that they had the advantage of sending their wounded to Minorca, from whence at the same time they were refreshed and reinforced occasionally; that, in his opinion, it was impracticable to relieve St. Philip's fort, and therefore they ought to make the best of their way back to Gibraltar, which might require immediate protection. They unanimously concurred with his sentiments, and thither he directed his course accordingly. How he came to be so well acquainted with the impracticability of relieving general Blakeney, it is not easy to determine, inasmuch as no experiment was made for that purpose. Indeed, the neglect of such a trial seems to have been the least excuseable part of his conduct; for it afterwards appeared, that the officers and soldiers belonging to the garrison might have been landed at the sally-port, without running any great risk; and a gentleman, then in the fort, actually passed and repassed in a boat, unhurt by any of the enemy's batteries.

Mr. Byng returns to Gibraltar.

Mr. Byng's letter to the admiralty, containing a detail of this action, is said to have arrived some days before it was made public; and when it appeared, was curtailed of divers expressions and whole paragraphs, which either tended to his own justification, or implied a censure on the conduct of his superiors. Whatever use might have been made of this letter while it remained a secret to the public, we shall not pretend to explain: but sure it is, that on the sixteenth day of June, Sir Edward Hawke and admiral Saunders sailed from Spithead to Gibraltar, to supersede the admirals Byng and West, in their commands of the Mediterranean squadron; and Mr. Byng's letter was not published till the twenty-sixth day of the same month, when it produced all the effect which that gentleman's bitterest enemies could have desired. The populace took fire like a train of the most hasty combustibles, and broke out in such a clamour of rage and indignation against the devoted admiral, as could not have been exceeded, if he had lost the whole navy of England, and left the coasts of the kingdom naked to invasion. This animosity was carefully fomented and maintained by artful emissaries, who mingled with all public assemblies, from the drawing-room at St. James's to the mob at Charing-cross. They expatiated upon the insolence, the folly, the cowardice, and misconduct of the unhappy admiral. They even presumed to make their sovereign in some measure an instrument of their calumny, by suggesting that his majesty had prognosticated Byng's misbehaviour from the contents of his first

Ferment of the people at home.

first letter dated at Gibraltar. They ridiculed and refuted the reasons he had given for returning to that fortress, after his scandalous rencounter with the French squadron; and, in order to exasperate them to the most implacable resentment, they exaggerated the terrible consequences of losing Minorca, which must now be subdued through his treachery, or want of resolution. In a word, he was devoted as the scape-goat of the m——y, to whose supine negligence, ignorance, and misconduct the loss of that important fortress was undoubtedly owing. Byng's miscarriage was thrown out like a barrel to the whale, in order to engage the attention of the people, that it might not be attracted by the real cause of the national misfortune. In order to keep up the flame which had been kindled against the admiral, recourse was had to the lowest artifices. Agents were employed to vilify his person in all public places of vulgar resort; and mobs were hired at different parts of the capital to hang and burn him in effigie.

The two officers who succeeded to his command in the Mediterranean were accompanied by the lord Tyrawley, whom his majesty had appointed to supersede general Fowke in the government of Gibraltar, that gentleman having incurred the displeasure of the ministry for not having understood an order which was unintelligible. By the same conveyance a letter from the secretary of the admiralty was transmitted to Mr. Byng, giving him notice that he was recalled. To this intimation he replied in such a manner as denoted a consciousness of having done his duty, and a laudable desire to vindicate his own conduct. His answer contained a further account of the engagement in which he was supposed to have misbehaved, intermixed with some puerile calculations of the enemy's superiority in weight of metal, which served no other purpose than that of exposing his character still more to ridicule and abuse; and he was again so impolitic as to hazard certain expressions, which added fresh fuel to the resentment of his enemies. Directions were immediately dispatched to Sir Edward Hawke, that Byng should be sent home in arrest: and an order to the same purpose was lodged at every port in the kingdom: precautions, which, however unnecessary to secure the person of a man who longed ardently to justify his character by a public trial, were yet productive of considerable effect in augmenting the popular odium.

The admiral
superfeded,
and sent home
a prisoner.

Admiral Byng immediately embarked in the ship which had carried out his successor, and was accompanied by Mr. West, general Fowke, and several other officers of that garrison, who were also recalled in consequence of having subscribed to the result of the council of war, which we have mentioned above. When they arrived in England, Mr. West met with such a gracious reception from his majesty as was thought due to his extraordinary merit; but Mr. Byng was committed close prisoner in an apartment of Greenwich hospital.

In the mean time the siege of St. Philip's fort in Minorca was prosecuted with unremitting vigour. The armament of Toulon, consisting of the fleet commanded by Mr. de la Galissoniere, and the troops under the duke de Richelieu, arrived on the eighteenth day of April at the port of Ciudadella, on that part of the island opposite to Mahon, or St. Philip's, and immediately began to disembark their forces.

History of the
siege of St.
Philip's fort
in Minorca.

Ann. 1756.

Two days before they reached the island, general Blakeney had by a packet-boat received certain intelligence of their approach, and begun to make preparations for the defence of the castle. The fort which he commanded was very extensive, surrounded with numerous redoubts, ravelings, and other outworks; and provided with subterranean galleries, mines, and traverses, cut out of the solid rock with incredible labour. Upon the whole, this was one of the best fortified places in Europe, well supplied with artillery, ammunition, and provision; and, without all doubt, might have sustained the most desperate siege, had it been defended by a numerous garrison, conducted by able engineers, under the eye and auspices of an active and skilful commander. All these advantages, however, did not concur on this occasion. The number of troops in Minorca did not exceed four regiments, whereas the nature of the works required at least double the number; and, even of these, above forty officers were absent. The chief engineer was rendered lame by the gout, and the general himself oppressed with the infirmities of old age. The natives of the island might have been serviceable as pioneers, or day labourers; but, from their hatred to the protestant religion, they were generally averse to the English government, although they had lived happily and grown wealthy under its influence.

Precautions
taken by ge-
neral Blake-
ney.

The governor ordered his officers to beat up for volunteers in the adjacent town of St. Philip's; but few or none would enlist under his banners, and it seems he would not venture to compel them into the service. He recalled all his advanced parties; and, in particular, a company posted at Fornelles, where a small redoubt had been raised, and five companies at Ciudadella, a post fortified with two pieces of cannon, which were now withdrawn as soon as the enemy began to disembark their forces. At the same time Major Cunningham was detached with a party to break down the bridges, and break up the roads, between that place and St. Philip's; but the task of destroying the roads could not be performed in such a hurry, on account of the hard rock which runs along the surface of the ground through this whole island; nor was there time to demolish the town of St. Philip's, which stood so near the fort, that the enemy could not fail to take advantage of its neighbourhood. The streets served them for trenches, which otherwise could not have been dug through the solid rock. Here they made a lodgment close to the works; here they found convenient barracks and quarters of refreshment, masks for their batteries, and an effectual cover for their mortars and bombardiers. The general has been blamed for leaving the town standing; but if we consider his uncertainty concerning the destination of the French armament, the odious nature of such a precaution, which could not fail to exasperate the inhabitants, and the impossibility of executing such a scheme after the first appearance of the enemy, he will be found excusable, if not altogether blameless. Some houses and windmills were actually demolished, so as to clear the esplanade and the approaches. All the wine in the cellars of St. Philip's town was destroyed, and the butts were carried into the castle, where they might serve for gabions and traverses. Five and twenty Minorquin bakers were hired, and a large number of cattle brought into the fort, for the benefit of the garrison. The ports were walled up, the posts assigned, the centinels placed, and all the different guards appointed. Commodore Edgcumbe, who then anchored in

in the harbour of Mahon, close under the walls of the castle, sailed away with his little squadron, consisting of the Chesterfield, Princess Louisa, Portland, and Dolphin, after having left all his marines, a detachment from Gibraltar, the whole crew of the Porcupine sloop, and the greater part of the Dolphin's, as a reinforcement to the fort, under the immediate direction and command of captain Scroop of the Dolphin, who, with great gallantry, offered himself for this severe duty, and bravely signalized himself during the whole siege. Ann. 1756.

The French admiral might have certainly blocked up this harbour in such a manner as would have prevented the escape of these ships, and divers other rich merchant-vessels, which happened then to be at Mahon; but, in all probability, they purposely allowed them to abandon the place, which, on any emergency, or assault, their crews and officers would have considerably reinforced.

The enemy were perfectly acquainted with the great extent of the works, and the weakness of the garrison; from which circumstances they derived the most sanguine hopes that the place might be suddenly taken, without the trouble of a regular siege.

After Mr. Edgcumbe had sailed for Gibraltar, and general Blakeney had ordered a sloop to be sunk in the channel that leads to the harbour, the French squadron made its appearance at this part of the island; but, without having attempted any thing against the fort, fell to leeward of Cape Mola. Next day they came in sight again; but soon bore away, and never afterwards, during the whole course of the siege, approached so near as to give the garrison the least disturbance.

On the twenty-second day of April the governor sent a drummer to the French general with a letter, desiring to know his reasons for invading the island. To this an answer was returned by the duke de Richelieu, declaring he was come with intention to reduce the island under the dominion of his most Christian majesty, by way of retaliation for the conduct of his master, who had seized and detained the ships belonging to the king of France and his subjects.

If we may judge from the first operations of this nobleman, he was but indifferently provided with engineers: for, instead of beginning his approaches on the side of St. Philip's town, close by the outworks, where he might have been screened from the fire of the garrison, his batteries were erected at Cape Mola, on the other side of the harbour, where they were more exposed, their fire much less effectual, and indeed at too great a distance to be of any service. The fire of St. Philip's was so severe, and the cannon so well served on this quarter, that in a little time the enemy thought proper to change their plan of attack, and advance on the side of St. Philip's town, which ought to have been the first object of their consideration, especially as they could find little or no earth to fill their gabions, and open their trenches in the usual form. Commence-
ment of the
siege.

On the twelfth of May, about nine at night, they opened two bomb batteries, near the place where the windmills had been destroyed; and from that period an incessant fire was kept up, on both sides, from mortars and

Ann. 1756. cannon, the French continuing to raise new batteries in every situation from whence they could annoy the besieged.

The English squadron appears. On the seventeenth day of the month the garrison were transported with joy at sight of the British squadron, commanded by admiral Byng; and Mr. Boyd, commissary of the stores, ventured to embark in a small boat with six oars, which passed from St. Stephen's cove, a creek on the west side of the fortification, through a shower of cannon and musquetry from the enemy's post on the other side, and actually reached the open sea, his design being to join the squadron; but this being at a great distance, stretching away to the southward, and Mr. Boyd perceiving himself chased by two of the enemy's light vessels, he returned by the same route to the garrison, without having sustained the least damage. A circumstance which plainly confutes the notion of Mr. Byng, that it was impracticable to open a communication with the garrison of St. Philip's.

Next day the hopes of the besieged, which had prognosticated a naval victory to the British squadron, a speedy relief to themselves, and no less than captivity to the assailants, were considerably damped by the appearance of the French fleet, which quietly returned to their station off the harbour of Mahon. That same evening they were told by a deserter, that the English fleet had been worsted in an engagement by Mr. de la Galissoniere; and this information was soon confirmed by a general discharge, or Feu de joie, through the whole French camp, to celebrate the victory they pretended to have obtained.

How little soever they had reason to boast of any advantage in the action, the retreat of the English squadron was undoubtedly equivalent to a victory: for had Mr. Byng acquired and maintained the superiority at sea, the French forces, which had been disembarked in Minorca, would, in all probability, have been obliged to surrender prisoners of war to his Britannic majesty. The case was now much altered in their favour: their squadron cruised about the island without molestation: and they daily received, by means of their transports, reinforcements of men and ammunition, as well as constant supplies of provisions.

The English garrison, however mortified at finding themselves thus abandoned, resolved to acquit themselves with gallantry in the defence of the place, not without some remaining hope that the English squadron would be reinforced, and return to their relief.

In the mean time, they sustained and retorted the enemy's fire with undaunted resolution. They remounted cannon, the carriages of which had been disabled: they removed them occasionally to places from whence it was judged they could do the greatest execution: they repaired breaches, restored merlons, and laboured with surprising alacrity, even when they were surrounded by the numerous batteries of the foe; when their embrasures, and even the parapets, were demolished, and they stood exposed not only to the cannon and mortars, but also to the musquetry, which fired upon them, without ceasing, from the windows of the houses in the town of St. Philip. By this time they were invested with an army of twenty thousand men, and plied incessantly from sixty-two battering-cannon, twenty-one mortars, and four

four howitzers, besides the small arms: nevertheless, the loss of men within the fortress was very inconsiderable, the garrison being mostly secured in the subterranean works, which were impenetrable to shells or shot. By the twenty-seventh day of June they had made a practicable breach in one of the ravelins, and damaged the other outworks to such a degree, that they determined this night to give a general assault. Accordingly, between the hours of ten and eleven, they advanced to the attack from all quarters on the land-side. At the same time a strong detachment, in armed boats, attempted to force the harbour, and penetrate into the creek, called St. Stephen's Cove, to storm Fort Charles, and second the attack upon Fort Marlborough on the farther side of the creek, the most detached of all the outworks. The enemy advanced with great intrepidity, and their commander, the duke de Richelieu, is said to have led them up to the works in person. Ann. 1756.
General attack of the works.

Such an assault could not but be attended with great slaughter: they were mowed down, as they approached, with grape-shot and musquetry: and several mines were sprung with great effect, so that the glacis was almost covered with the dying and the dead. Nevertheless, they persevered with uncommon resolution; and, though repulsed on every other side, at length made a lodgement in the Queen's redoubt, which had been greatly damaged by their cannon. Whether their success in this quarter was owing to the weakness of the place, or to the timidity of the defenders, certain it is, the enemy were in possession before it was known to the officers of the garrison: for lieutenant-colonel Jeffries, the second in command, who had acquitted himself since the beginning of the siege with equal courage, skill, and activity, in his visitation of this post, was suddenly surrounded and taken by a file of French grenadiers, at a time when he never dreamed they had made a lodgement. Major Cunningham, who accompanied him, met with a severer fate, though he escaped captivity: he was run through the right arm with a bayonet, and the piece being discharged at the same time, shattered the bones of his hand in such a manner, that he was maimed for life. In this shocking condition he retired behind a traverse, and was carried home to his quarters. Thus the governor was deprived of his two principal assistants, one being taken, and the other disabled.

The enemy having made themselves masters of Anstruther's and the Queen's redoubts, from which perhaps they might have been dislodged, had a vigorous effort been made for that purpose, before they had leisure to secure themselves, the duke de Richelieu ordered a parley to be beat, in order to obtain permission to bury the dead, and remove the wounded. This request was granted with more humanity than discretion, inasmuch as the enemy took this opportunity to throw a reinforcement of men privately into the places where the lodgements had been made, and these penetrated into the gallery of the mines, which communicated with all the other outworks.

During this short cessation, general Blakeney summoned a council of war, to deliberate upon the state of the fort and garrison; and the majority declared for a capitulation. The works were in many places ruined; the body of the castle was shattered; many guns were dismounted, the embrasures and parapets demolished, the palisadoes broke in pieces, the garrison exhausted with hard duty and incessant watching, and the enemy in possession of the sub- The garrison capitulates.

Ann. 1756. terranean communications. Besides, the governor had received information from prisoners, that the duke de Richelieu was alarmed by a report that the marshal duke de Belleisle would be sent to supersede him in the command, and for that reason would hazard another desperate assault, which it was the opinion of the majority the garrison could not sustain. These considerations, added to the despair of being relieved, induced him to demand a capitulation. But this measure was not taken with the unanimous consent of the council. Some officers observed, that the garrison was very little diminished, and still in good spirits: that no breach was made in the body of the castle, nor a single cannon erected to batter in breach: that the loss of an outwork was never deemed a sufficient reason for surrendering such a fortress: that the counterscarp was not yet taken, nor, on account of the rocky soil, could be taken, except by assault, which would cost the enemy a greater number than they had lost in their late attempt: that they could not attack the ditch, or batter in breach, before the counterscarp should be taken, and even then they must have recourse to galleries before they could pass the fosse, which was furnished with mines and countermines: finally, they suggested that in all probability the British Squadron would be reinforced, and sail back to their relief; or if it should not return, it was the duty of the governor to defend the place to extremity, without having any regard to the consequences. These remarks being over-ruled, the chamade was beat, a conference ensued, and very honourable conditions were granted to the garrison, in consideration of the gallant defence they had made. This it must be owned was vigorous while it lasted, as the French general was said to have lost five thousand men in the siege; whereas the loss of the garrison, which at first fell short of three thousand men, did not exceed one hundred. The capitulation imported that the garrison should march out with all the honours of war, and be conveyed by sea to Gibraltar. The French were put in possession of one gate, as well as Fort Charles and Marlborough redoubt: but the English troops remained in the other works till the seventh day of July, when they embarked. In the mean time reciprocal civilities passed between the commanders and officers of both nations.

Sir Edward
Hawke sails
to Minorca.

The articles of capitulation were no sooner executed than monsieur de la Galissoniere sailed back to Toulon, with all the prizes which had lain at anchor in the harbour of Mahon since the fort of St. Philip was first invested. In all probability the safety of himself and his whole Squadron was owing to this expeditious retreat; for in a few days after the surrender of the fort, Sir Edward Hawke's fleet, augmented by five ships of the line, which had been sent from England, when the first tidings arrived of Minorca's being invaded, now made its appearance off the island: but by this time Galissoniere was retired, and the English admiral had the mortification to see the French colours flying upon St. Philip's Castle. What perhaps chagrined this gallant officer still more, he was not provided with frigates, sloops, and small craft to cruise round the island, and intercept the supplies which were daily sent to the enemy. Had he reached Minorca sooner, he might have discomfited the French Squadron; but he could not have raised the siege of St. Philip's, because the duke de Richelieu had received his reinforcements, and such a train of artillery as no fortification could long withstand. Indeed, if the garrison had

had been considerably reinforced, and the communication with it opened by sea, the defence would have been protracted, and so many vigorous sallies might have been made, that the assailants would have had cause to repent of their enterprize. Ann. 1756.

When the news of this conquest was brought to Versailles, by the count of Egmont, whom the duke de Richelieu had dispatched for that purpose, the people of France were transported with the most extravagant joy. Nothing was seen but triumphs and processions; nothing heard but anthems, congratulations, and hyperbolical encomiums upon the conqueror of Minorca, who was celebrated in a thousand poems, and studied orations; while the conduct of the English was vilified and ridiculed in ballads, farces, and pasquinades. Nothing more argues the degeneracy of a warlike nation than the pride of such mean triumph for an advantage which, in more vigorous times, would scarce have been distinguished by the ceremony of a Te Deum Laudamus. Nor is this childish exultation, that disgraces the laurels of victory, confined to the kingdom of France. Truth obliges us to own, that even the subjects of Great Britain are apt to be elevated by success into an illiberal insolence of self-applause, and contemptuous comparison. This must be condemned as a proof of unmanly arrogance, and absurd self-conceit, by all those who coolly reflect, that the events of war generally, if not always, depend upon the genius or misconduct of one individual. Rejoicings in France and clamour in England.

The loss of Minorca was severely felt in England, as a national disgrace; but, instead of producing dejection and despondence, it excited an universal clamour of rage and resentment, not only against Mr. Byng, who had retreated from the French squadron; but also in reproach of the administration, which was taxed with having neglected the security of Minorca. Nay, some politicians were inflamed into a suspicion, that this important place had been negatively betrayed into the hands of the enemy, that, in case the arms of Great Britain should prosper in other parts of the world, the French king might have some sort of equivalent to restore for the conquests which should be abandoned at the peace. This notion, however, seems to have been conceived from prejudice and party, which now began to appear with the most acrimonious aspect, not only throughout the united kingdoms in general, but even in the f—n's councils.

Sir Edward Hawke, being disappointed in his hope of encountering la Galissoniere, and relieving the English garrison of St. Philip's, at least asserted the empire of Great Britain in the Mediterranean, by annoying the commerce of the enemy, and blocking up their squadron in the harbour of Toulon. Understanding that the Austrian government at Leghorn had detained an English privateer, and imprisoned the captain, on pretence that he had violated the neutrality of the port, he detached two ships of war to insist, in a peremptory manner, on the release of the ship, effects, crew, and captain; and they thought proper to comply with his demand, even without waiting for orders from the court of Vienna. The person in whose behalf the admiral thus interposed, was one Fortunatus Wright, a native of Liverpool; who, though a stranger to a sea-life, had, in the last war, equipped a privateer, and distinguished himself in such a manner, by his uncommon vigilance and valour, that, if he had been indulged with a command suitable to his genius, he would Gallantry of Fortunatus Wright.

Ann. 1756. would have deserved as honourable a place in the annals of the navy, as that which the French have bestowed upon their boasted Gue Trouin, Du Bart, and Thurot. An uncommon exertion of spirit was the occasion of his being detained at this juncture. While he lay at anchor in the harbour of Leghorn, commander of the St. George privateer of Liverpool, a small ship of twelve guns and eighty men, a large French xebeque, mounted with sixteen cannon, and nearly three times the number of his complement, chose her station in view of the harbour, in order to interrupt the British commerce. The gallant Wright could not endure this insult: notwithstanding the enemy's superiority in metal and number of men, he weighed anchor, hoisted his sails, engaged him within sight of the shore, and after a very obstinate dispute, in which the captain, lieutenant, and above threescore of the men belonging to the xebeque were killed on the spot, he obliged them to sheer off, and returned to the harbour in triumph. This brave corsair would, no doubt, have signalized himself by many other exploits, had not he, in the sequel, been overtaken in the midst of his career by a dreadful storm, in which the ship foundering, he and all his crew perished.

Sir Edward Hawke, having scoured the Mediterranean, and insulted the enemy's ports, returned with the homeward-bound trade to Gibraltar; from whence, about the latter end of the year, he set sail for England with part of his squadron, leaving the rest in that bay for the protection of our commerce, which in those parts soon began to suffer extremely from French privateers, that now swarmed in the Mediterranean.

General
Blakeney
promoted to
the dignity of
a baron.

Measures
taken for the
defence of
Great Britain.

General Blakeney had arrived, with the garrison of Minorca, at Portsmouth in the month of November, and been received with expressions of tumultuous joy: every place through which he passed, celebrated his return with bonfires, illuminations, bell-ringing, and acclamation: every mouth was opened in his praise, extolling him for the gallant defence he had made in the castle of St. Philip. In a word, the people's veneration for Blakeney increased in proportion to their abhorrence of Byng: the first was lifted into an idol of admiration, while the other sunk into an object of reproach; and they were viewed at different ends of a false perspective, through the medium of prejudice and passion; of a perspective artfully contrived, and applied by certain m—rs for the purposes of self-interest and deceit. The f— is said to have been influenced by the prepossession of the f—t. Mr. Blakeney met with a gracious reception from his majesty, who raised him to the rank of an Irish baron, in consideration of his faithful services, while some malcontents murmured at this mark of favour as an unreasonable sacrifice to popular misapprehension.

In the beginning of the year, the measures taken by the government in England, seem to have been chiefly dictated by the dread of an invasion, from which the ministers did not think themselves secured by the guard-ships and cruisers on different parts of the coast, or the standing army of the kingdom, though reinforced by the two bodies of German auxiliaries. A considerable number of new troops was levied: the success in recruiting was not only promoted by the land-holders throughout the kingdom, who thought their estates were at stake, and for that reason encouraged their dependants to engage in the service, but also in a great measure owing to a dearth of corn, which reduced the lower class of labourers to such distress, that some insurrections

rections were raised, and many enlisted with a view to obtain a livelihood, which otherwise they could not earn. Ann. 1756.

New ships of war were built, and daily put in commission; but it was found impracticable to man them, without having recourse to the odious and illegal practice of impressing sailors, which must always be a reproach to every free people.

Notwithstanding large bounties, granted by the government to volunteers, it was found necessary to lay an embargo upon all shipping, and impress all the seamen that could be found, without any regard to former protections; so that all the merchant-ships were stripped of their hands, and foreign commerce for some time wholly suspended. Nay, the expedient of compelling men into the service, was carried to an unusual degree of oppression; for rewards were publicly offered to those who should discover where any seaman lay concealed: so that those unhappy people were in some respects treated like felons, dragged from their families and connexions to confinement, mutilation, and death, and totally cut off from the enjoyment of that liberty, which, perhaps at the expence of their lives, their own arms had helped to preserve, in favour of their ungrateful country*.

Above eighty ships of the line, and threescore frigates were already equipped, and considerable bodies of land-forces assembled, when, on the third day of February, a proclamation was issued, requiring all officers civil and military, upon the first appearance of any hostile attempt to land upon the coasts of the kingdom, immediately to cause all horses, oxen, and cattle, which might be fit for draught or burthen, and not actually employed in the king's service, or in the defence of the country, and also (so far as might be practicable) all other cattle and provisions, to be driven and removed twenty miles at least from the place where such hostile attempt should be made, and to secure the same, so as that they might not fall into the hands or power of those who should make such attempt; regard being had, however, that the respective owners should suffer as little damage as might be consistent with the public safety. Proclamation.

As the ministry were determined to make their chief efforts against the enemy in North America, where the first hostilities had been committed, and where the strongest impression could be made, a detachment of two regiments was sent thither under the conduct of general Abercrombie, appointed as successor to general Shirley, whom they had recalled, as a person no ways qualified to conduct military operations: nor, indeed, could any success in war be expected from the endeavours of a man who had not been trained to arms, nor ever acted but in a civil capacity. But the command in chief of all the forces in America was conferred upon the earl of Loudon, a nobleman

* At this juncture a number of public-spirited merchants of the city of London, and others, formed themselves into a very laudable association, under the name of the Marine Society, and contributed considerable sums of money for equipping such orphans, friendless, and forlorn boys, as were willing to engage in

the service of the navy. In consequence of this excellent plan, which was executed with equal zeal and discretion, many thousands were rescued from misery, and rendered useful members of that society, of which they must have been the bane and the reproach, without this humane interposition.

The earl of Loudon appointed commander in chief in America.

of

Ann. 1756. of an amiable character, who had already distinguished himself in the service of his country. Over and above this command, he was now appointed governor of Virginia, and colonel of a royal American regiment, consisting of four battalions, to be raised in that country, and disciplined by officers of experience, invited from foreign service. Mr. Abercrombie set sail for America in March; but the earl of Loudon, who directed in chief the plan of operations, and was vested with power and authority little inferior to those of a viceroy, did not embark till the latter end of May.

His Britannic
majesty's de-
claration of
war.

All these previous measures being taken, his majesty, in the course of the same month, thought proper to publish a declaration of war * against the French king, importing, that since the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the usurpations and encroachments made upon the British territories in America had been notorious: That his Britannic majesty had, in divers serious representations to the court of Versailles, complained of these repeated acts of violence, and demanded satisfaction; but notwithstanding the repeated assurances given by the French king, that every thing should be settled agreeable to the treaties subsisting between the two crowns, and particularly that the evacuation of the four neutral islands in the West Indies should be effected, the execution of these assurances, and of the treaties on which they were founded, had been evaded under the most frivolous pretences: That the unjustifiable practices of the French governors, and officers acting under their authority, were still

* When the French ambassador returned to London, he proposed that orders should be immediately dispatched to the English governors in America, with express orders to desist from any new undertaking, and all acts of hostility; but with regard to the lands on the Ohio, to put, without delay, matters on the same footing in which they stood before the late war, that the respective claims of both nations might be amicably referred to the commissaries at Paris. The British court agreed to the cessation of hostilities, and the discussion of the disputes by the ministers of the two crowns, on condition that all the possessions in America should be previously put in the situation prescribed by the treaty of Utrecht, confirmed by that of Aix-la-Chapelle. The French ministry, instead of complying with this condition, produced an evasive draught of a preliminary convention, and this was answered by a counter-proposal. At length the ambassador of France demanded, as preliminary conditions, that Great Britain would renounce all claim to the south coast of the river St. Laurence, and the lakes that discharge themselves into that river; cede to the French twenty leagues of country lying along the bay of Fundy, which divides Acadia, or Nova Scotia; and all the land between the rivers Ohio and Ouabache. A memorial was afterwards presented on the same subject, including the affair of the neutral islands in the West Indies; but this was amply refuted in

another piece, in which the British ministry observed, that even at the very opening of the commission established in Paris, for terminating amicably the disputes in North America, the French invaded Nova Scotia, erected three forts in the heart of that province, and would have destroyed the English settlement at Halifax, had not they been prevented: That the like hostilities were committed upon his Britannic majesty's subjects on the Ohio and Indian lakes, where the governors appointed by the French king, without any shadow of right, prohibited the English from trading; seized their traders by force, and sent them prisoners to France; invaded the territories of Virginia, attacked a fort that covered its frontier, and, to secure their usurpations, erected, with an armed force, a chain of forts on the lands which they had invaded: That his Britannic majesty had complained of these hostilities to the court of Versailles, but without effect; so that he found himself obliged to provide for the security of his subjects; and as the encroachments made by France were hostile, it could never be unlawful, or irreconcilable with the assurance of his majesty's peaceable disposition, to repel an aggressor; and that the same motive of self-defence had forced him to seize the French ships and sailors, in order to deprive that court of the means of making an invasion, with which their ministers in all the courts of Europe had menaced England.

continued,

continued, until they broke out in open acts of hostility in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-four, when, in time of profound peace, without any declaration of war, without any previous notice given, or application made, a body of French troops, commanded by an officer bearing the French king's commission, attacked in an hostile manner, and took possession of, an English fort on the river Ohio in North America: That great naval armaments were prepared in the ports of France, and a considerable body of French troops embarked for that country: That although the French ambassador was sent back to England with specious professions of a desire to accommodate these differences, it appeared their real design was only to amuse, and gain time for the passage of these supplies and reinforcements, which they hoped would secure the superiority of the French forces in America, and enable them to carry their ambitious and oppressive projects into execution: That, in consequence of the just and necessary measures taken by the king of Great Britain for preventing the success of such a dangerous design, the French ambassador was immediately recalled from England, the fortifications of Dunkirk were enlarged, great bodies of troops marched down to the sea coasts of France, and the British dominions threatened with an invasion: That though the king of England, in order to frustrate these intentions, had given orders for seizing at sea the ships of the French king and his subjects, yet he had hitherto contented himself with detaining those ships which had been taken, and preserving their cargoes entire, without proceeding to confiscation; but it being at last evident, from the hostile invasion of Minorca, that the court of Versailles was determined to reject all proposals of accommodation, and carry on the war with the utmost violence, his Britannic majesty could no longer, consistently with the honour of his crown, and the welfare of his subjects, remain within those bounds, which, from a desire of peace, he had hitherto observed. A denunciation of war followed in the usual form, and was concluded with an assurance, that all the French subjects residing in Great Britain and Ireland, who should demean themselves dutifully to the government, might depend upon its protection, and be safe in their persons and effects.

In the beginning of June the French king declared war in his turn against his Britannic majesty, and his declaration was couched in terms of uncommon asperity. He artfully threw a shade over the beginning of hostilities in North America, referring to a memorial which had been delivered to the several courts of Europe, containing a summary of those facts which related to the present war, and the negotiations by which it had been preceded. He insisted on the attack made by the king of England, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-four, on the French possessions in North America; and afterwards by the English navy on the navigation and commerce of the French subjects, in contempt of the law of nations, and direct violation of treaties. He complained, that the French soldiers and sailors underwent the harshest treatment in the British isles, exceeding those bounds which are prescribed to the most rigorous rights of war, by the law of nature and common humanity. He affirmed, that while the English ministry, under the appearance of sincerity, imposed upon the French ambassador with false protestations, orders diametrically opposite to these deceitful assurances of a speedy accommodation, were actually carrying into execution in North America: That while the court

Substance of
the French
king's declaration.

Ann. 1756. of London employed every caballing art, and squandered away the subsidies of England, to instigate other powers against France, his most Christian majesty did not even ask of these powers the succours which guaranties and defensive treaties authorised him to demand; but recommended to them such measures only as tended to their own peace and security: That while the English navy, by the most odious violences, and sometimes by the vilest artifices, made captures of French vessels, navigating in full security under the safeguard of public faith, his most Christian majesty released an English frigate taken by a French squadron, and British vessels trading to the ports of France without molestation: That the striking contrast formed by these different methods of proceeding would convince all Europe, that one court was guided by motives of jealousy, ambition and avarice; and that the conduct of the other was founded on principles of honour, justice, and moderation: That the vague imputations contained in the king of England's declaration, had in reality no foundation; and the very manner in which they were set forth, would prove their futility and falshood: That the mention made of the works at Dunkirk, and the troops assembled on the coasts of the ocean, implied the most gross attempt to deceive mankind into a belief, that these were the points which determined the king of England to issue orders for seizing the French vessels; whereas the works at Dunkirk were not begun till after two French ships of war had been taken by an English squadron; and depredations had been committed six months upon the subjects of France before the first battalions began their march for the sea-side.

Remarks on
this piece.

In a word, the most Christian king, laying aside that politeness and decorum on which his people value themselves above all the nations upon the face of the earth, very roundly taxes his brother monarch's administration with piracy, perfidy, inhumanity, and deceit. A charge conveyed in such reproachful terms, against one of the most respectable crowned heads in Europe, will appear the more extraordinary and injurious, if we consider that the accusers were well acquainted with the falsity of their own imputations, and at the same time conscious of having practised those very arts which they affected so much to decry. For, after all, it must be allowed, that nothing could be justly urged against the English government, with respect to France, except the omission of a meer form, which other nations might interpret into an irregularity, but could not construe into perfidious dealing, as the French had previously violated the peace by their insolence and encroachments.

Whatever might have been the opinion of other nations, certain it is, the subjects of Great Britain heartily approved of the hostilities committed and intended against a people, whom they have always considered as their natural enemies, and the incendiaries of Europe. They cheerfully contributed to the expence of armaments*, and seemed to approve of their destination, in hope of being able to wipe off the disgraces they had sustained in the defeat of Braddock, and the loss of Minorca. The last event made a deep impression upon the minds of the community. An address was presented to the king by

Address of
the city of
London.

* Immediately after the declaration of war, the French ships and cargoes which had been taken were tried, and condemned as legal prizes, exposed to public sale, and their pro-

duce lodged in the bank; but in what manner this money, amounting to a large sum, was distributed or employed, we have not yet been able to discover.

the

the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council of London, containing strong hints to the disadvantage of the ministry. They expressed their apprehension, that the loss of the important fortrefs of St. Philip and island of Minorca, possessions of the utmost consequence to the commerce and naval strength of Great Britain, without any attempt by timely and effectual succours to prevent or defeat an attack, after such early notice of the enemy's intentions, and when his majesty's navy was so evidently superior to theirs, would be an indelible reproach on the honour of the British nation. They expatiated upon the imminent danger to which the British possessions in America were exposed, by the mismanagement and delays which had attended the defence of those invaluable colonies, the object of the present war, the principal source of the wealth and strength of these kingdoms. They lamented the want of a constitutional well-regulated militia, the most natural and certain defence against all invaders whatsoever. They signified their hope, that the authors of the late losses and disappointments would be detected and brought to condign punishment; that his majesty's known intentions of protecting and defending his subjects in their rights and possessions, might be faithfully and vigorously carried into execution; and the large supplies, so necessarily demanded, and so chearfully granted, might be religiously applied to the defence of these kingdoms, their colonies, and their commerce, as well as to the annoyance of their inveterate and perfidious enemies, the only sure means of obtaining a lasting and honourable peace.

In answer to this address the king assured them, that he would not fail to do justice upon any persons who should have been wanting in their duty to him and their country; to enforce obedience and discipline in his fleets and armies; and to support the authority and respect due to his government. Remonstrances of the same kind were presented by different counties and corporations; and the populace clamoured aloud for inquiry and justice.

The first victim offered to the enraged multitude was the unfortunate general F——ke, who had been deputy-governor of Gibraltar, and behaved with remarkable conduct and integrity in the exercise of that important office, till that period when he fell under the displeasure of the government. He was now brought to trial before a board of general officers, and accused of having disobeyed the orders he had received from the secretary at war in three successive letters*, touching the relief of Minorca. Mr. F——ke alledged in his own defence, that the orders were confused and contradictory, and implied a discretionary power: that the whole number of his garrison did not exceed

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* To Lieut. Gen. F——ke, or, in his absence, to the Commander in Chief in his Majesty's Garrison of Gibraltar.

War-Office, March 21, 1756.

S I R,

I am commanded to acquaint you, that it is his majesty's pleasure that you receive into your garrison lord Robert Bertie's regiment, to do duty there; and in case you should apprehend that the French intend to make any attempt upon his majesty's island of Minorca, it is his majesty's pleasure, that you make a detachment out of the troops in your garrison

equal to a battalion, to be commanded by a lieutenant-colonel and major; such lieutenant-colonel and major to be the eldest in your garrison, to be put on board the fleet for the relief of Minorca, as the admiral shall think expedient, who is to carry them to the said island. I am

Your humble Servant, B.

T.

Ann. 1756. ceed two thousand six hundred men, after he had spared two hundred and seventy-five to the ships commanded by Mr. Edgcumbe: that the ordinary duty of the garrison requiring eight hundred men, the whole number was not sufficient for three reliefs: that, if he had detached a battalion on board the fleet, he should not have had above two reliefs, at a time when he believed the place was in danger of being attacked, for good reasons which he did not think himself at liberty to mention: that his orders being doubtful, he held a council of war, which was of opinion, that as undoubted intelligence was received of the French army's being landed in Minorca to the number of between thirteen and sixteen thousand men, and that a French squadron of sixteen ships was stationed off the harbour, the sending a detachment equal to a battalion from Gibraltar would be an ineffectual supply for the relief of the place, and a weakening of the garrison from which they must be sent. He observed that supposing the orders to have been positive, and seven hundred men detached to Minorca, the number remaining at Gibraltar would not have exceeded one thousand five hundred and fifty-six; a deduction of seven hundred more, according to the order of May the twelfth, would have left a remainder of eight hundred and fifty-six: that the men daily on duty in the garrison, including artificers and labourers in the king's works, amounted to eight hundred and thirty-nine; so that if he had complied with the orders as they arrived, he would not have had more than seventeen men over and above the number necessary for the daily work of the garrison: thus the important fortress of Gibraltar must, at this critical conjuncture, have been left almost

To Lieut. Gen. F——ke, or, in his absence, to the Commander in Chief at Gibraltar.

War-Office, March 26, 1756.

S I R,

I am commanded to acquaint you, that it is his majesty's pleasure, in case the island of Minorca should be in any likelihood of being attacked, that you make a detachment from the

troops in your garrison equal to a battalion, commanded by a lieutenant-colonel and major, for the relief of that place, to be put on board the fleet, at the disposition of the admiral: such lieutenant-colonel and major to be the eldest in your garrison.

To Lieut. Gen. F——ke, or, in his absence, to the Commander in Chief in his Majesty's Garrison in Gibraltar.

War-Office, April 1, 1756.

S I R,

It is his majesty's pleasure, that you receive into your garrison the women and chil-

dren belonging to lord Robert Bertie's regiment.

To Lieut. Gen. F——ke, or the Commander in Chief at Gibraltar.

War-Office, May 12, 1756.

S I R,

I wrote to you by general Stewart: if that order is not complied with, then you are now to make a detachment of seven hundred men out of your own regiment and Guise's; and also another detachment out of Pulteney's and Panmure's regiments, and send them on board the fleet for the relief of Mahon. But if that order has been complied with, then you are to make only one detachment of seven hundred men, to be commanded by another

lieutenant-colonel and major, and to send it to Mahon; and you are also to detain all such empty vessels as shall come into your harbour, and keep them in readiness for any farther transportation of troops. I have also his royal highness the duke of Cumberland's commands to desire, that you will keep your garrison as alert as possible, during this critical time, and give such other assistance as may be in your power for the relief of Minorca; taking care, however, not to fatigue or endanger your own garrison.

naked and defenceless to the attempts of the enemy; and had those detachments been actually sent aboard, it afterwards appeared that they could not have been landed on the island of Minorca. The order transmitted to general F——ke to detain all empty vessels, for a farther transportation of troops, seems to have been superfluous; for it can hardly be supposed he could have occasion for them, unless to embark the whole garrison, and abandon the place. It seems likewise to have been unnecessary to exhort the general to keep his garrison as alert as possible, during that critical time; inasmuch as it would have been impossible for the men to have enjoyed the least repose or intermission of duty, had the orders been punctually and literally obeyed. What other assistance it might have been in the governor's power to give for the relief of Minorca, or in what manner he could avoid fatiguing his garrison, while there was an impossibility of relieving the guards, it is not easy to comprehend. Be that as it may, when the trial was finished, and the question put to acquit or suspend for one year, the court was equally divided; and in such cases the casting vote being vested in the president, he threw it into the scale against the prisoner, whom his majesty thought fit to dismiss from his service.

The expectation of the public was now eagerly turned towards America, the chief if not the sole scene of our military operations. On the twenty-fifth day of June, Mr. Abercrombie arrived at Albany, the frontier of New York, and assumed the command of the forces there assembled, consisting of two regiments which had served under Braddock, two battalions raised in America, two regiments now transported from England, four independent companies which had been many years maintained in New York, the New Jersey regiment, four companies levied in North Carolina, and a body of provincial forces raised by the government of New England. Those to the southward, including Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, had not yet determined on any regular plan of operation, and were moreover hard pressed in defending their western frontier from the French and Indians, who, in sculking parties, made sudden irruptions upon their unguarded settlements, burning, plundering, and massacring with the most savage inhumanity. As for South Carolina, the proportion of negro-slaves to the number of white inhabitants, was so great in that colony, that the government could not, with any regard to the safety of the province, spare any reinforcement for the general enterprize.

The plan of this undertaking had been settled the preceding year in a council of war held at New York. There it was resolved to attack the fort of Niagara, situated between the lakes Ontario and Erie, in order to cut off the communication between Canada and Louisiana, and prevent the French from supporting their new fortresses on the Ohio; to reduce Ticonderago and Crown Point, so that the frontier of New York might be delivered from the danger of an invasion, and Great Britain become master of the lake Champlain, over which the forces might be transported in any future attempt; to besiege Fort Du Quesne upon the Ohio; and to detach a body of troops, by the river Kennebec, to alarm the capital of Canada.

This plan was too extensive for the number of troops which had been prepared: the season was too far advanced before the regiments arrived from England, the different colonies were divided in their opinions, and Mr. Abercrombie

Ann. 1756.

Affairs of America.

Ann. 1756. Crombie postponed the execution of any important scheme till the arrival of lord Loudon, who was daily expected. The reasons that delayed the reinforcement, and detained his lordship so long, we do not pretend to explain; though we may be allowed to observe, that many fair opportunities have been lost by the neglect and procrastination of an English ministry. Certain it is, the unaccountable delay of this armament rendered it useless for a whole year, afforded time and leisure to the enemy to take their precautions against any subsequent attack, and, in the mean time, to proceed unmolested in distressing the British settlements.

Even before this period, they had attacked and reduced a small post in the country, of the Five Nations, occupied by twenty-five Englishmen, who were cruelly butchered to a man, in the midst of those Indians whom Great Britain had long numbered among her allies.

A body of French repulsed by col. Bradstreet on the river Onondaga.

Soon after this expedition, having received intelligence that a considerable convoy of provisions and stores, for the garrison at Oswego, would in a little time set out from Schenectady, and be conveyed in battoes up the river Onondaga, they formed an ambuscade among the woods and thickets on the north side of that river; but, understanding the convoy had passed before they reached the place, they resolved to wait the return of the detachment. Their design, however, was frustrated by the vigilance and valour of colonel Bradstreet, who expected such an attempt, and had taken his measures accordingly. On the third day of July, while he stemmed the stream of the river, with his battoes formed into three divisions, they were saluted with the Indian war-whoop, and a general discharge of musquetry from the north-shore. Bradstreet immediately ordered his men to land on the opposite bank, and with a few of the foremost took possession of a small island, where he was forthwith attacked by a party of the enemy, who had forded the river for that purpose; but these were soon repulsed. Another body having passed a mile higher, he advanced to them at the head of two hundred men, and fell upon them, sword in hand, with such vigour, that many were killed on the spot, and the rest driven into the river with such precipitation, that a considerable number of them was drowned. Having received information that a third body of them had passed at a ford still higher, he marched thither without hesitation, and pursued them to the other side, where they were entirely routed and dispersed. In this action, which lasted near three hours, about seventy of the battoe-men were killed or wounded: but the enemy lost double the number killed, and above seventy taken prisoners. In all probability the whole detachment of French, amounting to seven hundred men, would have been cut off, had not a heavy rain interposed, and disabled colonel Bradstreet from following his blow; for that same night he was joined by captain Patten, with his grenadiers, in his march from Oneida to Oswego, and next morning reinforced with two hundred men, detached to his assistance from the garrison of Oswego: but by this time the rivulets were so swelled by the rain, that it was found impracticable to pursue the enemy through the woods and thickets.

Patten and his grenadiers accompanied the detachment to Oswego, while Bradstreet pursued his voyage to Schenectady; from whence he repaired to Albany, and communicated to general Abercrombie the intelligence he had received from the prisoners, that a large body of the enemy were encamped on the

the eastern side of the lake Ontario, provided with artillery, and all other implements, to besiege the fort of Oswego. Ann. 1756.

In consequence of this information, major-general Webb was ordered to hold himself in readiness to march with one regiment to the relief of that garrison; but, before they could be provided with necessaries, the earl of Loudon arrived at the head-quarters at Albany, on the twenty-ninth day of July. The army at this time is said to have consisted of regular troops to the number of two thousand six hundred, about seven thousand provincials, supposed to be in readiness to march from Fort William Henry, under the command of general Winslow, over and above a considerable number of battoemen at Albany and Schenectady. The garrison at Oswego amounted to fourteen hundred soldiers, besides three hundred workmen and sailors, either in the fort, or posted in small parties between the fort and a place called Burnet's field, to secure a safe passage through the country of the Six Nations, upon whose friendship there was no longer any reliance. By the best accounts received of the enemies force, they had about three thousand men at Crown Point and Ticonderago upon the lake Champlain: but their chief strength was collected upon the banks of the lake Ontario, where their purpose undoubtedly was to reduce the English fort at Oswego. The immediate object, therefore, of lord Loudon's attention was the relief of this place: but his design was strenuously opposed by the province of New York, and other northern governments, who were much more intent upon the reduction of Crown-Point, and the security of their own frontiers, which they apprehended was connected with this conquest. They insisted upon Winslow's being joined by some regiments of regular troops before he should march against this fortress; and stipulated, that a body of reserve should be detained at Albany, for the defence of that frontier, in case Winslow should fail in his enterprize, and be defeated. At length they agreed, that the regiment which Mr. Abercrombie had destined for that purpose, should be detached to the relief of Oswego; and on the twelfth day of August major-general Webb began his march with it from Albany: but on his arrival at the Carrying-place, between the Mohock's river and Wood's creek, he received the disagreeable news that Oswego was taken, and the garrison made prisoners of war. Mr. Webb, apprehending himself in danger of being attacked by the besieging army, began immediately to render the creek impassable, even to canoes, by felling trees, and throwing them into the stream; while the enemy, ignorant of his numbers, and apprehensive of a like visitation from him, took the very same method of preventing his approach: in consequence of this apprehension, he was permitted to retire unmolested.

The loss of the two small forts, called Ontario and Oswego, was a considerable national misfortune. They were erected on the south side of the great lake Ontario, standing on opposite sides, at the mouth of the Onondago river, that discharges itself into the lake, and constituted a post of great importance, where vessels had been built, to cruise upon the lake, which is a kind of inland sea, and interrupt the commerce as well as the motions and designs of the enemy. The garrison, as we have already observed, consisted of fourteen hundred men, chiefly militia and new-raised recruits, under the command of lieutenant-colonel

The earl of
Loudon ar-
rives at New
York.

Ann. 1756. nel Mercer, an officer of courage and experience: but the situation of the forts was very ill chosen; the materials mostly timber, or logs of wood; the defences wretchedly contrived, and unfinished; and, in a word, the place altogether untenable against any regular approach. Such were the forts which the enemy wisely resolved to reduce. Being under no apprehension for Crown-Point, they assembled a body of troops, consisting of thirteen hundred regulars, seventeen hundred Canadians, and a considerable number of Indian auxiliaries, under the command of the marquis de Montcalm, a vigilant and enterprising officer, to whom the conduct of the siege was intrusted by the marquis de Vaudrueil, governor and lieutenant-general of New France. The first step taken by Montcalm was to block up Oswego by water with two large armed vessels, and post a strong body of Canadians on the road between Albany and the forts, to cut off all communication of succour and intelligence. In the mean time, he embarked his artillery and stores upon the lake, and landed them in the bay of Nixouri, the place of general rendezvous. At another creek, within half a league of Oswego, he erected a battery for the protection of his vessels; and on the twelfth day of August, at midnight, after his dispositions had been made, he opened the trenches before Fort Ontario. The garrison, having fired away all their shells and ammunition, spiked up the cannon, and, deserting the fort, retired next day across the river into Oswego, which was even more exposed than the other, especially when the enemy had taken possession of Ontario, from whence they immediately began to fire without intermission. Colonel Mercer being, on the thirteenth, killed by a cannon-ball, the fort destitute of all cover, the officers divided in opinion, and the garrison in confusion, they next day demanded a capitulation, and surrendered prisoners of war, on condition, that they should be exempted from plunder, conducted to Montreal, and treated with humanity. These conditions, however, the marquis did not punctually observe. The British officers and soldiers were insulted by the savage Indians, who robbed them of their cloaths and baggage, massacred several men as they stood defenceless on the parade, assassinated lieutenant De la Court as he lay wounded in his tent, under the protection of a French officer, and barbarously scalped all the sick people in the hospital: finally, Montcalm, in direct violation of the articles, as well as in contempt of common humanity, delivered up above twenty men of the garrison to the Indians, in lieu of the same number they had lost during the siege; and, in all probability, these miserable captives were put to death by those barbarians with the most excruciating tortures, according to the execrable custom of the country.

Oswego reduced by the enemy.

Those who countenance the perpetration of cruelties, at which human nature shudders with horror, ought to be branded as infamous to all posterity. Such, however, are the trophies that, in the course of the American war, have distinguished the operations of a people who pique themselves upon politeness, and the virtues of humanity.

The prisoners taken at Oswego, after having been thus barbarously treated, were conveyed in battoes to Montreal, where they had no reason to complain of their reception; and, before the end of the year, they were exchanged. The victors immediately demolished the two forts (if they deserved that denomination), in which they found one hundred and twenty-one pieces of artillery,

lery, fourteen mortars, with a great quantity of ammunition, warlike stores, and provision, besides two sloops and two hundred battoes, which likewise fell into their hands. Such an important magazine, deposited in a place altogether indefensible, and without the reach of immediate succour, was a flagrant proof of egregious folly, temerity, and misconduct. Ann. 1756.

The earl of Loudon, finding the season too far advanced to admit of any enterprize against the enemy, exerted all his endeavours in making preparations for an early campaign in the spring, in securing the frontiers of the English colonies, in forming an uniform plan of action, and promoting a spirit of harmony among the different governments, which had been long divided by jarring interests, and other sources of dissension. Further proceedings in America.

Mean while, the forts Edward and William Henry were put in a proper posture of defence, and secured with numerous garrisons; and the forces put into winters-quarters at Albany, where comfortable barracks were built for that purpose.

Fort Granville, on the confines of Pensylvania, an inconsiderable block-house, was surprised by a party of French and Indians, who made the garrison prisoners, consisting of two and twenty soldiers, with a few women and children. These they loaded with flour and provision, and drove into captivity; but the fort they reduced to ashes.

Many shocking murders were perpetrated upon defenceless people, without distinction of age or sex, in different parts of the frontiers: but these outrages were in some measure ballanced by the advantages resulting from a treaty of peace, which the governor of Pensylvania concluded with the Delaware Indians, a powerful tribe that dwell upon the river Sasquehanna, forming, as it were, a line along the southern skirts of the province. At the same time the governor of Virginia secured the friendship and alliance of the Cherokees and Catawbias, two powerful nations adjoining to that colony, who were able to bring three thousand fighting men into the field. All these circumstances considered, Great Britain had reason to expect that the ensuing campaign would be vigorously prosecuted in America, especially as a fresh reinforcement of troops, with a great supply of warlike stores, was sent to that country in fourteen transports, under convoy of two ships of war, which sailed from Cork in Ireland about the beginning of November.

No action of great importance distinguished the naval transactions of this year on the side of America. In the beginning of June captain Spry, who commanded a small squadron, cruising off Louisbourg, in the island of Cape Breton, took the *Arc en Ciel*, a French ship of fifty guns, having on board near six hundred men, with a large quantity of stores and provisions for the garrison. He likewise made prize of another French ship with seventy soldiers, two hundred barrels of powder, two large brass mortars, and other stores of the like destination. Naval transactions in that country.

On the twenty-seventh day of July commodore Holmes, being in the same latitude, with two large ships and a couple of sloops, engaged two French ships of the line and four frigates, and obliged them to sheer off, after an obstinate dispute.

A great number of privateers were equipped in this country, as well as in the West India islands belonging to the crown of Great Britain; and as those

Ann. 1756. seas swarmed with French vessels, their cruizes proved very advantageous to the adventurers.

Transactions
in the East
Indies.

Scenes of higher import were this year acted by the British arms in the East Indies. The cessation of hostilities between the English and French companies on the peninsula of Indus, though it encouraged Mr. Clive to visit his native country, was not of long duration: for in a few months both sides recommenced their operations, no longer as auxiliaries to the princes of the country, but as principals and rivals, both in arms and commerce. Major Laurence, who now enjoyed the chief command of the English forces, obtained divers advantages over the enemy; and prosecuted his success with such vigour, as, in all probability, would in a little time have terminated the war according to his own wish, when the progress of his arms was interrupted and suspended by an unfortunate event at Calcutta, the cause of which is not easily explained: for extraordinary pains have been taken to throw a veil over some transactions, from whence this calamity was immediately or remotely derived.

Siege of Calcutta by the viceroy of Bengal.

The old suba or viceroy of Bengal, Bahar and Orixia, dying in the month of April, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, was succeeded by his adopted son, Sur Raja al Dowlat, a young man of violent passions, without principle, fortitude or good faith, who began his administration with acts of perfidy and violence. In all probability his design against the English settlements was suggested by his rapacious disposition, on a belief that they abounded with treasure; as the pretences which he used for commencing hostilities, were altogether inconsistent, false, and frivolous. In the month of May, he caused the English factory at Cassimbuzar to be invested, and inviting Mr. Watts, the chief of the factory, to a conference, under the sanction of a safe conduct, detained him as prisoner; then, by means of fraud and force intermingled, made himself master of the factory. This exploit being achieved, he made no secret of his design to deprive the English of all their settlements. With this view he marched to Calcutta, at the head of a numerous army, and invested the place which was then in no posture of defence.

The governor, intimidated by the number and power of the enemy, abandoned the fort, and with some principal persons residing in the settlement, took refuge on board a ship in the river, carrying along with them their most valuable effects and the books of the company. Thus the defence of the place devolved to Mr. Holwell, the second in command, who with the assistance of a few gallant officers, and a very feeble garrison, maintained it with uncommon courage and resolution against several attacks, until he was overpowered by numbers, and the enemy had forced their way into the castle. Then he was obliged to submit; and the suba, or viceroy, promised, on the word of a soldier, that no injury should be done to him or his garrison.

Deplorable
fate of those
who perished
in the dun-
geon.

Nevertheless, they were all driven, to the number of one hundred and forty-six persons of both sexes, into a place called the black-hole prison, a cube of about eighteen feet, walled up to the eastward and southward, the only quarters from which they could expect the least refreshing air, and open to the westward by two windows strongly barred with iron, through which there was no perceptible circulation. The humane reader will conceive with horror the miserable

miserable situation to which they must have been reduced, when thus stewed up in a close sultry night under such a climate as that of Bengal, especially when he reflects that many of them were wounded, and all of them fatigued with hard duty. Transported with rage to find themselves thus barbarously cooped up in a place where they must be exposed to suffocation, those hapless victims endeavoured to force open the door, that they might rush upon the swords of the barbarians by whom they were surrounded: but all their efforts were ineffectual; the door was made to open inwards, and being once shut upon them, the crowd pressed upon it so strongly as to render all their endeavours abortive: then they were overwhelmed with distraction and despair. Mr. Holwell, who had placed himself at one of the windows, accosted a Jem-mautdaar, or serjeant of the Indian guard, and having endeavoured to excite his compassion, by drawing a pathetic picture of their sufferings, promised to gratify him with a thousand rupees in the morning if he could find means to remove one half of them into a separate apartment. The foldier, allured by the promise of such a reward, assured him he would do his endeavour for their relief, and retired for that purpose; but in a few minutes returned, and told him that the suba, by whose order alone such a step could be taken, was asleep, and no person durst disturb his repose. By this time a profuse sweat had broke out on every individual, and this was attended with an insatiable thirst, which became the more intolerable as the body was drained of its moisture. In vain those miserable objects stripped themselves of their cloaths, squatted down on their hams, and fanned the air with their hats to produce a refreshing undulation. Many were unable to rise again from this posture, but falling down were trod to death or suffocated. The dreadful symptom of thirst was now accompanied with a difficulty of respiration, and every individual gasped for breath. Their despair became outrageous: again they attempted to force the door, and provoke the guard to fire upon them by execration and abuse. The cry of "Water! Water!" issued from every mouth. Even the Jemmautdaar was moved to compassion at their distress. He ordered his soldiers to bring some skins of water, which served only to enrage the appetite and increase the general agitation. There was no other way of conveying it through the windows but by hats, and this was rendered ineffectual by the eagerness and transports of the wretched prisoners, who at sight of it struggled and raved even into fits of delirium. In consequence of these contests, very little reached those that stood nearest the windows, while the rest at the farther end of the prison were totally excluded from all relief, and continued calling upon their friends for assistance, and conjuring them by all the tender ties of pity and affection. To those who were indulged, it proved pernicious; for, instead of allaying their thirst, it enraged their impatience for more. The confusion became general and horrid: all was clamour and contest: those who were at a distance endeavoured to force their passage to the window, and the weak were pressed down to the ground, never to rise again. The inhuman ruffians without, derived entertainment from their misery: they supplied the prisoners with more water, and held up lights close to the bars, that they might enjoy the inhuman pleasure of seeing them fight for the baneful indulgence. Mr. Holwell, seeing all his particular friends lying dead around him, and trampled upon by the living, finding himself wedged up so close as to be de-

prived

Ann. 1756. prived of all motion, begged, as the last instance of their regard, that they would remove the pressure, and allow him to retire from the window, that he might die in quiet. Even in those dreadful circumstances, which might be supposed to have levelled all distinction, the poor delirious wretches manifested a respect for his rank and character. They forthwith gave way, and he forced his passage into the center of the place, which was not crowded so much; because, by this time, about one third of the number had perished, and lay in little compass on the floor, while the rest still crowded to both windows. He retired to a platform at the farther end of the room, and, lying down upon some of his dead friends, recommended his soul to heaven. Here his thirst grew insupportable: his difficulty in breathing increased, and he was seized with a strong palpitation. These violent symptoms, which he could not bear, urged him to make another effort: he forced his way back to the window, and cried aloud, "Water! for God's sake!" He had been supposed already dead by his wretched companions; but finding him still alive, they exhibited another extraordinary proof of tenderness and regard to his person: "Give him water," they cried; nor would one of them attempt to touch it until he had drank. He now breathed more freely, and the palpitation ceased: but finding himself still more thirsty after drinking, he abstained from water, and moistened his mouth from time to time by sucking the perspiration from his shirt-sleeves*. The miserable prisoners, perceiving that water rather aggravated than relieved their distress, grew clamorous for air, and repeated their insults to the guard, loading the suba and his governor with the most virulent reproach. From railing, they had recourse to prayer, beseeching heaven to put an end to their misery. They now began to drop on all hands; but then a steam arose from the living, and the dead, as pungent and volatile as spirit of hartshorn; so that all who could not approach the windows were suffocated. Mr. Holwell, being weary of life, retired once more to the platform, and stretched himself by the reverend Mr. Jervas Bellamy, who, together with his son, a lieutenant, lay dead in each other's embrace. In this situation he was soon deprived of sense, and lay to all appearance dead till day broke, when his body was discovered, and removed by his surviving friends to one of the windows, where the fresh air revived him, and he was restored to his sight and senses. The suba, at last, being informed that the greater part of the prisoners were suffocated, inquired if the chief was alive; and being answered in the affirmative, sent an order for their immediate release, when no more than twenty-three survived of an hundred and forty-six who had entered alive.

Additional
cruelties ex-
ercised on
Mr. Holwell.

Nor was the late deliverance, even of these few, owing to any sentiment of compassion in the viceroy. He had received intimation, that there was a considerable treasure secreted in the fort, and that Mr. Holwell knew the place where it was deposited. That gentleman, who, with his surviving companions, had been seized with a putrid fever, immediately upon their release was dragged in that condition before the inhuman suba, who questioned him about the treasure, which existed no where but in his own imagination; and

* In his despair of obtaining water, this unhappy gentleman had attempted to drink his own urine; but found it intolerably bitter; whereas the moisture that flowed from the pores of his body was soft, pleasant, and refreshing.

would

would give no credit to his protestations, when he solemnly declared he knew of no such deposit. Mr. Holwell and three of his friends were loaded with fetters, and conveyed three miles to the Indian camp, where they lay all night, exposed to a severe rain: next morning they were brought back to town, still manacled, under the scorching beams of a sun intensely hot; and must infallibly have expired, had not nature expelled the fever in large painful boils, that covered almost the whole body. In this piteous condition they were embarked in an open boat for Muxadabad, the capital of Bengal, and underwent such cruel treatment and misery in their passage, as would shock the humane reader, should he peruse the particulars. At Muxadabad they were led through the city in chains, as a spectacle to the inhabitants, lodged in an open stable, and treated for some days as the worst of criminals. At length the suba's grandmother interposed her mediation in their behalf; and as that prince was by this time convinced that there was no treasure concealed at Calcutta, he ordered them to be set at liberty. When some of his sycophants opposed this indulgence, representing that Mr. Holwell had still enough left to pay a considerable ransom, he replied with some marks of compunction and generosity, "If he has any thing left, let him keep it: his sufferings have been great: he shall have his liberty." Mr. Holwell and his friends were no sooner unfettered, than they took water for the Dutch Tankfall or mint, in the neighbourhood of the city, where they were received with great tenderness and humanity. The reader, we hope, will excuse us for having thus particularized a transaction so interesting and extraordinary in all its circumstances.

The suba having destroyed Calcutta, and dispersed the inhabitants, extorted large sums from the French and Dutch factories, that he might display a spirit of impartiality against all the Europeans, even in his oppression, and returned to his city of Muxadabad in triumph.

By the reduction of Calcutta, the English East India company's affairs were so much embroiled in that part of the world, that perhaps nothing could have retrieved them but the interposition of a national force and the good fortune of a Clive, whose enterprizes were always crowned with success.

As the English East India company had, for a whole century, been at a considerable expence in maintaining a marine force at Bombay, to protect their ships from the piracies of the Angrias, who had rendered themselves independent princes, and fortified Geriah in that neighbourhood; many unsuccessful attempts had been made to destroy their naval power, and reduce the fortress, under which they always took shelter. In the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-four, the fleet of Tullagee Angria, the reigning prince, attacked three Dutch ships of force, which they either took or destroyed. Elated with this success, he boasted that he should in a little time sweep the seas of the Europeans, and began to build some large ships to reinforce his grabs and gallivats, which were the vessels on which he had formerly depended. Next year his neighbours, the Marattas, having signified to the presidency at Bombay, that they were disposed to join in the necessary service of humbling this common enemy, so formidable to the whole Malabar coast, commodore James was detached with some ships of force to attack Angria, in conjunction with those allies. They accordingly joined him with seven grabs and sixty gallivats. They proceeded to the harbour of Severndroog, where Angria's fleet lay at anchor.

Resolution
taken against
Angria.

Ann. 1756. chor: but they no sooner received intelligence of his approach, than they slipped their cables and stood out to sea. He chased them with all the canvases he could carry; but their vessels being lighter than his, they escaped; and he returned to Severndroog, which is a fortress situated on an island within musket-shot of the main land, strongly, but irregularly fortified, and mounted with fifty-four pieces of cannon. There were three other small forts on the continent, the largest of which was called Goa. On the second day of April, the commodore began to batter and bombard the island, fort, and Fort Goa, at the same time. That of Severndroog was set on fire; one of the magazines blew up: a general conflagration ensued: the garrison were overwhelmed with fire and confusion; the English seamen landed under cover of the fire from the ships, and took the place by storm, with very little loss. The other forts were immediately surrendered, and all of these by treaty delivered to the Marattas. On the eighth of April, the commodore anchored off Bancote, now called Fort Victoria, one of the most northern ports of Angria's dominions, which surrendered without opposition, and still remains in the hands of the English East India company, by the consent of the Marattas. The harbour is good, and here is a great trade for salt and other commodities sent hither from Bombay. It was in November following, that the squadron under admiral Watson arrived at Bombay, where it was resolved to give Angria the finishing stroke, still in conjunction with the Marattas. Meanwhile commodore James was sent to reconnoitre Geriah, the capital of his dominions, and to sound the depth of the harbour; a service which he successfully performed.

The admiral being joined by a division of ships, fitted out at the company's expence, having on board a body of troops commanded by colonel Clive, sailed on the seventh day of February, and found in the neighbourhood of Geriah the Marahatta fleet, consisting of four grabs and forty smaller vessels, called gallivats, lying to the northward of the place, in a creek called Rajipore; and a land-army of horse and foot, amounting to seven or eight thousand men, the whole commanded by Rhamagee Punt, who had already taken one small fort, and was actually treating about the surrender of Geriah. Angria himself had quitted the place; but his wife and family remained under the protection of his brother-in-law; who, being summoned to surrender, by a message from the admiral, replied, that he would defend the place to the last extremity. In consequence of this refusal the whole English fleet, in two divisions, sailed on the twelfth day of February into the harbour, and sustained a warm fire from the enemy's batteries as they passed, as well as from the grabs posted in the harbour for that purpose: this, however, was soon silenced after the ships were brought to their stations, so as to return the salutation. Between the hours of four and five in the afternoon, a shell being thrown into one of Angria's armed vessels, set her on fire; and the flames communicating to the rest, they were all destroyed: between six and seven the fort was set on fire by another shell; and soon after the firing ceased on both sides. The admiral suspecting that the governor of the place would surrender it to the Marahattas rather than to the English, disembarked all the troops under Mr. Clive, that he might be at hand in case of emergency to take possession. In the mean time the fort was bombarded: the line of battle ships were warped near enough to batter in breach; and then the admiral sent an officer with a flag of truce to the

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the governor, requiring him to surrender. His proposal being again rejected, the English ships renewed their fire next day with redoubled vigour. About one o'clock the magazine of the fort blew up, and at four the garrison hung out a white flag for capitulation. The parley that ensued, proving ineffectual, the engagement began again, and continued till fifteen minutes after five: when the white flag was again displayed, and now the governor submitted to the terms which were imposed. Angria's flag was immediately hauled down; and two English captains taking possession of the fort with a detachment, forthwith hoisted the British ensign. To these captains, whose names were Buchanan and Forbes, the Marattas offered a bribe of fifty thousand roupees, if they would allow them to pass their guard, that they might take possession of the fort for themselves; but this offer was rejected with disdain, and immediately disclosed to colonel Clive, who took effectual measures to frustrate their design. In this place, which was reduced with very inconsiderable loss, the conquerors found above two hundred cannon, six brass mortars, a large quantity of ammunition, with money and effects to the value of one hundred and thirty thousand pounds. The fleet which was destroyed, consisted of eight grabs, one ship finished, two upon the stocks, and a good number of gallivats. Among the prisoners, the admiral found Angria's wife, children, and mother, towards whom he demeaned himself with great humanity. Three hundred European soldiers, and as many sipoys were left to guard the fort; and four of the company's armed vessels remained in the harbour for the defence of the place, which was extremely well situated for commerce*.

His fort of Geriah attacked and taken by admiral Watson and Mr. Clive.

The admiral and Mr. Clive sailed back to Madras in triumph, and there another plan was formed for restoring the company's affairs upon the Ganges, recovering Calcutta, and taking vengeance on the cruel viceroy of Bengal. In October they set sail again for the bottom of the bay; and about the beginning of December arrived at Balasore in the kingdom of Bengal. Having crossed the Braces, they proceeded up the river Ganges as far as Falta, where they found governor Drake and the other persons who had escaped on board of the ships when Calcutta was invested. Colonel Clive was disembarked with his forces to attack the fort of Busbudgia by land, while the admiral battered it by sea: but the place being ill provided with cannon, did not hold out above an hour after the firing began. This conquest being achieved at a very easy purchase, two of the great ships anchored between Tanna fort and a battery on the other side of the river, which were abandoned before one shot was discharged against either; thus the passage was laid open to Calcutta, the reduction of which we shall record among the transactions of the ensuing year.

Their subsequent proceedings in the river Ganges.

Having thus, to the best of our power, given a faithful and exact detail of every material event, in which Great Britain was concerned either at home, or in her settlements abroad, during the greatest part of the year one thousand

* When the admiral entered their apartment, the whole family shedding floods of tears fell with their faces to the ground; from which being raised, the mother of Angria told him, in a piteous tone, the people had no king, she no son, her daughter no husband, their children no father. The admiral replying, "they must look upon him as their father and

their friend;" the youngest boy, about six years of age, seized him by the hand, and sobbing exclaimed, "then you shall be my father." Mr. Watson was so affected with this pathetic address, that the tears trickled down his cheeks, while he assured them they might depend upon his protection and friendship.

Ann. 1756. seven hundred and fifty-six, we shall now return to Europe, and endeavour to explain the beginning of a bloody war in Germany, which now seems to have become the chief object of the British councils. On the eve of a rupture between France and England, it was natural for his B—— m—— to provide for the safety of his e——l d——s, the only quarter by which he was at all accessible to the efforts of the enemy, who he foresaw would not fail to annoy him through that avenue. He at that time stood upon indifferent terms with the k—— of P——, who was considered as a partizan and ally of France; and he knew that the house of Austria alone would not be sufficient to support him against two such powerful antagonists. In this emergency he had recourse to the empress of Russia, who, in consequence of a large subsidy granted by England, engaged to furnish a strong body of forces for the defence of H——r. His P——n majesty, startled at the conditions of this treaty, took an opportunity to declare that he would not suffer foreign forces of any nation to enter the empire, either as principals or auxiliaries: a declaration which probably flowed from a jealousy and aversion he had conceived to the court of Petersburg, as well as to a resolution he had formed of striking some great stroke in Germany, without any risque of being restricted or controuled. He knew he should give umbrage to the French king, who had already made preparations for penetrating into Westphalia: but he took it for granted he should be able to exchange his connexions with France for an alliance with Great Britain, which would be much less troublesome, and much more productive of advantage: indeed such an alliance was the necessary consequence of his declaration. Had his B——c m——y made a requisition of the Russia auxiliaries, he must have exposed himself to the resentment of a warlike monarch, that hovered on the skirts of his electorate at the head of one hundred and forty thousand men, and could have subdued the whole country in one week: and if he forbore to avail himself of the treaty with the Czarina, he did not know how soon the k——g of P——a might be reconciled to his most Christian majesty's design of invasion. As for the Empress-queen, her attention was engrossed by schemes for her interest or preservation; and her hands so full that she either could not or would not fulfil the engagements she had contracted with her former and firmest allies. In these circumstances the k——g of E——d sought and obtained the alliance of P——a, which, to the best of our comprehension, has entailed upon G—— B——n the enormous burthen of extravagant subsidies, together with the intolerable expence of a continental war, without being productive of one advantage either positive or negative to E——d or H——r. On the contrary, this connexion threw the Empress-queen into the arms of France, whose friendship she has bought at the expence of the Barrier in the Netherlands, acquired with infinite labour, by the blood and treasure of the maritime powers: it has given birth to a confederacy of despotic princes; sufficient, if their joint force was fully exerted, to overthrow the liberties of all the free states in Europe; and, after all, H——r has been overrun, and subdued by the enemy; and the k——g of P——a put to the ban of the Empire. All these consequences are, we apprehend, fairly deducible from the resolution which his P——n m——y took, at this juncture, to precipitate a war with the house of Austria.

The apparent motives that prompted him to this measure, we shall presently explain. In the mean time the defensive treaty between the Empress-queen and France was no sooner ratified, than the Czarina was invited to accede to the alliance, and a private minister sent from Paris to Petersburg to negotiate the conditions of this accession, which the empress of Russia accordingly embraced: a circumstance so agreeable to the court of Versailles, that the marquis de L'Hopital was immediately appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the court of Russia. Applications were likewise made to the courts of Madrid and Turin, soliciting their concurrence; but their Catholic and Sardinian majesties wisely resolved to observe a neutrality.

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Close connexion between the courts of Versailles and Petersburg.

At the same time intrigues were begun by the French emissaries in the senate of Sweden, in order to kindle up a war between that nation and Prussia; and their endeavours succeeded in the sequel, even contrary to the inclination of their sovereign. At present a plot was discovered for altering the form of government, by increasing the power of the crown; and several persons of rank, being convicted upon trial, were beheaded as principals in this conspiracy. Although it did not appear that the king or queen was at all concerned in the scheme, his Swedish majesty thought himself so hardly treated by the dyet, that he threatened to resign his royalty and retire into his own hereditary dominions. This design was extremely disagreeable to the people in general, who espoused his cause in opposition to the dyet, by whom they conceived themselves more oppressed than they should have been under an unlimited monarchy: an opinion, which, in all probability, will one day produce such a revolution in the Swedish government as hath happened in that of Denmark, where the power was transferred from the nobles to the crown, by the concurrence of the clergy and the people.

Conspiracy in Sweden.

The king of Prussia, alarmed at these formidable alliances, ordered all his forces to be completed, and held in readiness to march at the first notice; and a report was industriously circulated, that by a secret article in the late treaty between France and the house of Austria, these two powers had obliged themselves to destroy the protestant religion, and overturn the freedom of the Empire, by a forced election of a king of the Romans.

Measures taken by the king of Prussia and elector of Hanover.

The cry of religion was no impolitic measure; but it no longer produced the same effect as in times past. Religion was made a pretence on both sides: for the partizans of the Empress-queen insinuated, on all occasions, that the ruin of the catholic faith in Germany was the principal object of the new alliance between the kings of Great Britain and Prussia. It was in consequence of such suggestions, that his Britannic majesty ordered his electoral minister at the dyet to deliver a memorial to all the ministers at Ratisbon, expressing his surprize to find the treaty he had concluded with the king of Prussia, industriously represented as a ground of apprehension and umbrage, especially for religion. He observed, that as France had made open dispositions for invading the electorate of Hanover, and disturbing the peace of the Empire; that as he had been denied, by the Empress-queen, the succours stipulated in treaties of alliance; and as he was refused assistance by certain states of the empire, who even seemed disposed to favour such a diversion; he had, in order to provide for the security of his own dominions, to establish peace and tranquillity in the Empire, and maintain its system and privileges, without any prejudice

Ann. 1756. to religion; concluded a defensive treaty with the king of Prussia: that, by this instance of patriotic zeal for the welfare of Germany, he had done an essential service to the Empress-queen, and performed the part which the head of the Empire, in dignity and duty, ought to have acted: that time would demonstrate how little it was the interest of the Empress-queen to engage in a strict alliance with a foreign power, which, for upwards of two centuries, had ravaged the principal provinces of the Empire, maintained repeated wars against the archducal house of Austria, and always endeavoured, as it suited her views, to excite distrust and dissension among the princes and states that compose the Germanic body.

The court of Vienna formed two considerable armies in Bohemia and Moravia; yet pretended that they had nothing in view but self-preservation, and solemnly disclaimed both the secret article, and the design which had been laid to their charge. His most Christian majesty declared, by his minister at Berlin, that he had no other intention but to maintain the public tranquillity of Europe; and this being the sole end of all his measures, he beheld with surprise the preparations and armaments of certain potentates: that, whatever might be the view with which they were made, he was disposed to make use of the power which God had put into his hands, not only to maintain the public peace of Europe against all who should attempt to disturb it, but also to employ all his forces, agreeable to his engagements, for the assistance of his ally, in case her dominions should be attacked: finally, that he would act in the same manner in behalf of all the other powers with whom he was in alliance.

The court of Vienna endeavours to frustrate his design.

This intimation made very little impression upon the king of Prussia, who had already formed his plan, and was determined to execute his purpose. What his original plan might have been, we shall not pretend to disclose; nor do we believe he imparted it to any confident or ally. It must be confessed, however, that the intrigues of the court of Vienna, furnished him with a specious pretence for drawing the sword and commencing hostilities. The Empress-queen had some reason to be jealous of such a formidable neighbour. She remembered his irruption into Bohemia, in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-four, at a time when she thought that country, and all her other dominions, secure from his invasion by the treaty of Breslau, which she had in no particular contravened. She caballed against him in different courts of Europe: she concluded a treaty with the Czarina, which, though seemingly defensive, implied an intention of making conquests upon this monarch: she endeavoured to engage the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, as a contracting power in this confederacy; and, if he had not been afraid of a sudden visit from his neighbour of Prussia, it cannot be supposed but he would have been pleased to contribute to the humiliation of a prince who had once before, without the least provocation, driven him from his dominions, taken possession of his capital, routed his troops, and obliged him to pay a million of crowns to indemnify him for the expence of this expedition: but he carefully avoided taking such a step as might expose him to another invasion, and even refused to accede to the treaty of Petersburg, though it was expressly defensive; the *Casus Foederis* being his Prussian majesty's attacking either of the contracting parties. It appears, however, that the count de Bruhl, prime minister and favourite

Favourite of the king of Poland, had, in conjunction with some of the Austrian ministers, carried on certain scandalous intrigues, in order to embroil the king of Prussia with the empress of Russia, between whom a misunderstanding had long subsisted. Ann. 1756.

His Prussian majesty, perceiving the military preparations of the court of Vienna, and having obtained intelligence of their secret negotiations with different powers in Europe, ordered M. de Klingraafe, his minister at the Imperial court, to demand whether all those preparations of war, on the frontiers of Silesia, were designed against him, and what were the intentions of her Imperial majesty? To this demand the Empress replied, That in the present juncture she had found it necessary to make armaments, as well for her own defence as for that of her allies; but that they did not tend to the prejudice of any person or state whatever. The king, far from being satisfied with this general answer, sent fresh orders to Klingraafe to represent, That after the king had dissembled, as long as he thought consistent with his safety and honour, the bad designs imputed to the Empress would not suffer him longer to disguise his sentiments; that he was acquainted with the offensive projects, which the two courts had formed at Petersburg; that he knew they had engaged to attack him suddenly with an army of two hundred thousand men; a design which would have been executed in the spring of the year, had not the Russian forces wanted recruits, their fleet mariners, and Livonia a sufficient quantity of corn for their support; that he constituted the Empress arbiter of peace or war: if she desired the former, he required a clear and formal declaration, or positive assurance, that she had no intention to attack him, either this year or the next; but he should look upon an ambiguous answer as a declaration of war; and he called heaven to witness, that the Empress alone would be guilty of the innocent blood that should be spilt, and all the dismal consequences that would attend the commission of hostilities.

A declaration of this nature might have provoked a less haughty court than that of Vienna, and, indeed, seems to have been calculated on purpose to exasperate the pride of her Imperial majesty, whose answer he soon received to this effect: That his majesty the king of Prussia had already been employed, for some time, in all kinds of the most considerable preparations of war, and the most disquieting, with regard to the public tranquillity, when he thought fit to demand explanations of her majesty, touching the military dispositions that were making in her dominions; dispositions on which she had not resolved, till after the preparations of his Prussian majesty had been made; that though her majesty might have declined explaining herself on those subjects which required no explanation, she had been pleased to declare, with her own mouth, to Mr. de Klingraafe, that the critical state of public affairs rendered the measures she was taking absolutely necessary for her own safety, and that of her allies; but that, in other respects, they tended to the prejudice of no person whatsoever: that her Imperial majesty had undoubtedly a right to form what judgment she pleased on the circumstances of the times; and likewise that it belonged to none but herself to estimate her own danger: that her declaration was so clear, she never imagined it could be thought otherwise: that being accustomed to receive, as well as to practise the decorums which sovereigns owe to each other, she could not hear without astonishment and sensibi-

Ann. 1756. lity the contents of the memorial now presented by Mr. de Klingraafe; so extraordinary, both in the matter and expressions, that she would find herself under a necessity of transgressing the bounds of that moderation which she had prescribed to herself, were she to answer the whole of its contents: nevertheless, she thought proper to declare, that the information communicated to his Prussian majesty of an offensive alliance against him, subsisting between herself and the empress of Russia, together with the circumstances and pretended stipulations of that alliance, were absolutely false and forged; for no such treaty did exist, or ever had existed. She concluded with observing, that this declaration would enable all Europe to judge of what weight and quality those dreadful events were which Klingraafe's memorial announced; and to perceive that, in any case, they could not be imputed to her Imperial majesty.

The Prussian
army enters
Saxony, and
publishes a
manifesto.

This answer, though seemingly explicit, was not deemed sufficiently categorical, or at least not suitable to the purposes of the king of Prussia, who, by his resident at Vienna, once more declared, that if the Empress-queen would sign a positive assurance that she would not attack his Prussian majesty either this year or the next, he would directly withdraw his troops, and let things be restored to their former footing. This demand was evaded, on pretence that such an assurance could not be more binding than the solemn treaty by which he was already secured; a treaty which the Empress-queen had no intention to violate. But before an answer could be delivered, the king had actually invaded Saxony, and published his declaration against the court of Vienna. The court of Vienna believing that the king of Prussia was bent upon employing his arms somewhere; being piqued at the dictatorial manner in which his demands were conveyed; unwilling to lay themselves under farther restrictions; apprehensive of giving umbrage to their allies; and confident of having provided for their own security; resolved to run the risque of his resentment, not without hope of being indemnified in the course of the war for that part of Silesia which the queen had been obliged to cede in the treaty of Breslau.

Both sides being thus prepared, and perhaps equally eager for action, the king of Prussia would no longer suspend his operations; and the storm first fell upon Saxony. He resolved to penetrate through this country into Bohemia, and even to take possession of it as a frontier; as well as for the convenience of ingress and egress to and from the Austrian dominions. Besides, he had reason to believe the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, was connected with the Czarina and the Empress-queen: therefore he thought it would be impolitic to leave that prince in any condition to give him the least disturbance. His army entered the Saxon territory towards the latter end of August; when he published a declaration, importing that the unjust conduct and dangerous views of the court of Vienna against his majesty's dominions, laid him under the necessity of taking proper measures for protecting his territories and subjects: that for this purpose he could not forbear taking the disagreeable resolution to enter with his troops the hereditary dominions of his majesty the king of Poland, elector of Saxony: but he protested before God and man, that on account of his personal esteem and friendship for that prince, he would not have proceeded to this extremity, had he not been forced to it by the laws of war, the fatality of the present conjuncture, and the necessity of providing for the

the defence and security of his subjects. He reminded the public of the tenderness with which he had treated the elector of Saxony, during the campaign of the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-four; and of the bad consequences resulting to that monarch from his engagements with the enemies of Prussia. He declared that the apprehensions of being exposed again to such enterprizes, had obliged him to take those precautions which prudence dictated: but he protested in the most solemn manner, that he had no hostile views against his Polish majesty, or his dominions; that his troops did not enter Saxony as enemies, and he had taken care that they should observe the best order and the most exact discipline: that he desired nothing more ardently than the happy minute that should procure him the satisfaction of restoring to his Polish majesty his hereditary dominions, which he had seized only as a sacred depositum. Ann. 1756.

By his minister at Dresden, he had demanded a free passage for his forces through the Saxon dominions; and this the king of Poland was ready to grant with reasonable limitations to be settled by commissaries appointed for that purpose. But these were formalities which did not at all suit with his Prussian majesty's disposition or design. Even before this requisition was made, a body of his troops, amounting to fifteen thousand, under the command of prince Ferdinand, brother to the Duke of Brunswic, took possession of Leipzig on the twentieth day of September. Prince Ferdinand takes possession of Leipzig. Here he published a declaration, signifying that it was his Prussian majesty's intention to consider and defend the inhabitants of that electorate as if they were his own subjects; and that he had given precise orders to his troops to observe the most exact discipline. As the first mark of his affection, he ordered them to provide the army with all sorts of provision, according to a certain rate, on pain of military execution. That same evening notice was given to the corporation of merchants, that their deputies should pay all taxes and customs to the king of Prussia: then he took possession of the custom-house and excise-office, and ordered the magazines of corn and meal to be opened for the use of his soldiers.

The king of Poland, apprehensive of such a visitation, had ordered all the troops of his electorate to leave their quarters, and assemble in a strong camp marked out for them between Pirna and Konigstein, which was intrenched, and provided with a numerous train of artillery. Thither the king of Poland repaired with his two sons Xaverius and Charles; but the queen and the rest of the royal family remained at Dresden. Of this capital his Prussian majesty, with the bulk of his army, took possession on the eighth day of September, when he was visited by the lord Stormont, the English ambassador at that court, accompanied by count Salmour, a Saxon minister, who, in his master's name, proposed a neutrality. The king of Prussia professed himself extremely well pleased with the proposal; and, as the most convincing proof of his neutrality, desired the king of Poland would separate his army, by ordering his troops to return to their former quarters. His Polish majesty did not like to be so tutored in his own dominions: he depended for his own safety more upon the valour and attachment of his troops thus assembled, than upon the friendship of a prince who had invaded his dominions, and sequestered his revenue, without provocation; and he trusted too much to the situation of his

The king of Prussia enters Dresden, and blocks up the king of Poland with his troops at Pirna.

Ann. 1756. camp at Pirna, which was deemed impregnable. In the mean time, the king of Prussia fixed his head-quarters at Seidlitz, about half a German league distant from Pirna, and posted his army in such a manner as to be able to intercept all convoys of provision designed for the Saxon camp: his forces extended on the right towards the frontiers of Bohemia, and the vanguard actually seized the passes that lead to the circles of Satzer and Leutmeriz in that kingdom; while prince Ferdinand of Brunswic marched with a body of troops along the Elbe, and took post at this last place without opposition. At the same time the king covered his own dominions by assembling two considerable bodies in Upper and Lower Silesia, which occupied the passes that communicate with the circles of Buntzlau and Koningsgratz.

Hostilities were commenced on the thirteenth day of September by a detachment of Prussian hussars, who attacked an Austrian escorte to a convoy of provisions, designed for the Saxon camp; and having routed them, carried off a considerable number of loaded waggons. The magazines at Dresden were filled with an immense quantity of provision and forage for the Prussian army, and the bakers were ordered to prepare a vast quantity of bread, for which purpose thirty new ovens were erected.

When the king of Prussia first arrived at Dresden, he lodged at the house of the countess Moczniska; and gave orders that the queen and royal family of Poland should be treated with all due veneration and respect*: even while the Saxon camp was blocked up on every side, he sometimes permitted a waggon, loaded with fresh provision and game, to pass unmolested for the use of his Polish majesty.

His main
body pene-
trates into
Bohemia;

During these transactions the greatest part of the Prussian army advanced into Bohemia, under the command of the veldt-marechal Keith†, who re-

* His majesty seems to have abated of this respect in the sequel, if we may believe the assertions of his Polish majesty's queen and the court of Vienna, who affirmed, that centinels were posted within the palace where the queen and royal family resided; as also at the door of the secret cabinet, where the papers relating to foreign transactions were deposited. The keys of this cabinet were seized, and all the writings demanded. The whole Saxon ministry were discharged from their respective employments, and a new commission was established by the king of Prussia for the administration of affairs in general. When the queen intreated this prince to remove the centinels posted within the palace, and contiguous passages, agreeable to his assurances that all due respect should be observed towards the royal family, the king ordered the guards to be doubled, and sent an officer to demand of her majesty the keys of the secret cabinet. The queen obtained this officer's consent, that the doors should be sealed up; but afterwards he returned with orders to break them open: then her majesty, placing

herself before the door, said, she trusted so much to the promise of the king of Prussia, that she could not believe he had given such orders. The officer declaring that his orders were positive, and that he durst not disobey them, she continued in the same place, declaring, that if violence was to be used, he must begin with her. The officer returning to acquaint the king with what had passed, her majesty conjured the ministers of Prussia and England to remind his majesty of his promise; but her representations had no effect; the officer returned with fresh orders to use force, in spite of the opposition she might make against it in person. The queen, finding herself in danger of her life, at length withdrew: the doors were forced, the chests broke open, and all the papers seized.

† Brother to the earl marechal of Scotland, a gentleman who had signalized himself as a general in the Russian army, and was accounted one of the best officers of his time; not more admired for his genius, than amiable in his disposition.

duced the town and palace of Tetchen, took possession of all the passes, and encamped near Auffig, a small town in Bohemia, at no great distance from the Imperial army, amounting to fifty thousand men, commanded by count Brown, an officer of Irish extract, who had often distinguished himself in the field by his courage, vigilance, and conduct. Ann. 1756.

His Prussian majesty, having left a considerable body of troops for the blockade of Pirna, assumed in person the command of marechal Keith's corps, and advanced to give battle to the enemy. On the twenty-ninth day of September he formed his troops in two columns, and in the evening arrived with his van at Welmina, from whence he saw the Austrian army posted with its right at Lowoschutz, and its left towards the Egra. Having occupied with six battalions a hollow way, and some rising grounds, which commanded the town of Lowoschutz, he remained all night under arms at Welmina; and on the first day of October, early in the morning, formed his whole army in order of battle; the first line, consisting of the infantry, occupying two hills, and a bottom betwixt them; the second line being formed of some battalions, and the third composed of the whole cavalry. The Austrian general had taken possession of Lowoschutz with a great body of infantry, and placed a battery of cannon in the front of the town: he had formed his cavalry chequerwise, in a line between Lowoschutz and the village of Sanschitz; and posted about two thousand Croats and irregulars in the vineyards and avenues on his right. The morning was darkened with a thick fog, which vanished about seven: then the Prussian cavalry advanced to attack the enemy's horse; but received such a fire from the irregulars, posted in vineyards and ditches, as well as from a numerous artillery, that they were obliged to retire for protection to the rear of the Prussian infantry and cannon. There being formed, and led back to the charge, they made an impression on the Austrian cavalry, and drove the irregulars and other bodies of infantry from the ditches, defiles, and vineyards which they possessed: but they suffered so severely in this dangerous service, that the king ordered them to reascend the hill, and take post again behind the infantry, from whence they no more advanced. In the mean time a furious cannonading was maintained on both sides, with considerable effect. At length the left of the Prussian infantry was ordered to attack the town of Lowoschutz in flank; but met with a very warm reception, and, in all likelihood, would have miscarried, had not veldt-marechal Keith headed them in person: when he drew his sword, and told them he would lead them on, he was given to understand, that all their powder and shot was exhausted: he turned immediately to them with a cheerful countenance, said he was very glad they had no more ammunition, being well assured the enemy would not withstand them at push of bayonet: so saying, he advanced at their head, and driving the Austrians from Lowoschutz, set the suburbs on fire. Their infantry had been already obliged to quit the eminence on the right; and now their whole army retired to Budin, on the other side of the Egra. Some prisoners, colours, and pieces of cannon, were taken on both sides; and the loss of each might amount to two thousand five hundred killed and wounded: so that, on the whole, it was a drawn battle, though both generals claimed the victory. The detail of the action, published at Berlin, declares, that the king

and he fights
the battle of
Lowoschutz.

Ann. 1756. king of Prussia not only gained the battle, but that same day established his head quarters at Lowoschutz: whereas the Austrian gazette affirms, that the marechal count Brown obliged his Prussian majesty to retire, and remained all night on the field of battle; but next day, finding his troops in want of water, he repaired to the camp of Budin. If the battle was at all decisive, the advantage certainly fell to the Austrians; for his Prussian majesty, who, in all probability, had hoped to winter at Prague, was obliged, by the opposition he met with, to resign this plan, and retreat before winter into the electorate of Saxony.

The Prussian army having rejoined that body which had been left to block up the Saxons at Pirna, his Polish majesty and his troops were reduced to such extremity of want, that it became indispensibly necessary either to attempt an escape, or surrender to the king of Prussia. The former part of the alternative was chosen, and the plan concerted with count Brown, the Austrian general, who, in order to facilitate the execution, advanced privately with a body of troops to Lichtendorf, near Schandau; but the junction could not be effected. On the fourteenth day of October the Saxons threw a bridge of boats over the Elbe near Konigstein, to which castle they removed all their artillery; then striking their tents in the night, passed the river undiscovered by the enemy. They continued to retreat with all possible expedition; but, the roads were so bad, they made little progress. Next day, when part of them had advanced about half way up a hill opposite to Konigstein, and the rest were intangled in a narrow plain, where there was no room to act, they perceived that the Prussians were in possession of all the passes, and found themselves surrounded on every side, fainting with hunger and fatigue, and destitute of every convenience.

In this deplorable condition they remained, when the king of Poland, from the fortrefs of Konigstein, sent a letter to his general the veldt-marechal count Rutowski, vesting him with full and discretionary power to surrender, or take such other measures as he should judge most conducive to the preservation of the officers and soldiers †. By this time count Brown had retired to Budin, so that there was no choice left. A capitulation was demanded: but, in effect, the whole

† The letter was to the following effect:

Veldt marechal count Rutowski,

It is not without extreme sorrow I understand the deplorable situation, which a chain of misfortunes has reserved for you, the rest of my generals, and my whole army: but we must acquiesce in the dispensations of Providence, and console ourselves with the rectitude of our sentiments and intentions. They would force me, it seems, as you give me to understand by major-general the baron de Dyhern, to submit to conditions the more severe, in proportion as the circumstances are become more necessitous. I cannot hear them mentioned. I am a free monarch; such I will live; such I

will die; and I will both live and die with honour. The fate of my army I leave wholly to your discretion. Let your council of war determine whether you must surrender prisoners of war, fall by the sword, or die by famine. May your resolutions, if possible, be conducted by humanity: whatever they may be, I have no longer any share in them: and I declare you shall not be answerable for aught but one thing, namely, not to carry arms against me or my allies. I pray God may have you, Mr. Marechal, in his holy keeping. Given at Konigstein the 14th of October, 1756.

Augustus Rex.

To the veldt-marechal the count Rutowski.

Saxon

Saxon army was obliged to surrender at discretion : and the soldiers were afterwards, by compulsion, incorporated with the troops of Prussia. Ann. 1756.

The king of Poland, being thus deprived of his electoral dominions, his troops, arms, artillery, and ammunition, thought it high time to provide for his own safety, and retired with all expedition to Poland. His Prussian majesty cantoned his forces in the neighbourhood of Seidlitz, and along the Elbe towards Dresden. His other army, which had entered Bohemia, under the command of the count de Schwerin, retired to the confines of the county of Glatz, where they were distributed in quarters of cantonment ; so that this short campaign was finished by the beginning of November. Surrender of the Saxon army.

The king of Poland, in his distress, did not fail to implore the assistance and mediation of neutral powers. His minister at the Hague presented a memorial to the States General, complaining, that the invasion of Saxony was one of those attacks against the law of nations, which, from the great respect due to this law, demanded the assistance of every power interested in the preservation of its own liberty and independency. He observed, that, from the first glimpse of misunderstanding between the courts of Vienna and Berlin, he had expressly enjoined his ministers at all the courts of Europe to declare, that it was his firm resolution, in the present conjuncture of affairs, to observe the strictest neutrality. He represented that a free and neutral state had been, in the midst of peace, invaded by an enemy who disguised himself under the masque of friendship, without alledging the least complaint, or any pretention whatsoever ; but founding himself solely on his own convenience, made himself master, by armed force, of all the cities and towns of the electorate, dismantling some, and fortifying others : that he had disarmed the burghers ; carried off the magistrates as hostages for the payment of unjust and enormous contributions of provisions and forage ; seized the coffers, confiscated the revenues of the electorate, broke open the arsenals, and transported the arms and artillery to his own town of Magdeburg ; abolished the privy-council, and, instead of the lawful government, established a directory, which acknowledged no other law but his own arbitrary will. He gave them to understand, that all these proceedings were no other than preliminaries to the unheard-of treatment which was reserved for a queen, whose virtues ought to have commanded respect, even from her enemies : that, from the hands of that august princess, the archives of the state were forced away by menaces and violences, notwithstanding the security which her majesty had promised herself under the protection of all laws, human and divine ; and notwithstanding the repeated assurances given by the king of Prussia, that not only her person, and the place of her residence, should be absolutely safe, but that even the Prussian garrison should be under her direction. He observed, that a prince who declared himself protector of the protestant religion had begun the war, by crushing the very state to which that very religion owes its establishment, and the preservation of its most invaluable rights : that he had broke through the most respectable laws which constitute the union of the Germanic body, under colour of a defence which the Empire stood in no need of, except against himself : that the king of Prussia, while he insists on having entered Saxony as a friend, demands his army, the administration of his dominions, and, in a word, the sacrifice of his whole electorate ; and that the

King of Poland's memorial to the States General.

Ann. 1756. Prussian directory, in the declaration of motives, published under the nose of a prince to whom friendship was pretended, thought it superfluous to alledge even any pretext, to colour the usurpation of his territories and revenues.

Though this was certainly the case, in his Prussian majesty's first exposition of motives, the omission was afterwards supplied in a subsequent memorial to the States General; in which he charged the king of Poland, as an accomplice in, if not an accessory to the treaty of Petersburg; and even taxed him with having agreed to a partition of some Prussian territories, when they should be conquered. This treaty of partition, however, appears to have been made in time of actual war, before all cause of dispute was removed by the peace of Dresden.

Imperial decrees published against the king of Prussia.

While the Austrian and Prussian armies were in the field, their respective ministers were not idle at Ratisbon, where three Imperial decrees were published against his Prussian majesty: the first, summoning that prince to withdraw his troops from the electorate of Saxony; the second, commanding all the vassals of the empire employed by the king of Prussia to quit that service immediately; and the third, forbidding the members of the Empire to suffer any levies of soldiers, for the Prussian service, to be raised within their respective jurisdictions. The French minister declared to the dyet, that the proceedings of his Prussian majesty having disclosed to the world the project concerted between that prince and the king of England, to excite in the Empire a religious war, which might be favourable to their particular views, his most Christian majesty, in consequence of his engagements with the Empress-queen, and many other princes of the Empire, being resolved to succour them in the most efficacious manner, would forthwith send such a number of troops to their aid, as might be thought necessary to preserve the liberty of the Germanic body.

On the other hand, the Prussian minister assured the dyet, that his master would very soon produce the proofs that were come to his hands of the plan concerted by the courts of Vienna and Dresden, for the subversion of his electoral house, and for imposing upon him a yoke, which seemed to threaten the whole Empire.

Declarations of different powers.

About the same time the Russian resident at the Hague communicated to the States General a declaration from his mistress, importing, that her Imperial majesty having seen a memorial presented at the court of Vienna by the king of Prussia's envoy extraordinary, was thereby convinced that his Prussian majesty's intention was to attack the territories of the Empress-queen; in which case, she (the Czarina) was inevitably obliged to succour her ally with all her forces; for which end she had ordered all her troops in Livonia to be forthwith assembled on the frontiers, and hold themselves in readiness to march: that moreover, the Russian admiralty had been enjoined to provide immediately a sufficient number of galleys for transporting a large body of troops to Lubec. The ministers of the Empress-queen, both at the Hague and at London, delivered memorials to the States General and his Britannic majesty, demanding the succours which these two powers were bound to afford the house of Austria by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; but their high mightinesses kept warily aloof by dint of evasion, and the king of Great Britain was far otherwise engaged.

The

The invasion of Saxony had well nigh produced tragedies in the royal family of France. The dauphiness, who was far advanced in her pregnancy, no sooner learned the distressful circumstances of her parents, the king and queen of Poland, than she was seized with violent fits, which occasioned a miscarriage, and brought her life into the most imminent danger. Ann. 1756.

The Prussian minister was immediately ordered to quit Versailles; and directions were dispatched to the French minister at Berlin, to retire from that court without taking leave. Finally, the emperor of Germany concluded a new convention with the French king, regulating the succours to be derived from that quarter: he claimed, in all the usual forms, the assistance of the Germanic body as guaranty of the pragmatic sanction and treaty of Dresden; and Sweden was also addressed on the same subject.

The king of Prussia did not passively bear all the imputations that were fixed upon his conduct. His minister at the Hague presented a memorial in answer to that of the Saxon resident, in which he accused the court of Dresden of having adopted every part of the scheme which his enemies had formed for his destruction. He affirmed that the Saxon ministers had, in all the courts of Europe, played off every engine of unwarrantable politics, in order to pave the way for the execution of their project: that they had endeavoured to give an odious turn to his most innocent actions: that they had spared neither malicious insinuations, nor even the most atrocious calumnies, to alienate all the world from his majesty, and raise up enemies against him every where. He said he had received information that the court of Saxony intended to let his troops pass freely, and afterwards wait for events of which they might avail themselves, either by joining his enemies, or making a diversion in his dominions: that in such a situation he could not avoid having recourse to the only means which were left him for preventing his inevitable ruin, by putting it out of the power of Saxony to encrease the number of his enemies. He asserted that all the measures he had pursued in that electorate were but the necessary consequences of the first resolution he was forced to take for his own preservation: that he had done nothing but deprived the court of Saxony of the means of hurting him; and this had been done with all possible moderation: that the country enjoyed all the security and all the quiet which could be expected in the very midst of peace, the Prussian troops observing the most exact discipline: that all due respect was shewn to the queen of Poland, who had been prevailed upon by the most suitable representations, to suffer some papers to be taken from the paper office, of which his Prussian Majesty already had copies; and thought it necessary, to ascertain the dangerous design of the Saxon ministry against him, to secure the originals; the existence and reality of which might otherwise have been denied*. He observed that every man has a right to prevent the mischief with which he is threatened, and to retort it upon its author; and that neither the constitutions nor the laws of the Empire could obstruct the exertion of a right so superior to all others, as

* Can the levying exorbitant contributions, and seizing the revenues of the electorate, be deemed instances of moderation? Was it consistent with the respect due to a venerable queen, to place centries upon her palace both without and within, and send orders even to do violence on her person should she attempt to hinder the officer from breaking open the cabinet?

Ann. 1756. that of self-preservation and self-defence; especially when the depository of these laws is so closely united to the enemy as manifestly to abuse his power in her favour.

A justification of his conduct.

But the most important step which his Prussian Majesty took in his own justification, was that of publishing another memorial specifying the conduct of the court of Vienna and Saxony, and their dangerous designs against his person and interest, together with the original documents adduced as proofs of these sinister intentions. As a knowledge of these pieces is requisite to form a distinct idea of the motives which produced this dreadful war upon the continent, it will not be amiss to usher the substance of them to the reader's acquaintance. His Prussian majesty affirms, that to arrive at the source of the vast plan upon which the courts of Vienna and Saxony had been employed against him ever since the peace of Dresden, we must trace it as far back as the war which preceded this peace: that the fond hopes which the two allied courts had conceived upon the success of the campaign in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-four, gave occasion to a treaty of eventual partition, stipulating that the court of Vienna should possess the dutchy of Silesia, and the county of Glatz: while the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, should share the dutchies of Magdebourg and Croissen; the circles of Zullichow and Swibus, together with the Prussian part of Lusatia: that after the peace of Dresden, concluded in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-five, there was no further room for a treaty of this nature: yet the court of Vienna proposed to that of Saxony a new alliance, in which the treaty of eventual partition should be renewed: but this last thought it necessary, in the first place, to give a greater consistency to their plan, by grounding it upon an alliance between the Empress-queen and the Czarina. Accordingly these two powers did, in fact, conclude a defensive alliance at Petersburg in the course of the ensuing year: but the body or ostensible part of this treaty was composed meerly with a view to conceal from the knowledge of the public, six secret articles, the fourth of which was levelled singly against Prussia, according to the exact copy of it, which appeared among the documents. In this article, the Empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia sets out with a protestation, that she will religiously observe the treaty of Dresden; but explains her real way of thinking upon the subject, a little lower in the following terms: "If the king of Prussia should be the first to depart from this peace, by attacking either her majesty the Empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia, or her majesty the empress of Russia, or even the republic of Poland; in all these cases, the rights of the Empress-queen to Silesia and the county of Glatz, would again take place, and recover their full effect: the two contracting parties should mutually assist each other with sixty thousand men to atchieve these conquests. The king observes upon this article, that every war which can arise between him and Russia, or the republic of Poland, would be looked upon as a manifest infraction of the peace of Dresden, and a revival of the rights of the house of Austria to Silesia; though neither Russia nor the republic of Poland is at all concerned in the treaty of Dresden; and though the latter, with which the king lived in the most intimate friendship, was not even in alliance with the court of Vienna: that, according to the principles of the law of nature, received among all civilized nations, the most the court of Vienna could be authorised to do

in such cases, would be to send those succours to her allies which are due to them by treaties, without her having the least pretence, on that account, to free herself from the particular engagements subsisting between her and the king: he appealed therefore to the judgment of the impartial world, whether in this secret article the contracting powers had kept within the bounds of a defensive alliance; or whether this article did not rather contain a plan of an offensive alliance against the king of Prussia. He affirmed it was obvious, from this article, that the court of Vienna had prepared three pretences for the recovery of Silesia; and that she thought to attain her end either by provoking the king to commence hostilities against her, or to kindle a war between his majesty and Russia by her secret intrigues and machinations: he alledges that the court of Saxony, being invited to accede to this alliance, eagerly accepted the invitation; furnished its ministers at Petersburg with full powers for that purpose; and ordered them to declare that their master was not only ready to accede to the treaty itself, but also to the secret article against Prussia; and to join in the regulations made by the two courts, provided effectual measures should be taken, as well for the security of Saxony, as for its indemnification and recompence, in proportion to the efforts and progress that might be made: that the court of Dresden declared, if upon any fresh attack from the king of Prussia, the Empress-queen should, by their assistance, not only reconquer Silesia, and the county of Glatz, but also reduce him within narrower bounds; the king of Poland, as elector of Saxony, would abide by the partition formerly stipulated between him and the Empress-queen. He also declared that count Loss, the Saxon minister at Vienna, was charged to open a private negotiation for settling an eventual partition of the conquest which might be made on Prussia, by laying down, as the basis of it, the treaty of Leipzig, signed on the eighteenth day of May, in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-five; as would appear by the documents affixed. He owned it had been supposed, through the whole of this negotiation, that the king of Prussia should be the aggressor against the court of Vienna; but he insisted, that even in this case the king of Poland could have no right to make conquests on his Prussian majesty. He likewise acknowledged that the court of Saxony had not yet acceded in form to the treaty of Petersburg; but he observed, its allies were given to understand again and again, that it was ready to accede without restriction, whenever this could be done without risque; and the advantages to be gained should be secured in its favour: circumstances proved by divers authentic documents, particularly by a letter from count Fleming to count de Bruhl, informing him that count Uhlefeld had charged him to represent afresh to his court, that they could not take too secure measures against the ambitious views of the king of Prussia; that Saxony, in particular, ought to be cautious, as being the most exposed: that it was of the highest importance to strengthen their old engagements upon the footing proposed by the late count de Harrach in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-five; a step which might be taken on occasion of his Polish majesty's accession to the treaty of Petersburg. The answer of count Bruhl to this dispatch imported, that the king of Poland was not averse to treat in the utmost secrecy with the court of Vienna, about succours, by private and confidential declarations relating to the fourth secret article of the treaty of Petersburg,

Ann. 1756. burg, on condition of reasonable terms and advantages, which in this case ought to be granted to his majesty. He quoted other dispatches to prove the unwillingness of his Polish majesty to declare himself, until the king of Prussia should be attacked, and his forces divided; and that this scruple was admitted by the allies of Saxony. From these premises he deduced this inference, that the court of Dresden, without having acceded in form to the treaty of Petersburg, was not less an accomplice in the dangerous designs which the court of Vienna had grounded upon this treaty; and that having been dispensed with from a formal concurrence, it had only waited for that moment when it might, without running any great risque, concur in effect, and share the spoils of its neighbour. In expectation of this period, he said the Austrian and Saxon ministers laboured in concert and underhand with the more ardour, to bring the *Casus Fœderis* into existence; for it being laid down as a principle in the treaty, that any war whatever between him and Russia, would authorise the Empress-queen to retake Silesia, there was nothing more to be done but to kindle such a war; for which purpose no method was found more proper than that of embroiling the king with the empress of Russia; and to provoke that princess, with all sorts of false insinuations, impostures, and the most atrocious calumnies, in laying to his majesty's charge a variety of designs, sometimes against Russia, and even the person of the Czarina; sometimes views upon Poland, and sometimes intrigues in Sweden. By these and other such contrivances, he affirmed they had kindled the animosity of the Empress to such a degree, that in a council held in the month of October, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-three, she had resolved to attack the king of Prussia without any further discussion, whether he should fall upon any of the allies of Russia, or one of them should begin with him: a resolution which for that time was frustrated by their want of seamen and magazines; but the preparations were continued, under pretence of keeping themselves in a condition to fulfil their engagements contracted in the last subsidiary convention with England; and when all were finished, the storm would fall on the king of Prussia.

Remarks on
those pieces.

This is the substance of that famous memorial published by his Prussian majesty, to which the justifying pieces or authentic documents were annexed; and to which a circumstantial answer was exhibited by the partisans of her Imperial majesty. Specious reasons may, doubtless, be adduced on either side of almost any dispute, by writers of ingenuity: but, in examining this contest, it must be allowed that both sides adopted illicit practices. The Empress-queen and the elector of Saxony had certainly a right to form defensive treaties for their own preservation; and without all doubt, it was their interest and their duty to secure themselves from the enterprizes of such a formidable neighbour: but at the same time the contracting parties seem to have carried their views much farther than defensive measures. Perhaps the court of Vienna considered the cession of Silesia as a circumstance altogether compulsive, and therefore not binding against the rights of natural equity. She did not at all doubt that the king of Prussia would be tempted by his ambition and great warlike power, to take some step which might be justly interpreted into an infraction of the treaty of Dresden; and in that case she was determined to avail herself of the confederacy she had formed, that she might retrieve

trieve the countries she had lost by the unfortunate events of the last war, as well as bridle the dangerous power and disposition of the Prussian monarch: and in all probability, the king of Poland, over and above the same consideration, was desirous of some indemnification for the last irruption into his electoral dominions, and the great sums he had paid for the subsequent peace. Whether they were authorised by the law of nature and nations to make reprisals by an actual partition of the countries they might conquer, supposing him to be the aggressor, we shall not pretend to determine: but it does not at all appear that his Prussian majesty's danger was such as intitled him to take those violent steps which he now attempted to justify.

By this time the flame of war was kindled up to a blaze that soon filled the empire with ruin and desolation; and the king of Prussia had drawn upon himself the resentment of the three greatest powers in Europe, who laid aside their former animosities, and every consideration of that balance, which it had cost such blood and treasure to preserve, in order to conspire his destruction. The king himself could not but foresee this confederacy, and know the power it might exert: but probably he confided so much in the number, the valour and discipline of his troops; in the skill of his officers; in his own conduct and activity; that he hoped to crush the house of Austria by one rapid endeavour at the latter end of the season, or at least establish himself in Bohemia, before her allies could move to her assistance. In this hope, however, he was disappointed by the vigilance of the Austrian councils. He found the Empress-queen in a condition to make head against him in every avenue to her dominions; and in a fair way of being assisted by the circles of the empire. He saw himself threatened with the vengeance of the Russian empress, and the sword of France gleaming over his head, without any prospect of assistance but that which he might derive from his alliance with Great Britain. Thus the k—— of E——d exchanged the alliance of R——, which was his subsidiary, and the friendship of the Empress-queen, his old and natural ally, for a new connection with his P——n majesty, who could neither act as an auxiliary to G—— B——n, nor as a protector to H——r; and for this connection, the advantage of which was merely negative, such a price was paid by E——d, as had never been given by any other potentate of Europe, even for services of the greatest importance.

About the latter end of November, the Saxon minister at Ratisbon delivered to the dyet a new and ample memorial, explaining the lamentable state of that electorate, and imploring afresh the assistance of the Empire. The king of Prussia had also addressed a letter to the dyet, demanding succour of the several states, agreeable to their guaranties of the treaties of Westphalia, and Dresden: but the minister of Mentz, as director of the dyet, having refused to lay it before that assembly, the minister of Brandenburg ordered it to be printed, and sent to his court for further instructions. In the mean time his Prussian majesty thought proper to intimate to the king and senate of Poland, that should the Russian troops be permitted to march through that kingdom, they might expect to see their country made a scene of war and desolation. In France the prospect of a general and sanguinary war did not at all allay the disturbance which sprang from the dissension between the clergy and parliament, touching the bull Unigenitus. The king being again brought over to

Disputes continue between the parliament of Paris and the clergy of France.

Ann. 1756. the ecclesiastical side of the dispute, received a brief from the pope, laying it down as a fundamental article, that whosoever refuses to submit to the bull Unigenitus is in the way to damnation: and certain cases are specified in which the sacraments are to be denied. The parliament of Paris, considering this brief or bull as a direct attack upon the rights of the Gallican church, issued an arret or decree suppressing the said bull; reserving to themselves the right of providing against the inconveniencies with which it might be attended; as well as the privilege to maintain in their full force the prerogatives of the crown, the power and jurisdiction of the bishops, the liberties of the Gallican church, and the customs of the realm. The king, dissatisfied with their interposition, declared his design to hold a bed of justice in person at the palace. Accordingly, on the twelfth day of November, the whole body of his guards, amounting to ten thousand men, took post in the city of Paris: and next day the king repaired with the usual ceremony to the palace where the bed of justice was held: among other regulations, an edict was issued for suppressing the fourth and fifth chambers of inquests, the members of which had remarkably distinguished themselves by their opposition to the bull Unigenitus.

Dearth of
corn in
England.

In England, the dearth of corn, arising in a great measure from the iniquitous practice of engrossing, was so severely felt by the common people, that insurrections were raised in Shropshire and Warwickshire by the populace, in conjunction with the colliers, who seized by violence all the provision they could find; pillaging without distinction, the millers, farmers, grocers, and butchers, until they were dispersed by the gentlemen of the country at the heads of their tenants and dependants. Disorders of the same nature were excited by the colliers on the forest of Dean, and those employed in the works of Cumberland. The corporations, noblemen, and gentlemen, in different parts of the kingdom, exerted themselves for the relief of the poor, who were greatly distressed; and a grand council being assembled at St. James's on the same subject, a proclamation was published for putting the laws in speedy and effectual execution against the forestallers and engrossers of corn.

The Hanove-
rian auxilia-
ries sent back
to their own
country.

The fear of an invasion having now subsided, and Hanover being supposed in greater danger than Great Britain, the auxiliaries of that electorate were transported from England to their own country. At the latter end of the season, when the weather became severe, the innkeepers of England refused to admit the Hessian soldiers into winter quarters, as no provision had been made for that purpose by act of parliament; so that they were obliged to hut their camp, and remain in the open fields till January: but the rigour of this uncomfortable situation was softened by the hand of generous charity, which liberally supplied them with all manner of refreshment, and other conveniencies; a humane interposition, which rescued the national character from the imputation of cruelty and ingratitude.

King's speech
to the parlia-
ment.

On the second day of December, his majesty opened the session of parliament, with a speech that seemed to be dictated by the genius of England. He expressed his confidence, that, under the guidance of divine Providence, the union, fortitude, and affection of his people, would enable him to surmount all difficulties, and vindicate the dignity of his crown against the antient enemy of Great Britain. He declared that the succour and preservation of America constituted

constituted a main object of his attention and sollicitude; and observed, that the growing dangers to which the British colonies might stand exposed from late losses in that country, demanded resolutions of vigour and dispatch. He said an adequate and firm defence at home should maintain the chief place in his thoughts; and in this great view he had nothing so much at heart, as to remove all grounds of dissatisfaction from his people: for this end he recommended to the care and diligence of the parliament the framing of a national militia, planned and regulated with equal regard to the just rights of his crown and people; an institution which might become one good resource in times of general danger. He took notice that the unnatural union of councils abroad, the calamities which, in consequence of this unhappy conjunction, might, by irruptions of foreign armies into the Empire, shake its constitution, overturn its system, and threaten oppression to the protestant interest on the continent, were events which must sensibly affect the minds of the British nation; and had fixed the eyes of Europe on this new and dangerous crisis. He gave them to understand that the body of his electoral troops, which were brought hither at the desire of his parliament, he had now directed to return to his dominions in Germany, relying with pleasure on the spirit and zeal of his people, in defence of his person and realm. He told the commons that he confided in their wisdom, for preferring more vigorous efforts, though more expensive, to a less effectual, and therefore less frugal plan of war; that he had placed before them the dangers and necessities of the public; and it was their duty to lay the burdens they should judge unavoidable, in such a manner as would least disturb and exhaust his people. He expressed his concern for the sufferings of the poor, arising from the present dearth of corn, and for the disturbances to which it had given rise; and exhorted his parliament to consider of proper provisions for preventing the like mischiefs hereafter. He concluded with remarking, that unprosperous events of war in the Mediterranean had drawn from his subjects signal proofs how dearly they tendered the honour of his crown; therefore they could not, on his part, fail to meet with just returns of unwearied care, and unceasing endeavours for the glory, prosperity, and happiness of his people.

The king having retired from the house of peers, the speech was read by the lord Sandys, appointed to act as speaker to that house; then earl Gower moved for an address, which, however, was not carried without objection. In one part of it his majesty was thanked for having caused a body of electoral troops to come into England at the request of his parliament; and this article was disagreeable to those who had disapproved of the request in the last session. They said they wished to see the present address unanimously agreed to by the lords; a satisfaction they could not have if such a paragraph should be inserted: for they still thought the bringing over Hanoverian troops a preposterous measure; because it had not only loaded the nation with an enormous expence, but also furnished the court of France with a plausible pretence for invading the electorate, which otherwise it would have no shadow of reason to attack; besides, the expedient was held in reprobation by the subjects in general, and such a paragraph might be considered as an insult on the people. Notwithstanding these exceptions, which did not seem to be very important,

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Exceptions
to one para-
graph of the
address in the
house of
peers.

Ann. 1756. important, the address including this paragraph, was approved by a great majority.

A bill prohibiting for a limited time the exportation of corn, &c.

In the address of the commons no such paragraph was inserted. As soon as the speaker had recited his majesty's speech, Mr. C. Townshend proposed the heads of an address, to which the house unanimously agreed; and it was presented accordingly. This necessary form was no sooner discussed, than the house, with a warmth of humanity and benevolence suitable to such an assembly, resolved itself into a committee to deliberate on that part of his majesty's speech which related to the dearth of corn, that so much distressed the poorer class of people. A bill was immediately framed, to prohibit, for a time limited, the exportation of corn, malt, meal, flour, bread, biscuit and starch; and a resolution unanimously taken to address the sovereign, that an embargo might be forthwith laid upon all ships laden or to be laden with these commodities to be exported from the ports of Great Britain and Ireland.

Message to the house of commons relating to admiral Byng.

At the same time vice-admiral Boscawen, from the board of admiralty, informed the house, that the king and the board having been dissatisfied with the conduct of admiral Byng, in a late action with the French fleet in the Mediterranean, and for the appearance of his not having acted agreeably to his instructions for the relief of Minorca, he was then in custody of the marshal of the admiralty, in order to be tried by a court-martial: that although this was no more than what was usual in like cases, yet as admiral Byng was then a member of the house, and as his confinement might detain him some time from his duty there, the board of admiralty thought it a respect due to the house to inform them of the commitment and detainer of the said admiral. This message being delivered, the journal of the house in relation to rear-admiral * Knowles was read, and what Mr. Boscawen now communicated was also inserted.

Supplies granted.

The committees of supply, and of ways and means, being appointed, took into consideration the necessities of the state, and made very ample provision for enabling his majesty to maintain the war with vigour. They granted fifty-five thousand men for the sea-service, including eleven thousand four hundred and nineteen marines; and for the land-service forty-nine thousand seven hun-

* Rear-admiral Knowles being, in the month of December one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine, tried at Deptford, before a court-martial, for his behaviour in and relating to an action, which happened on the first day of October in the preceding year, between a British squadron under his command, and a squadron of Spain; the court was unanimously of opinion, that the said Knowles, while he was standing for the enemy, might, by a different disposition of his squadron, have begun the attack with six ships as early in the day, as four of them were engaged; and that therefore, by his neglecting so to do, he gave the enemy a manifest advantage: that the said Knowles remained on board the ship Cornwall with his flag, after she was disabled from continuing the action, though he might, upon her being

disabled, have shifted his flag on board another ship; and the court were unanimously of opinion, he ought to have done so, in order to have conducted and directed, during the whole action, the motion of the squadron intrusted to his care and conduct. Upon consideration of the whole conduct of the said Knowles, relating to that action, the court did unanimously agree, that he fell under part of the fourteenth article of the articles of war, namely, the word Negligence, and no other; and also under the twenty-third article. — The court, therefore, unanimously adjudged, that he should be reprimanded for not bringing up the squadron in closer order than he did, and not beginning the attack with as great force as he might have done; and also for not shifting his flag, upon the Cornwall's being disabled.

dred

dred and forty-nine effective men, comprehending four thousand and eight invalids. The supply was granted for the maintenance of these forces, as well as for the troops of Hesse and Hanover; for the ordnance; the levy of new regiments; for assisting his majesty in forming and maintaining an army of observation; for the just and necessary defence and preservation of his electoral dominions, and those of his allies; and towards enabling him to fulfil his engagements with the king of Prussia; for the security of the Empire against the irruption of foreign * armies, as well as for the support of the common cause; for building and repairs of ships, hiring transports, payment of half-pay officers, and the pensions of widows; for enabling his majesty to discharge the like sum, raised in pursuance of an act passed in the last session of parliament, and charged upon the first aids or supplies to be granted in this session; for enabling the governors and guardians of the hospital for the maintenance and education of exposed and deserted young children, to receive all such children, under a certain age, as should be brought to the said hospital within the compass of one † year; for maintaining and supporting the new settlement of Nova Scotia; for repairing and finishing military roads; for making good his majesty's engagements with the landgrave of Hesse Cassel; for the expence of marching, recruiting, and remounting German troops in the pay of Great Britain; for empowering his majesty to defray any extraordinary expences of the war, incurred or to be incurred for the service of the ensuing year; and to take all such measures as might be necessary to disappoint or defeat any enterprises or designs of his enemies, as the exigency of affairs should require; for the payment of such persons, in such a manner as his majesty should direct, for the use and relief of his subjects in the several provinces of North and South Carolina and Virginia, in recompence for such services as, with the approbation of his majesty's commander in chief in America, they respectively had performed, or should perform, either by putting these provinces in a state of defence, or by acting with vigour against the enemy; for enabling the East India company to defray the expence of a military force in their settlements, to be maintained in them, in lieu of a battalion of his majesty's forces withdrawn from those forts and factories; for the maintenance and support of the forts on the coast of Africa; for widening the avenues, and rendering more

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* Nothing could more gloriously evince the generosity of a British parliament than this interposition for defending the liberties of Germany, in conjunction with two electors only, against the sense of the other seven, and in direct opposition to the measures taken by the head of the Empire, who has, in the sequel, stigmatized these two princes as rebels, and treated one of them as an outlaw.

† This charity, established by voluntary contribution, might, under proper restrictions, prove beneficial to the commonwealth, by rescuing deserted children from misery and death, and qualifying them for being serviceable members of the community: but since the liberality of parliament hath enabled the governors and corporation to receive all the children that are presented, without question or limita-

tion, the yearly expence hath swelled into a national grievance, and the humane purposes of the original institution are in a great measure defeated. Instead of an asylum for poor forlorn orphans and abandoned foundlings, it is become a general receptacle for the offspring of the dissolute, who care not to work for the maintenance of their families: thus the charity is converted into an encouragement to idleness; and the general expence increases so fast, that in a few years the burden will be intolerable. The hospital itself is a plain edifice, well contrived for œconomy and convenience, standing on the north side of the city, and a little detached from it, in an agreeable and salubrious situation. The hall is adorned with some good paintings, the chapel is elegant, and the regulations are admirable.

Ann. 1757. safe and commodious the streets and passages, leading from Charing-cross to the two houses of parliament, the courts of justice, and the new bridge of Westminster*. Such were the articles under which we may specify the supplies of this year, on the whole amounting to eight millions three hundred fifty thousand three hundred and twenty-five pounds nine shillings and three pence. It must be acknowledged for the honour of the administration, that the house of commons could not have exhibited stronger marks of their attachment to the crown and person of their sovereign, as well as of their desire to see the force of the nation exerted with becoming spirit†.

The

* The bridge at Westminster may be considered as a national ornament. It was built, at the public expence, from the neighbourhood of Westminster-hall to the opposite side of the river, and consists of thirteen arches, constructed with equal elegance and simplicity.

† The funds provided by the committee of ways and means for defraying the expence of the year, may be comprehended under the following resolutions. They imposed a land-tax at four shillings in the pound: they continued the duties on malt, mum, cyder, and perry: they projected a lottery of one-guinea tickets, for raising a sum not exceeding one million fifty thousand and five pounds five shillings; one moiety of the value of the tickets to be divided into prizes for the benefit of the proprietors, and the other half to be applied to the use of the public: they resolved that the sum of two millions five hundred thousand pounds should be raised by annuities for lives, with the benefit of survivorship, or for terms of years certain, charged upon a fund to be established in this session of parliament for the payment thereof, and for which the sinking fund should be a collateral security. The conditions on which they proposed to grant these annuities, being offered to the publick in the month of March, were so ill relished by the Jews and jobbers, that a very small sum had been subscribed within the time limited; therefore the affair was again taken into consideration by the committee, and their resolutions were altered to the following purpose: that so much of the sum of two millions five hundred thousand pounds, intended to be raised by annuities for lives, with the benefit of survivorship, or for terms of years certain, pursuant to the resolution of the house of the fourteenth of March, as had not been subscribed for within the time limited, amounting to the sum of two millions one hundred eighty-six thousand and nine hundred pounds, should be raised by annuities at the rate of three pounds per centum per annum, transferable at the bank of England, and redeemable by parliament, the said annuities to be paid by half-yearly payments; and that each contributor should, for every hundred pounds contributed, be en-

titled also to an annuity for life, after the rate of one pound two shillings and six pence per centum, to be paid in like manner; the first payment of both to be made on the fifth day of January one thousand seven hundred and fifty-eight, if such contributors respectively should on or before that time have appointed their nominees, or upon such of the said half-yearly days of payment as should be next after the respective appointment of their nominees; the said respective annuities to be charged upon the fund resolved to be established in this session of parliament, for payment of the annuities mentioned in the resolution of March the fourteenth, for which the sinking-fund should be a collateral security; and that all such contributors should, on or before the fourth day of May, make a deposit with the cashiers of the bank of England of fifteen pounds for every hundred which they should choose to contribute, and should make the future payments on or before the times herein after limited; that is, ten pounds per centum on or before the fourth day of June; fifteen per centum on or before the seventh of July; fifteen per centum on or before the eighteenth of August; fifteen per centum on or before the twenty-first of September; fifteen per centum on or before the tenth of November; and the remaining fifteen per centum on or before the twenty-second day of December: that all persons who had already subscribed, pursuant to the resolution of March the fourteenth, and who, instead of the annuities therein mentioned, should choose to accept of the annuities proposed by this resolution, and who, on or before the fourth day of May, should, in books to be opened at the Bank for that purpose, express their consent or not express their dissent thereunto, should, upon their compliance with the terms herein mentioned, for every hundred pounds so by them already subscribed, be intitled to the said several annuities of three pounds, and one pound two shillings and six pence; in which case the sum so by them already advanced, should be deemed part of their contribution for the purchase of the annuities hereby proposed; and that the sums so contributed be paid by the cashiers.

The sums granted by the committee of supply did not exceed eight millions three hundred fifty thousand three hundred twenty-five pounds nine shillings and three pence; the funds established amounted to eight millions six hundred eighty-nine thousand fifty-one pounds nineteen shillings and seven pence; so that there was an overplus of three hundred thirty-eight thousand seven hundred and twenty-six pounds ten shillings and four pence: an excess which was thought necessary, in case the lottery, which was founded on a new plan, should not succeed.

Some of these impositions were deemed grievous hardships by those upon whom they immediately fell; and many friends of their country exclaimed against the projected army of observation in Germany, as the commencement of a ruinous continental war, which it was neither the interest of the nation to undertake, nor in their power to maintain, without starving the operations by sea, and in America, founded on British principles; without contracting such an additional load of debts and taxes, as could not fail to terminate in bankruptcy and distress. To those dependants of the ministry who observed, that as Hanover was threatened by France for its connexion with Great Britain, it ought, in common gratitude, to be protected; they replied, that every state, in assisting an ally, ought to have a regard to its own preservation: that if the king of England enjoyed by inheritance, or succession, a province in the heart

Reflections:
on continen-
tal war.

cashiers of the Bank into the receipt of the Exchequer, to be applied, from time to time, to such services as shall then have been voted by the house in this session of parliament, and not otherwise.

The fund established for the payment of these annuities consisted of the surplus of the duties on licences for retailing spirituous liquors; an additional stamp-duty of one shilling upon every indenture, lease, bond, or deed, written upon vellum, parchment, or paper, for which a stamp duty of six pence was payable by a former act of parliament; an additional stamp-duty of five pounds upon every licence for retailing wine, to be granted to those who should not take out licences for retailing spirits, beer, ale, or other exciseable liquors; an additional stamp duty of four pounds for a wine licence to be granted to any person who should take out a licence for retailing beer, ale, and other exciseable liquors, but should not take out a licence for retailing spirituous liquors; of an additional stamp-duty of forty shillings for a licence to retail wine, to be granted to any person who should take out a licence for retailing spirituous liquors: these licences to be taken out annually, and granted by the commissioners appointed for managing the duties arising by stamps upon vellum, parchment, and paper. They resolved to repeal the act for the better ordering the selling of wines by retail, and for preventing abuses in the mingling, corrupting, and vitiating of wines, and for setting and limiting the prices of the same, except so much thereof as related to these

abuses: that from the day of the repeal, which was the fifth of July in the present year, the commission, whereby agents and commissioners were appointed to grant licences for retailing wine, should cease and determine: that, out of the several duties before mentioned, his majesty should be empowered to grant, during pleasure, to the said several agents or commissioners, and their officers, such yearly allowances as he should think proper, so as not to exceed the present annual amount of their salaries: that, after the determination of the former duties upon wine-licences, his majesty should receive from the new duties a sum equal to the produce of the former.

The established fund was moreover augmented by additional duties on news-papers, advertisements, almanacks or kalendars, and Newcastle coals exported beyond seas to any country, except Ireland, the Isle of Man, and the British plantations.

Towards the supply for the ensuing year the house likewise resolved to apply one million two hundred thousand pounds from the sinking-fund; the savings out of the grants made this session, for the pay of the Hanoverian troops in the service of Great Britain; the surplus of the duties on licences, and of the grants for the preceding year remaining in the Exchequer; and one million to be raised by loans, or Exchequer bills, to be charged on the first aids granted in the next session of parliament.

Bills being formed on these resolutions, soon passed into laws without opposition.

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Ann. 1757. of France, it would be equally absurd and unjust, in case of a rupture with that kingdom, to exhaust the treasures of Great Britain in the defence of such a province; and yet the inhabitants of it would have the same right to complain, that they suffered for their connexion with England. They observed, that other dominions, electorates, and principalities in Germany, were secured by the constitutions of the Empire, as well as by fair and equal alliances with their co-estates; whereas Hanover stood solitary, like a hunted deer avoided by the herd, and had no other shelter but that of shrinking under the extended shield of Great Britain: that the reluctance expressed by the German princes to undertake the defence of these dominions, flowed from a firm persuasion, founded on experience, that England would interpose as a principal, and not only draw her sword against the enemies of the electorate, but concentrate her chief strength in that object, and waste her treasures in purchasing their concurrence: that, exclusive of an ample revenue drained from the sweat of the people, great part of which had been expended in continental efforts, the whole national debt, incurred since the accession of the late king, had been contracted in pursuance of measures totally foreign to the interest of these kingdoms: that, since Hanover was the favourite object, England would save money, and great quantities of British blood, by allowing France to take possession of the electorate, paying its ransom at the peace, and indemnifying the inhabitants for the damage they might sustain; an expedient that would be productive of another good consequence; it would rouse the German princes from their affected indifference, and oblige them to exert themselves with vigour, in order to avoid the detested neighbourhood of such an enterprising invader.

Messages
from the king
to the parlia-
ment.

The article of the supply relating to the army of observation, took rise from a message signed by his majesty, and presented by Mr. Pitt, now promoted to the office of principal secretary of state; a gentleman who had, upon sundry occasions, combated the gigantic plan of continental connexions with all the strength of reason, and all the powers of eloquence. He now imparted to the house an intimation, importing, It was always with reluctance that his majesty asked extraordinary supplies of his people; but as the united councils, and formidable preparations of France and her allies, threatened Europe in general with the most alarming consequences; and as these unjust and vindictive designs were particularly and immediately bent against his majesty's electoral dominions, and those of his good ally the king of Prussia, his majesty confided in the experienced zeal and affection of his faithful commons, that they would cheerfully assist him in forming and maintaining an army of observation, for the just and necessary defence and preservation of those territories, and enable him to fulfil his engagements with his Prussian majesty for the security of the Empire against the irruption of foreign armies, and for the support of the common cause.

Posterity will hardly believe, that the Emperor and all the princes in Germany were in a conspiracy against their country, except the king of Prussia, the elector of Hanover, and the landgrave of Hesse Cassel; and they will, no doubt, be surprized, that Great Britain, after all the treaties she had made, and the numberless subsidies she had granted, should not have an ally left, except

cept one prince, so embarrassed in his own affairs, that he could grant her no succour, whatever assistance he might demand. Ann. 1757.

The king's message met with as favourable a reception as he could have desired. It was read in the house of commons, together with a copy of the treaty between his majesty and the king of Prussia, including the secret and separate article, and the declaration signed on each side by the plenipotentiaries at Westminster: the request was granted, and the convention approved. With equal readiness did they gratify his majesty's inclination, signified in another message delivered, on the seventeenth day of May, by lord Bateman, intimating, That, in this critical conjuncture, emergencies might arise of the utmost importance, and be attended with the most pernicious consequences, if proper means should not be immediately applied to prevent or defeat them; his majesty was therefore desirous, that the house would enable him to defray any extraordinary expences of the war, incurred or to be incurred for the service of the current year; and to take all such measures as might be necessary to disappoint or defeat any enterprizes or designs of his enemies, as the exigency of affairs might require. The committee of supply forthwith granted a very large sum for these purposes, including the charge of German mercenaries. A like message being at the same time communicated to the upper house, their lordships voted a very loyal address upon the occasion; and when the article of supply, which it produced among the commons, fell under their inspection, they unanimously agreed to it, by way of a clause of appropriation.

We have already observed, that the first bill which the commons passed in this session was for the relief of the poor, by prohibiting the exportation of corn: but this remedy not being judged adequate to the evil, another bill was framed, removing, for a limited time, the duty then payable upon foreign corn and flour imported; as also permitting, for a certain term, all such foreign corn, grain, meal, bread, biscuit, and flour, as had been or should be taken from the enemy, to be landed and expended in the kingdom duty free. In order still more to reduce the high price of corn, and to prevent any supply of provisions from being sent to our enemies in America, a third bill was brought in, prohibiting, for a time therein limited, the exportation of corn, grain, meal, malt, flour, bread, biscuit, starch, beef, pork, bacon, or other victual, from any of the British plantations, unless to Great Britain or Ireland, or from one colony to another. To this act, which will remain in force during the continuance of the war, two clauses were added for allowing those necessaries, mentioned above, to be imported in foreign-built ships, and from any state in amity with his majesty, either into Great Britain or Ireland; and for exporting from Southampton or Exeter to the Isle of Man, for the use of the inhabitants, a quantity of wheat, barley, oats, meal, or flour, not exceeding two thousand five hundred quarters.

Measures taken to remove the dearth of corn.

The commons would have still improved their humanity, had they contrived and established some effectual method to punish those unfeeling villains, who, by engrossing and hoarding up great quantities of grain, had created this artificial scarcity, and deprived their fellow creatures of bread, with a view to their own private advantage.

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Upon a subsequent report of the committee, the house resolved, that, to prevent the high price of wheat and bread, no spirits should be distilled from wheat for a limited time. While the bill, formed on this resolution, was in embryo, a petition was presented to the house by the brewers of London, Westminster, Southwark, and parts adjacent, representing, that, when the resolution passed, the price of malt, which was before too high, immediately rose to such a degree, that the petitioners found themselves utterly incapable of carrying on business, at the price malt then bore, occasioned, as they conceived, from an apprehension of the necessity the distillers would be under to make use of the best pale malt, and substitute the best barley in lieu of wheat: that, in such a case, the markets would not be able to supply a sufficient quantity of barley for the demands of both professions, besides other necessary uses: they therefore prayed, that, in regard to the public revenue, to which the trade of the petitioners so largely contributed, proper measures might be taken for preventing the public loss, and relieving their particular distress. The house would not lend a deaf ear to a remonstrance in which the revenue was concerned. The members appointed to prepare the bill, immediately received instructions to make provision in it to restrain, for a limited time, the distilling of barley, malt, and all grain whatsoever. The bill was framed accordingly; but did not pass without strenuous opposition. To this prohibition it was objected, that there are always large quantities of wheat and barley in the kingdom so much damaged, as to be unfit for any use but the distillery; consequently a restriction of this nature would ruin many farmers, and others employed in the trade of malting. Particular interests, however, must often be sacrificed to the welfare of the community; and the present distress prevailed over the prospect of this disadvantage. If they had allowed any sort of grain to be distilled, it would have been impossible to prevent the distilling of every kind. The prohibition was limited to two months; but at the expiration of that term, the scarcity still continuing, it was protracted by a new bill to the eleventh day of December, with a proviso, empowering his majesty to put an end to it at any time after the eleventh day of May, if such a step should be judged for the advantage of the kingdom. These were but temporary expedients: but the committee, continuing to sit, adopted some other resolutions, which may be productive of more efficacious remedies.

Motion for
the militia-
bill.

The next bill that engaged the attention of the commons, was a measure of the utmost national importance, though secretly disliked by many individuals of the legislature, who nevertheless did not venture to avow their disapprobation. The establishment of a militia * was a very popular and desirable

* The militia-bill prepared and brought in by these gentlemen enacted, That the lieutenants of counties should appoint deputy-lieutenants to the number of twenty or more for each county, every deputy possessing an estate of four hundred a year, or being heir apparent of a possession worth double that sum: that the lieutenant shall command the militia of his own county, and grant commissions to lieutenant-colonels, majors, and other officers, whose names should be certified to the king: that

the qualification of a lieutenant-colonel should be three hundred pounds a year in actual possession, or double that estate in reversion: that a captain should possess two hundred pounds per annum, or be heir to four hundred, or son to a person who possesses, or did possess at his death, a fortune amounting to six hundred pounds a year: that the enjoyment of one hundred pounds per annum should be a sufficient qualification for a lieutenant, or his being the son of a man who possesses, or did at his death

ble object, but attended with numberless difficulties, and a competition of interests which it was impossible to reconcile. It had formerly been an inexhaustible source of contention between the crown and the commons; but now both apparently concurred in rendering it serviceable to the common wealth; though some

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death possess two hundred; that of an ensign not exceeding the half of that value: that majors, captains, lieutenants, and ensigns might be promoted on extraordinary occasions; that the king might displace any deputy-lieutenant or officer, and the lieutenants appoint others in their stead: that every deputy or officer should give in his qualification to the clerk of the peace, and take the oaths to the government within six months after he shall begin to act, under the penalty of two hundred pounds, to be paid by all above the degree of captain, and of one hundred pounds by those of an inferior rank: that peers should be exempted from serving by themselves or their substitutes: but they and their heirs-apparent might be appointed deputy-lieutenants, or commission officers; and their qualifications in that case needed not be left with the clerk of the peace; but, on taking the oaths, they might act without being otherwise qualified: that a commission in the militia should not vacate a seat in parliament: that at the end of four years a number of officers should be discharged, equal to the number of those, who, being duly qualified, should solicit for admission: that each regiment should be provided with an adjutant who had served in the regular forces, and retain his rank in the army; and every company should be supplied with two serjeants or more from the standing army, who should be intitled to the hospital at Chelsea; and serjeants appointed from that hospital should be readmitted on producing certificates of good behaviour: that every county in England and Wales should be obliged to find a certain number of men, according to the proportions herein specified; and that to eighty private men there should be no more than one captain, one lieutenant, and one ensign: that the lieutenant of each county, with two deputy-lieutenants, or three or more deputy lieutenants, in the absence of the lieutenant, should meet on the twelfth day of July in the present year, and on the first Tuesday in June of every subsequent year; and require the head constables to deliver in a list of all the men between the age of eighteen and fifty, in their several districts, except peers, officers of the militia, officers of the regular forces, or garrisons, members of either university, clergymen, teachers of separate meetings, peace and parish officers, articulated clerks, apprentices, and seamen, noting in the list the men labouring under any bodily infirmity: that every de-

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puty-constable, or other petty officer, should transmit to the head constable the list of his division, having first affixed it to the door of the church or chapel for one Sunday: that on the day appointed for receiving these lists, the lieutenants and deputy-lieutenants should settle the number to be taken from each hundred or division of the county: that they should then subdivide themselves, and three or more deputies, or two deputies with one justice of the peace, or one deputy with two justices, should meet within a month in every such division, to hear the remonstrances of those who think themselves intitled to exemption, and, upon any just cause, correct their lists: that they should settle the number to be raised in each parish, and chuse the individuals by lot: that, within three weeks afterwards, the person so chosen should take the oaths, and enter into the militia for three years, or bring a man to serve as his substitute; or, lastly, forfeit ten pounds, and be liable, at the end of three years, to serve again: that the deputies and justices, according to the forementioned proportion, should meet occasionally in their several subdivisions, and annually on the Tuesday before Michaelmas; then, if any person thirty five years old, or any person whatsoever, should desire his discharge, and shew just cause for it, they should grant his request, and choose another by lot in his room; the vacation by death to be filled up in the same manner: that a militia-man removing to another parish, should serve the remainder of his time in his new settlement: that new lists of men qualified for service, should be made annually: that a new body be chosen every third year, so that all persons duly qualified might serve in their turns; and a list of the persons serving in each parish should be transmitted to the lieutenant: that any officer neglecting to return his list, or making a false or partial list, should be committed for a month to the common gaol, or pay a fine not exceeding five pounds, nor under forty shillings: that every private man, serving for himself, should be exempted from statute-work, from serving peace or parish offices, or in the regular forces; and he that had served three years, should not serve again, until it should come to his turn by rotation: that married men, having personally served in the militia, if called out in case of invasion or rebellion, should be intitled to the same privilege of setting up trades in any place of Great Britain

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Ann. 1757. some acquiesced in the scheme, who were not at all hearty in its favour. On the fourth day of December, a motion was made for the bill, by colonel George Townshend, eldest son of the lord viscount Townshend, a gentleman of courage, sense, and probity; endued with penetration to discern, and honesty to pursue,

tain and Ireland, as by act of parliament is granted to mariners and soldiers: that a quaker, refusing to serve, should hire another man in his stead; and if he neglects, a sum should be levied upon him by distress sufficient for that purpose: that, within one month after the return of the lists, the lieutenants and two deputies, or three deputies without the lieutenant, should form the militia of each county into regiments, consisting of not more than twelve, nor less than seven companies, of forty men each, appointing the officers to each company: that on the first Monday in the months of March, April, May, June, July, August, September, and October, they should be exercised in half companies; on the third Monday of the said months in companies; and once every year on the Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, of Whitsun-week, in whole regiments: that no man should be exercised in half company or company, more than six miles from his own house: that notice of the time and place of meeting should be sent by the lieutenants or deputies to the high constables, and by them to the petty constables, who should fix it upon the doors of their respective churches: that the lieutenant of the county should appoint at pleasure a regimental clerk, a serjeant-major, and a drum-major: that, should it be thought inconvenient, on account of fairs or markets, to exercise the militia on the day fixed by this act, order might be made by three deputies, or two deputies and one justice, or one deputy and three justices, for exercising them on any other days, Sundays excepted: that in counties where the militia does not amount to seven companies, or one regiment, they should be formed into a battalion under the lieutenant and one field officer; one adjutant being a subaltern in the army, a serjeant-major, a drum-major, and a clerk should be appointed for them, and they should be exercised as a compleat regiment: but where a whole or half company cannot be assembled, they might be exercised in smaller parties, as the lieutenant or deputies should direct; that one commissioned officer should attend the exercise of the half company, and inspect their arms and accoutrements: that the arms and cloaths of the militia should be carefully kept by the captain of each company, in chests provided by the parish where they are deposited; and the muskets be marked with an M and the name of the county: that the king's lieutenants or colonels should have the power to seize or remove, whither they should think

proper, the arms, cloaths, and accoutrements, when necessary to the publick peace: that any person intrusted with the custody of any arms or cloaths, delivering them out, unless for exercise, or by command of his superior officer, or by order of any justice of the peace, under his hand and seal, might, by two justices, be committed to the county gaol for six months: that no pay, arms, or cloathing, should be issued, nor an adjutant or serjeant be appointed, until four fifths of the men should have been chosen, and the officers have taken out their commissions: that the officer who superintends the exercise should call over the list, and certify to a justice the names of those who may be absent from exercise: that the justice should examine the excuse offered, and, should it be insufficient, punish the defaulter for the first offence by a fine of two shillings, or setting him in the stocks for one hour; for the second, fine him double the sum, or send him for four days to the house of correction; exact six shillings for every subsequent offence, or commit him to the house of correction for any time not exceeding one month: that every man, convicted by oath before a justice of being drunk at the time of exercise, should forfeit ten shillings, or sit an hour in the stocks: that every man convicted in the same manner of insolence or disobedience to his officers, should, for his first offence, pay two shillings and six pence; and, in default of payment, be sent to the house of correction for four days; for the second, be fined double that sum, or committed for seven days; and for every offence afterwards, be fined in forty shillings, and committed to the house of correction for any time not exceeding one month, and not less than a fortnight: that any man who shall sell, pawn, or lose his arms or accoutrements, should be fined a sum not exceeding three pounds; or, in default of payment, be committed to the house of correction for one month; and if he cannot then raise the sum, for three months: that he who shall neglect to return his arms in good order, after exercise, the same or the next day, shall pay a fine of two shillings and six pence, and be sent to the house of correction for seven days; if he neglects to return them by Monday after Whitsun-week, he shall forfeit four shillings, or be sent to the house of correction for fourteen days; and the person intrusted by the captain with the care of the arms and cloaths, omitting to complain of such neglect, shall forfeit twenty shillings: that any soldier

pursue, the real interest of his country; in defiance of power, in contempt of private advantages. Leave being given to bring in a bill for the better ordering of the militia forces in the several counties of England, the task of preparing it was allotted to Mr. Townshend, and a considerable number of the most

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soldier or non-commissioned officer, absenting himself from his annual exercise, should forfeit ten shillings a day, or be committed for one month to the house of correction: that any non-commissioned officer, convicted upon oath of being negligent in his duty, disobedient or insolent to the adjutant, or other superior officer, should be fined by a justice in a sum not exceeding thirty shillings; or, in default of payment, be committed for fourteen days to the house of correction, from whence he may be discharged by the lieutenant: that any person, unlawfully buying or receiving any arms or accoutrements belonging to the militia, should incur the penalty of five pounds; in default be imprisoned for three months, or publicly whipped, at the discretion of the justice: that no man should be censured for absence occasioned by attending an election: that the militia should be subject, in military affairs, to their own officers; and, in civil affairs, to the civil magistrate: that all parish officers should assist the lieutenant and justices: that, in case of actual invasion, or upon imminent danger thereof, or in case of rebellion, the king, first notifying the occasion to parliament, if then sitting, or, in their recess, to the privy council, and to the people by proclamation, might direct the lieutenant, or any three deputy lieutenants for each county, to draw out their regiments, which should march by his majesty's order to any part of the kingdom, under the command of such generals as he should appoint; the militia receiving in this time of service the same pay given to the regular regiments of foot, and their officers holding the same rank with the regular officers of the same denomination: that the militia, during the time of service, should be liable to the law martial then subsisting; and that any man wounded, should be intitled to the provision of Chelsea hospital; but a militia man, not appearing, or refusing to march on such an occasion, should forfeit forty pounds, or be committed to the county gaol for twelve months: that in case of actual invasion, or upon imminent danger thereof, and in case of rebellion, if the parliament be not sitting, nor its adjournment or prorogation to expire in fourteen days, the king might summon it to meet on any day, upon giving fourteen days notice; and they should meet accordingly for the dispatch of business: that the militia and regular troops should be tried in courts martial, each by their

own officers: and that the militia, during their annual exercise, should be billeted as regular troops: that in case of invasion or rebellion, the justices in consequence of an order from the king, or any chief commission officer of the militia, should issue warrants to the chief constables of hundreds, to provide carriages for the arms, cloaths, accoutrements, powder, &c. which carriages should be payed for in ready money by the officer demanding them, after the following rates: one shilling per mile for a waggon with five horses, or a wain with six oxen, or with four oxen and two horses; ninepence per mile for a cart with four horses; and so in proportion: persons having such carriages were required to furnish them for one day's journey only; and any chief constable, neglecting his duty in the premises, was made liable to a fine not exceeding forty shillings, nor less than the half of that sum, to be levied by distress: that the militia should not be, on any occasion, compelled to march out of the kingdom: that in all cities and towns, which are counties in themselves, and have been accustomed to raise their own militia, the lieutenant or chief magistrate should appoint five deputy-lieutenants, to exercise the same power vested in the other deputies: that in these smaller counties the qualification for deputies, colonels, lieutenant-colonels and majors, shall be for each a possession in land to the value of three hundred pounds a year, or a personal estate amounting to five thousand pounds: that every captain should possess half that fortune; and every lieutenant or ensign have fifty pounds yearly rent, or seven hundred and fifty pounds personal estate: that one half of the real estates possessed by the officer of county towns, must be in such city or town, or within the county at large, to which that city or town is united for the purposes of this act: that the penalty for acting, if not qualified, should be one hundred pounds for a deputy lieutenant or field officer, and half that sum for all under: that all fines and forfeitures should be payed to the regimental clerk, and formed into a common stock in each subdivision, of which an account should be given to three deputies, or two deputies and one justice, or one deputy and two justices, who should apply it to the erection of butts, and the provision of gunpowder to be used in shooting at marks: the remainder to be distributed in prizes to the best marksmen, or employed in any other way

Ann. 1757. most able members in the house, comprehending his own brother, Mr. Charles Townshend, whose genius shone with distinguished lustre: he was keen, discerning, eloquent, and accurate; possessed a remarkable vivacity of parts, with a surprising solidity of understanding; was a wit without arrogance, a patriot without prejudice, and a courtier without dependance.

Petitions for and against it. While the militia bill remained under consideration of the house, a petition for a constitutional and well-regulated militia was presented by the mayor, jurats, and commonalty of the king's town and parish of Maidstone in Kent, in common-council assembled. At the same time remonstrances were offered by the protestant dissenting ministers, of the three denominations, in and about the cities of London and Westminster; by the protestant dissenters of Shrewsbury; the dissenting ministers of Devonshire; the protestant dissenters, being freeholders and burgessees of the town, and county of the town of Nottingham, joined with other inhabitants of the church of England: expressing their apprehension, that, in the bill then depending, it might be proposed to enact, that the said militia should be exercised on the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday; and praying, that no clause for such purpose might pass into a law.

Though nothing could be more ridiculously fanatic and impertinent than the declaration of such a scruple, against a practice so laudable and necessary, in a country where that day of the week is generally spent in merry-making, riot, and debauchery, the house payed so much regard to the squeamish consciences of those puritanical petitioners, that Monday was pitched upon for the day of exercise to the militia, though on such working days they might be much more profitably employed, both for themselves and their country; and that no religious pretence should be left for opposing the progress and execution of the bill, proper clauses were inserted for the relief of the quakers. Another petition and counter-petition were delivered by the magistrates, freeholders, and burgessees of the town of Nottingham, in relation to their particular franchises; which were accordingly considered in framing the bill.

Altered by the lords.

After mature deliberation, and divers alterations, it passed the lower house, and was sent to the lords for their concurrence: here it underwent several amendments, one of which was the reduction of the number of militia-men to one half of what the commons had proposed; namely, to thirty-two thousand three hundred and forty men, for the whole kingdom of England and Wales. The amendments, being canvassed in the lower house, met with some opposition, and divers conferences with their lordships ensued: at length, however, the two houses agreed to every article, and the bill soon received the royal sanction. No provision, however, was made for cloaths, arms, accoutre-

for the use of the militia: that persons committed to the house of correction upon this act, should be kept to hard labour: that proof of qualification, in all suits, should lie on the defendant; and no order made, by virtue of this act, by a lieutenant, deputy, or justice, should be removed by certiorari, nor execution be superseded thereby: that where a parish extends into two counties, its militia should serve in that county where the church stands: that those

who are trained and mustered in the docks, should not serve in the militia; that all former acts, relating to the militia, should be repealed by this act, except in cases which are herein directed to be subject to a former act: finally, that this act should remain in force for the term of five years. The other clauses contain provisions respecting the privileges or conveniences of particular places.

ments and pay: had regulations been made for these purposes, the act would have become a money-bill, in which the lords could have made no amendment: in order therefore to prevent any difference between the two houses, on a dispute of privileges not yet determined, and that the house of peers might make what amendments they should think expedient, the commons left the expence of the militia to be regulated in a subsequent bill, during the following session, when they should with more certainty compute what sum would be necessary for these purposes. After all, the bill seems to be crude, imperfect, and ineffectual; and the promoters of it were well aware of its defects: but they were apprehensive that it would have been dropped altogether, had they insisted upon the scheme's being executed in its full extent. They were eager to seize this opportunity of trying an experiment, which might afterwards be improved to a greater national advantage; and therefore they acquiesced in many restrictions and alterations, which otherwise would not have been adopted.

The next measure that fell under the consideration of the house, was rendered necessary by the inhospitable perseverance of the publicans and inn-holders, who conceived themselves not obliged by law to receive or give quarters in their houses to any foreign troops; and accordingly refused admittance to the Hessian auxiliaries, who began to be dreadfully incommoded by the severity of the weather. This objection implying an attack upon the prerogative, the government did not think fit, at this juncture, to dispute any other way than by procuring a new law in favour of those foreigners. It was intitled, a bill to make provision for quartering the foreign troops now in this kingdom, prepared by lord Barrington, the chancellor of the Exchequer, and the solicitor-general, and immediately passed without opposition.

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Bill for quartering the foreign troops.

This step being taken, another bill was brought in for the regulation of marine-forces, while ashore. This was almost a transcript of the mutiny act, with this material difference: it empowered the admiralty to grant commissions for holding general courts-martial, and to do every thing, and in the same manner, as his majesty is empowered to do by the usual mutiny-bill; consequently every clause was adopted without question.

Another for the regulation of marine forces while ashore.

The same favourable reception was given to a bill for the more speedy and effectual recruiting his majesty's land forces and marines; a law which threw into the hands of many worthless magistrates an additional power of oppressing their fellow-creatures: all justices of the peace, commissioners for the land-tax, magistrates of corporations and boroughs, were empowered to meet by direction of the secretary at war, communicated in precepts issued by the high sheriffs, or their deputies, within their respective divisions, and at their usual place of meeting, to qualify themselves for the execution of the act: then they were required to appoint the times and places for their succeeding meetings; to issue precepts to the proper officers for these succeeding meetings; to give notice of the time and place of every meeting to such military officer, as, by notice from the secretary at war, should be directed to attend that service*.

A third for the more speedy and effectual recruiting his majesty's land-forces and marines.

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* At these meetings the commissioners were empowered to receive all such men as should voluntarily offer to enlist in his majesty's service on or before the first day of May; and upon

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The annual bill for preventing mutiny and desertion met with no objections, and indeed contained nothing essentially different from that which had passed in the last session.

Act relating
to pawn-
brokers and
gaming
houses.

The next law enacted was for further preventing embezzlement of goods and apparel by those with whom they are intrusted, and putting a stop to the practice of gaming in public houses. By this bill a penalty was inflicted on pawnbrokers, in a summary way, for receiving goods, knowing them not to be the property of the pledger, and pawned without the authority of the owner*.

With respect to gaming, the act ordained, that all publicans suffering journeymen, labourers, servants, or apprentices to game with cards, dice, shuffle-

upon their being approved by the military officer attending, to gratify each volunteer with a bounty of three pounds, to be paid by the receiver-general or collector of the land-tax out of the money in his hands; such being the condition of his enlistment, that after having served three years, if the war should then be ended, otherwise at the end of the war, he should be intitled to his discharge. They were also impowered to impress into the service all able-bodied, idle, and disorderly persons, who did not exercise and industriously prosecute some lawful occupation, or had not substance sufficient for their own maintenance. For this purpose they were vested with power to make search for and apprehend all such persons as should appear to be within the description of the act: even church-wardens, and other parish and town-officers, partook of this power, without deriving any authority from the commissioners: and it ordained, that all men so apprehended, adjudged by the commissioners, at their next meeting, to be within the description of the act, if approved by the military officer in attendance, should be delivered over to the said officer, who should pay twenty shillings, or, if such impressed man had a wife or family, a sum not exceeding forty shillings, to be applied to the use of the parish; unless there was an informer, who, in that case, would be intitled to ten shillings of the money. The act prescribed, that none should be impressed but able-bodied men, free from ruptures or bodily infirmity, not a reputed papist, nor under the size of five feet four inches, or short of seventeen years of age, or turned of five and forty, or possessed of a vote in the election of a member to serve in parliament for any place in Great Britain. A person, thus impressed, was, at the end of five years, or termination of the war, intitled to his discharge: but no private soldier, duly enlisted by this act, might, during the time he should remain in Great Britain, be discharged without the consent of the colonel, or field-officer commanding the regiment, in writing under his hand and seal; or, if a marine, without the consent of the admiralty;

the officer, discharging him in any other manner, being liable to be cashiered. The bounty-money advanced by the commissioners of the land-tax, was ordered to be repaid into the Exchequer by the respective paymasters of the forces; and the time of the bill's continuing in force was limited to the end of the next session of parliament; such a short term being prescribed for volunteers to enter, because it was necessary to complete the regiments by the first of May; and the legislature rightly judged that such a limitation would induce all those that might think themselves in danger of being impressed to enter voluntarily before that day, in order to intitle themselves to the bounty granted by parliament.

* It was enacted, that persons pawning, exchanging, or disposing of goods, without leave of the owner, should suffer in the penalty of twenty shillings; and, on non-payment, be committed for fourteen days to hard labour; afterwards, if the money could not then be paid, be whipped publicly in the house of correction, or such other place as the justice of peace should appoint, on publication of the prosecutor: that every pawnbroker should make entry of the person's name and place of abode who pledges any goods with him; and the pledger, if he required it, should have a duplicate of that entry: that a pawnbroker, receiving linen or apparel intrusted to others to be washed or mended, should forfeit double the sum lent upon it, and restore the goods: that upon oath of any person whose goods are unlawfully pawned or exchanged, the justice should issue a warrant to search the suspected person's house; and, upon refusal of admittance, the officer might break open the door: that goods pawned for any sum not exceeding ten pounds, might be recovered within two years, the owner making oath of the pawning, and tendering the principal, interest, and charges: that goods remaining unredeemed for two years, should be forfeited and sold, the overplus to be accounted for to the owner on demand.

boards,

boards, mississippi, or billiard-tables, skittles, nine-pins, &c. should forfeit forty shillings for the first offence, and for every subsequent offence ten pounds shall be levied by distress. Ann. 1757.

Divers inconveniencies having resulted from the interposition of justices, who, in pursuance of an act of parliament passed in the present reign, assumed the right of establishing rates for the payment of wages to weavers, several petitions were offered to the house of commons, representing the evil consequences of such an establishment; and although these arguments were answered and opposed in counter-petitions, the commons actuated by a laudable concern for the interest of the woolen manufacture, after due deliberation, removed the grievance by a new bill, repealing so much of the former act as empowered justices of the peace to make rates for the payment of wages*.

The commons were not more forward to provide supplies for prosecuting the war with vigour, than ready to adopt new regulations for the advantage of trade and manufacture. The society of the free British fishery presented a petition, alledging, that they had employed the sum of one hundred thirty thousand three hundred and five pounds eight shillings and six pence, together with the intire produce of their fish, and all the moneys arising from the several branches allowed on the tonnage of their shipping, and on the exportation of their fish, in carrying on the said fishery; and that, from their being obliged, in the infancy of the undertaking, to incur a much larger expence than was at that time foreseen, they now found themselves so far reduced in their capital, as to be utterly incapable of further prosecuting the fisheries with any hope of success, unless indulged with the further assistance of parliament. They prayed therefore, that, towards enabling them to carry on the said fisheries, they might have liberty to make use of such nets as they should find best adapted to the said fisheries; each buss, nevertheless, carrying to sea the same quantity and depth of netting, which, by the fishery acts, they were then bound to carry: that the bounty of thirty shillings per ton, allowed by the said acts on the vessels employed in the fishery, might be increased; and for as much as many of the stock-proprietors were unable to advance any further sum for prosecuting this branch of commerce, and others unwilling, in the present situation, and under the present restraints, to risque any further sum in the undertaking, that the stock of the society, by the said acts made unalienable, except in case of death or bankruptcy, for a term of years, might forthwith be made transferable; and that the petitioners might be at liberty, between the intervals of the fishing seasons, to employ the busses in such a manner as they should find for the advantage of the society.

* It likewise imported, that all contracts or agreements made between clothiers and weavers, in respect to wages, should, from and after the first of May, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven, be valid, notwithstanding any rate established, or to be established: but that these contracts or agreements should extend only to the actual prices or rates of workmanship or wages, and not the payment thereof in any other manner than in money: and that if any clothier should refuse or neglect to pay the weaver the wages or price agreed on, in money, within two days after the work should be performed and delivered, the same being demanded, should forfeit forty shillings for every such offence.

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While the committee was employed in deliberating on the particulars of this remonstrance, another was delivered from the free British fishery-chamber of Whitehaven in Cumberland, representing, that, as the law then stood, they went to Shetland, and returned at a great expence and loss of time; and, while the war continued, durst not stay there to fish, besides being obliged to run the most imminent risks by going and returning without convoy: that, ever since the institution of the present fishery, experience had fully shewn the fishery of Shetland not worth following, as thereby the petitioners had lost two months of a much better fishery in St. George's channel, within one day's sail of Whitehaven: they took notice, that the free British fishery society had applied to the house for further assistance and relief; and prayed that Campbeltown in Argyleshire might be appointed the place of rendezvous for the busses belonging to Whitehaven for the summer, as well as the winter fishery, that they might be enabled to fish with greater advantage.

The committee, having considered the matter of both petitions, were of opinion, that the petitioners should be at liberty to use such nets as they should find best adapted to the white herring fishery: that the bounty of thirty shillings per ton, should be augmented to fifty: that the petitioners should be allowed, during the intervals of the fishing seasons, to employ their vessels in any other lawful business, provided they should have been employed in herring-fishing, during the proper seasons: that they might use such barrels for packing the fish as they then used, or might thereafter find best adapted for that purpose: that they should have liberty to make use of any waste or uncultivated land, one hundred yards at the least, above high-water mark, for the purpose of drying their nets; and that Campbeltown would be the most proper and convenient place for the rendezvous of the busses belonging to Whitehaven. This last resolution, however, was not inserted in the bill which contained the other five, and in a little time received the royal assent.

Act for im-
porting Ame-
rican iron, du-
ty free.

Such are the connexions, dependencies, and relations subsisting between the mechanical arts, agriculture, and manufactures of Great Britain, that it requires study, deliberation, and inquiry in the legislature to discern and distinguish the whole scope and consequences of many projects offered for the benefit of the commonwealth. The society of merchant adventurers in the city of Bristol, alledged, in a petition to the house of commons, that great quantities of bar iron were imported into Great Britain from Sweden, Russia, and other parts, chiefly purchased with ready money, some of which iron was exported again to Africa and other places; and the rest wrought up by the manufacturers. They affirmed that bar iron, imported from North America, would answer the same purposes; and the importation of it tend not only to the great advantage of the kingdom, by increasing its shipping and navigation; but also to the benefit of the British colonies: that, by an act passed in the twenty-third year of his present majesty's reign, the importation of bar iron from America into the port of London duty free, was permitted: but its being carried coastways, or farther by land than ten miles, had been prohibited; so that several very considerable manufacturing towns were deprived of the use of American iron, and the out-ports prevented from employing it in their export commerce: they requested, therefore, that bar iron might be imported from North America into Great Britain, duty free, by all his majesty's subjects.

This

This request being reinforced by many other petitions from different parts of the kingdom, other classes of men, who thought their several interests would be affected by such a measure, took the alarm; and, in divers counter petitions, specified many ill consequences which they alledged would arise from its being enacted into a law. Pamphlets were published on both sides of the question, and violent disputes were kindled upon this subject, which was justly deemed a matter of national importance. Ann. 1757.

The opposers of the bill observed, that large quantities of iron were yearly produced at home, and employed multitudes of poor people, there being no less than one hundred and nine forges in England and Wales, besides those erected in Scotland, the whole producing eighteen thousand tons of iron: that as the mines in Great Britain are inexhaustible, the produce would of late years have been considerably increased, had not the people been kept under continual apprehension of seeing American iron admitted duty free: a supposition which had prevented the traders from extending their works, and discouraged many from engaging in this branch of traffic: they alledged that the iron works already carried on in England, occasioned a consumption of one hundred and ninety-eight thousand cords of wood, produced in coppices that grow upon barren lands, which could not otherwise be turned to any good account: that as the coppices afford shade, and preserve a moisture in the ground, the pasture is more valuable with the wood, than it would be if the coppices were grubbed up; consequently all the estates where these now grow would sink in their yearly value: that these coppices now cultivated and preserved for the use of the iron works, are likewise absolutely necessary for the manufacture of leather, as they furnish bark for the tanners; and that, according to the management of these coppices, they produced a great number of timber trees so necessary for the purposes of building.

They asserted, that neither the American iron, nor any that had yet been found in Great Britain, was so proper for converting into steel, as that which comes from Sweden, particularly that sort called ore ground; but as there are mines in the northern parts of Britain, nearly in the same latitude with those of Sweden, furnished with sufficient quantities of wood, and rivers for mills and engines, it was hardly to be doubted but that people would find metal of the same quality, and, in a few years, be able to prevent the necessity of importing iron either from Sweden or Russia. They inferred, that American iron could never interfere with that which Great Britain imported from Sweden, because it was not fit for edge-tools, anchors, chain-plates, and other particulars necessary in ship-building; nor diminish the importation of Russia iron, which was not only harder than the American and British, but also could be afforded cheaper than that brought from our own plantations, even though the duty of this last should be removed. The importation of American iron, therefore, duty free, could interfere with no other sort but that produced in Britain, with which, by means of this advantage, it would clash so much, as to put a stop in a little time to all the iron works now carried on in the kingdom, and reduce to beggary a great number of families whom they support.

To these objections the favourers of the bill solicited, replied, that when a manufacture is much more valuable than the rough materials, and these can-

Ann. 1757. not be produced at home in sufficient quantities, and at such a price as is consistent with the preservation of the manufacture, it is the interest of the legislature to admit a free importation of these materials, even from foreign countries, although it should put an end to the production of that material in this island: that as the neighbours of Great Britain are now more attentive than ever to their commercial interests, and endeavouring to manufacture their rough materials at home, this nation must take every method for lowering the price of materials, otherwise in a few years it will lose the manufacture; and, instead of supplying other countries, be furnished by them with all the fine toys and utensils made of steel and iron: that being in danger of losing not only the manufacture but the produce of iron, unless it can be procured at a cheaper rate than that for which it is sold at present; the only way of attaining this end, is by diminishing the duty payable upon the importation of foreign iron, or by rendering it necessary for the undertakers of the iron mines in Great Britain to sell their produce cheaper than it has been for some years afforded: that the most effectual method for this purpose is to raise up a rival, by permitting a free importation of all sorts of iron from the American plantations: that American iron can never be sold so cheap as that of Britain can be afforded; for, in the colonies, labour of all kinds is much dearer than in England: if a man employs his own slaves, he must reckon in his charge a great deal more than the common interest of their purchase money, because when one of them dies or escapes from his master, he loses both interest and principal: that the common interest of money in the plantations is considerably higher than in England, consequently no man in that country will employ his money in any branch of trade by which he cannot gain considerably more per centum than is expected in Great Britain, where the interest is low, and profit moderate; a circumstance which will always give a great advantage to the British miner, who likewise enjoys an exemption from freight and insurance, which lie heavy upon the American adventurer, especially in time of war. With respect to the apprehension of the leather-tanners, they observed, that as the coppices generally grew on barren lands, not fit for tillage, and improved the pasturage, no proprietor would be at the expence of grubbing up the wood to spoil the pasture, as he could make no other use of the land on which it was produced. The wood must be always worth something, especially in counties where there is not plenty of coal, and the timber trees would produce considerable advantage: therefore, if there was not one iron mine in Great Britain, no coppices would be grubbed up, unless it grew on a rich soil which would produce corn instead of cord wood; consequently the tanners have nothing to fear, especially as planting hath become a prevailing taste among the landholders of the island.

The committee appointed to prepare the bill, seriously weighed and canvassed these arguments, examined disputed facts, and inspected papers and accounts relating to the produce, importation, and manufactory of iron. At length Mr. John Pitt reported to the house their opinion, implying that the liberty granted by an act passed in the twenty-third year of his majesty's reign, of importing bar-iron from the British colonies in America into the port of London, should be extended to all the other ports of Great Britain; and that so much of that act as related to this clause, should be repealed.

The

The house having agreed to these resolutions, and the bill being brought in accordingly, another petition was presented by several noblemen, gentlemen, freeholders, and other proprietors, owners, and possessors of coppices and woodlands in the west-riding of Yorkshire, alledging that a permission to import American bar-iron duty free, would be attended with numberless ill consequences both of a public and private nature; specifying certain hardships to which they in particular would be exposed; and praying, that if the bill should pass, they might be relieved from the pressure of an act passed in the reign of Henry VIII. obliging the owners of coppice-woods to preserve them, under severe penalties; and be permitted to sell and grub up their coppice-woods, in order to a more proper cultivation of the soil, without being restrained by the fear of malicious and interested prosecutions.

In consequence of this remonstrance, a clause was added to the bill, repealing so much of the act of Henry the Eighth as prohibited the conversion of coppice or underwoods into pasture or tillage; then it passed through both houses, and received the royal sanction. As there was not time, after this affair came upon the carpet, to obtain any new account from America, and as it was thought necessary to know the quantities of iron made in that country, the house presented an address to his majesty, desiring he would be pleased to give directions, that there should be laid before them, in the next session of parliament, an account of the quantity of iron made in the American colonies, from Christmas in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine, to the fifth day of January, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, each year being distinguished.

From this important object, the parliament converted its attention to a regulation of a much more private nature. In consequence of a petition by the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, a bill was brought in, and passed into a law without opposition, for the more effectual preservation and improvement of the fry and spawn of fish in the river Thames and waters of Medway, and for the better regulating the fishery in these rivers.

The two next measures taken for the benefit of the public were, first, a bill to render more effectual the several laws then in being, for the amendment and preservation of the highways and turnpike roads of the kingdom; the other for the more effectually preventing the spreading of the contagious distemper which at that time raged among the horned cattle.

A third arose from the distress of poor silk manufacturers, who were destitute of employment, and deprived of all means of subsisting through the interruption of the Levant trade, occasioned by the war, and the delay of the merchant ships from Italy. In order to remedy this inconvenience, a bill was prepared, enacting that any persons might import from any place, in any ship or vessel whatsoever, till the first day of December, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven, organzine thrown silk of the growth or production of Italy, to be brought to the custom-house of London, wheresoever landed: but that no Italian thrown silk, coarser than Bologna, nor any tram of the growth of Italy; nor any other thrown silk of the growth or production of Turkey, Persia, East-India, or China, should be imported by this act, under the penalty of the forfeiture thereof.

Regulations
with respect
to the impor-
tation of silk.

Ann. 1757.

Notwithstanding several petitions presented by the merchants, owners and commanders of ships, and others trading to Leghorn, and other ports of Italy; as well as by the importers and manufacturers of raw silks, representing evil consequences that would probably attend the passing of such a bill, the parliament agreed to this temporary deviation from the famous act of navigation, for a present supply to the poor manufacturers; and perhaps it would be for the interest of the community, at the beginning of every war, to suspend this act with respect to foreign ships and foreign seamen, so far as it relates to the importation of those rough materials that are necessary for the British manufactures.

Encouragement to smugglers to enlist in his majesty's service.

The next civil regulation established in this session of parliament, was in itself judicious, and, had it been more eagerly suggested, might have been much more beneficial to the public. In order to discourage the practice of smuggling, and prevent the desperadoes therein concerned from enlisting in the service of the enemy, a law was passed, enacting, that every person who had been, before the first of May in the present year, guilty of illegal running, concealing, receiving, or carrying any wool, or prohibited goods, or any foreign commodities liable to duties, the same not having been payed or secured; or of aiding therein, or had been found with fire-arms or weapons, in order to be aiding to such offenders; or had been guilty of receiving such goods after seizure; or of any act whatsoever, whereby persons might be deemed runners of foreign goods; or of hindering, wounding, or beating any officer in the execution of his duty, or assisting therein, should be indemnified from all such offences, concerning which, no suit should then have been commenced, or composition made, on condition that he should, before being apprehended, or prosecuted, and before the first day of December, enter himself with some commissioned officer of his majesty's fleet, to serve as a common sailor; and should, for three years from such entry, unless sooner duly discharged, actually serve and do duty in that station, and register his name, &c. with the clerk of the peace of the country where he resided, as the act prescribes.

Attempts in parliament, that miscarried.

An attempt was made in favour of the seamen employed in the navy, who had been very irregularly payed, and subject to grievous hardships in consequence of this irregularity. Mr. Greenville, brother to earl Temple, moved for leave to bring in a bill for the encouragement of seamen employed in his majesty's navy, and for establishing a regular method for the punctual, speedy, and certain payment of their wages, as well as for rescuing them from the arts of fraud and imposition. The proposal was corroborated by divers petitions: the bill was prepared, read, printed, and, after it had undergone some amendment, passed into the house of lords, where it was encountered with several objections, and dropped for this session of parliament*.

* The other designs which miscarried in the same manner were these: a bill for enlarging the terms and powers granted and continued by several acts of parliament for repairing the harbour of Dover in Kent, and for restoring the harbour of Rye in Sussex to its antient goodness. A bill to continue an act,

made in the sixth year of his present majesty's reign, for the better regulating of lastage and ballastage in the river Thames. A bill to restrain and limit the vending and disposing of poisons; and a bill regulating the manner of licensing alehouses in cities and towns corporate in the kingdom of England.

The

The house of commons being desirous of preventing, for the future, such distresses as the poor had lately undergone, appointed a committee to consider of proper provisions to restrain the price of corn and bread within due bounds for the future. For this purpose they were impowered to send for persons, papers, and records; and it was resolved that all who attended the committee should have voices. Having inquired into the causes of the late scarcity, they agreed to several resolutions, and a bill was brought in to explain and amend the laws against regrators, forestallers, and engrossers of corn. The committee also received instructions to inquire into the abuses of millers, mealmen, and bakers, with regard to bread, and to consider of proper methods to prevent them in the sequel; but no further progress was made in this important affair, which was the more interesting, as the lives of individuals, in a great measure, depended upon a speedy reformation: for the millers and bakers were said to have adulterated their flour with common whiting, lime, bone-ashes, allum, and other ingredients pernicious to the human constitution; a consummation of villainy for which no adequate punishment could be inflicted.

Ann. 1757.
Inquiry into
the causes of
the scarcity of
corn.

Among the measures proposed in parliament which did not succeed, one of the most remarkable was a bill prepared by Mr. Rose Fuller, Mr. Charles Townshend, and Mr. Banks, to explain, amend, and render more effectual a law passed in the reign of king William the Third, intituled, "An act to punish governors of plantations, in this kingdom, for crimes committed by them in the plantations." This bill was proposed in consequence of some complaints specifying acts of cruelty, folly, and oppression, by which some British governors had been lately distinguished; but before the bill could be brought in, the parliament was prorogued.

But no step taken by the house of commons, in the course of this session, was more interesting to the body of the people, than the inquiry into the loss of Minorca, which had excited such loud and universal clamour. By addresses to the king, unanimously voted, the commons requested that his majesty would give directions for laying before them copies of all the letters and papers, containing any intelligence received by the secretaries of state, the commissioners of the admiralty, or any others of his majesty's ministers, in relation to the equipment of the French fleet at Toulon, or the designs of the French on Minorca, or any other of his majesty's possessions in Europe, since the first day of January, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, to the first day of last August. They likewise desired to peruse a list of the ships of war that were equipped and made ready for sea, from the first of August, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, to the thirtieth day of April in the following year; with the copies of all sailing orders sent to the commanders during that period: as also the state and condition of his majesty's ships in the several ports of Great Britain, at the time of admiral Byng's departure, with the squadron under his command, for the relief of Fort St. Philip, during this period of time above mentioned, according to the monthly returns made to the admiralty, with the number of seamen mustered and borne on board the respective ships. They demanded copies of all orders and instructions given to that admiral, and of letters written to and received from him, during his continuance in that command, either by the secretaries of state, or lords of the admiralty, relating to the condition of his squadron, and

Inquiry into
the loss of
Minorca.

Ann. 1757. and to the execution of his orders. In a word, they required the inspection of all papers which could, in any manner, tend to explain the loss of Minorca, and the miscarriage of Mr. Byng's squadron. His majesty complied with every article of their requests: the papers were presented to the house, ordered to lie upon the table for the perusal of the members, and finally referred to the consideration of a committee of the whole house.

Reflections
on this me-
thod of pro-
ceeding.

In the course of their deliberations they addressed his majesty for more information, till at length the truth seemed to be smothered under such an enormous burthen of papers, as the efforts of a whole session could not have properly removed. Indeed many discerning persons, without doors, began to despair of seeing the mystery unfolded, as soon as the inquiry was undertaken by a committee of the whole house. They observed that an affair of such a dark, intricate, and suspicious nature, ought to have been referred to a select and secret committee, chosen by ballot, impowered to send for persons, papers, and records; and to examine witnesses in the most solemn and deliberate manner: that the names of the committee ought to have been published for the satisfaction of the people, who could have judged with some certainty whether the inquiry would be carried on with such impartiality as the national misfortune required. They suspected that this reference to a committee of the whole house, was a m—l contrivance to prevent a regular and minute investigation; to introduce confusion and contest; to puzzle, perplex, and obumbrate; to teaze, fatigue, and disgust the inquirers, that the examination might be hurried over in a superficial and perfunctory manner; and the m—y, from this anarchy and confusion of materials, half explored and undigested, derive a general parliamentary approbation, to which they might appeal from the accusations of the people. A select committee would have probably examined some of the clerks of the respective offices, that they might certainly know whether any letters or papers had been suppressed; whether the extracts had been faithfully made; and whether there might not be papers of intelligence, which, though proper to be submitted to a select and secret committee, could not, consistently with the honour of the nation, be communicated to a committee of the whole house. Indeed it does not appear that the m—rs had any foreign intelligence or correspondents that could be much depended upon, in any matter of national importance; and no evidence was examined on this occasion: a circumstance the less to be regretted, as in times past evil ministers have generally found means to render such inquiries ineffectual; and the same arts would, at any rate, have operated with the same efficacy, had a secret committee been employed at this juncture.

Resolutions
of the com-
mittee, and
remarks on
these resolu-
tions.

Be that as it may, several resolutions were reported from the committee, though some of them were not carried by the majority without violent dispute and severe altercation. The first and last of their resolutions require particular notice.

By the former it appeared to the committee, that his majesty, from the twenty seventh day of August, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, to the twentieth day of April in the succeeding year, received such repeated and concurrent intelligence, as gave just reason to believe that the French king intended to invade his dominions of Great Britain or Ireland.

In

In the latter they declared their opinion, that no greater number of ships of war could be sent into the Mediterranean, than were actually sent thither under the command of admiral Byng; nor any greater reinforcement than the regiment which was sent, and the detachment, equal to a battalion, which was ordered to the relief of Fort St. Philip, consistently with the state of the navy, and the various services essential to the safety of his majesty's dominions, and the interests of his subjects. Ann. 1757.

It must have been something more powerful than ordinary conviction that suggested these opinions. Whatever reports might have been circulated by the French ministry, in order to amuse, intimidate, and detach the attention of the English government from America and the Mediterranean, where they really intended to exert themselves; yet the circumstances of the two nations being considered, one would think there could have been no just grounds to fear an invasion of Great Britain or Ireland, especially when other intelligence seemed to point out much more probable scenes of action. But the last resolution is still more incomprehensible to those who know not exactly the basis on which it was raised. The number of ships of war in actual commission, amounted to two hundred and fifty, having on board fifty thousand seamen and marines. Intelligence and repeated information of the French design upon Minorca had been conveyed to the m—y of England, about six months before it was put in execution. Is it credible, that in all this time the nation could not equip or spare above eleven ships of the line and six frigates, to save the important island of Minorca? Is it easy to conceive, that from a standing army of fifty thousand men, one regiment of troops could not have been detached to reinforce a garrison, well known to be insufficient for the works it was destined to defend? To persons of common intellects it appeared, that intelligence of the armament at Toulon was conveyed to the admiralty as early as the month of September, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, with express notice that it would consist of twelve ships of the line; that the design against Minorca was communicated as early as the twenty-seventh day of August, by consul Banks of Carthage; confirmed by letters from consul Berttes at Genoa, dated on the seventeenth and twenty-sixth of January, and received by Mr. Fox, secretary of state, on the fourth and eleventh of February; as well as by many subsequent intimations; that, notwithstanding these repeated advices, even after hostilities had commenced in Europe, when the garrison of Minorca amounted to no more than four incomplete regiments, and one company of artillery, forty-two officers being absent, and the place otherwise unprovided for a siege; when the Mediterranean squadron, commanded by Mr. Edgecumbe, consisted of two ships of the line, and five frigates; neither stores, ammunition, or provision, the absent officers belonging to the garrison, recruits for the regiments, though ready raised, miners, nor any additional troops, were sent to the island; nor the squadron augmented, till admiral Byng sailed from Spithead on the sixth day of April, with no more ships of the line than, by the most early and authentic intelligence, the government were informed would sail from Toulon, even when Mr. Byng should have been joined by commodore Edgecumbe; a junction upon which no dependance ought to have been laid: that this squadron contained no troops

Ann. 1757. troops but such as belonged to the four regiments in garrison, except one battalion to serve in the fleet as marines, unless we include the order for another to be embarked at Gibraltar, which order was neither obeyed nor understood: that considering the danger to which Minorca was exposed, and the forwardness of the enemy's preparations at Toulon, admiral Osborne, with thirteen ships of the line and one frigate, who returned on the sixteenth of February, after having convoyed a fleet of merchant-ships, might have been detached to Minorca, without hazarding the coast of Great Britain; for at that time, exclusive of this squadron, there were eight ships of the line and thirty-two frigates ready manned, and thirty-two ships of the line and five frigates almost equipped: that admiral Hawke was sent with fourteen ships of the line and one frigate to cruize in the bay of Biscay, after repeated intelligence had been received that the French fleet had sailed for the West Indies, and the eleven ships remaining at Brest and Rochfort were in want of hands and cannon, so that they could never serve to cover any embarkation or descent; consequently Mr. Hawke's squadron might have been spared for the relief of Minorca: that instead of attending to this important object, the admiralty, on the eighth day of March, sent two ships of the line and three frigates to intercept a coasting convoy off Cape Barfleur: on the eleventh of the same month they detached two ships of the line to the West Indies; and on the nineteenth two more to North America, where they could be of little immediate service; on the twenty-third two of the line and three frigates a convoy-hunting off Cherburg; and on the first of April five ships of the line, including three returned from this last service, to reinforce Sir Edward Hawke, already too strong for the French fleet bound to Canada: that all these ships might have been added to Mr. Byng's squadron, without exposing Great Britain or Ireland to any hazard of invasion: that at length Mr. Byng was detached with ten great ships only, and even denied a frigate to repeat signals, for which he petitioned; although at that very time there were in port, exclusive of his squadron, seventeen ships of the line and thirteen frigates ready for sea, besides eleven of the line and nineteen frigates almost equipped. From these and other circumstances, particularised and urged with great vivacity, many individuals inferred, that a greater number of ships might have been detached to the Mediterranean than were actually sent with admiral Byng: that the not sending an earlier and stronger force was one great cause of Minorca's being lost, and co-operated with the delay of the m——y in sending thither reinforcements of troops, their neglect in suffering the officers of the garrison to continue absent from their duty, and their omitting to give orders for raising miners to serve in the fortrefs of Mahon.

Examination
of the Ame-
rican con-
tract.

The next inquiry in which the house of commons engaged, relating to the contracts for victualling the forces in America, which were supposed by some patriots to be fraudulent and unconscionable. This suspicion arose from an ambiguous expression, on which the contractor being interrogated by the committee appointed to examine the particulars, he prudently interpreted it in such a manner as to screen himself from the resentment of the legislature. The house therefore resolved, that the contract entered into on the twenty-sixth day of March, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, by the commissioners of the treasury, with William Baker, Christopher Kilby, and Richard

Richard Baker, of London, merchants, for furnishing provisions to the forces under the command of the earl of Loudon, was prudent and necessary, and properly adapted to the securing a constant and effectual supply for those forces in America. Ann. 1757.

In the preceding session an address had been presented to the king by the house of commons, desiring his majesty would give orders for laying before them several papers relating to disputes which had lately happened between his excellency Charles Knowles, Esq; and some of the principal inhabitants of the island of Jamaica. This governor was accused of many illegal, cruel, and arbitrary acts, during the course of his arbitration: but these imputations he incurred by an exertion of power, which was in itself laudable, and well intended for the commercial interest of the island. This was his changing the seat of government, and procuring an act of assembly for removing the several laws, records, books, papers, and writings belonging to several offices in that island, from Spanish-town to Kingston; and for obliging the several officers to keep their offices, and hold a supreme court of judicature, at this last place, to which he had moved the seat of government.

Inquiry into
the conduct
of admiral
Knowles, go-
vernor of
Jamaica.

Spanish-town, otherwise called St. Jago de la Vega, the old capital, was an inconsiderable inland place of no security, trade, or importance; whereas Kingston was the center of commerce, situated on the side of a fine harbour filled with ships, well secured from the insults of an enemy, large, wealthy, and flourishing. Here the merchants dwell, and ship the greatest part of the sugars that grow upon the island. They found it extremely inconvenient and expensive to take out their clearances at Spanish-town, which stands at a considerable distance; and the same inconvenience and expence being felt by the rest of the inhabitants, who had occasion to prosecute suits at law, or attend the assembly of the island, they joined in representations to the governor, requesting, that, in consideration of these inconveniencies, added to that of the weakness of Spanish-town and the importance of Kingston, the seat of government might be removed. He complied with their request, and in so doing intailed upon himself the hatred and resentment of certain powerful planters, who possessed estates in and about the old town of St. Jago de la Vega, thus deserted. This seems to have been the real source of the animosity and clamour incurred by Mr. Knowles, against whom a petition, signed by nineteen members of the assembly, had been sent to England, and presented to his majesty.

In the two sessions preceding this year, the affair had been brought into the house of commons, where this governor's character was painted in frightful colours, and divers papers relating to the dispute were examined. Mr. Knowles having by this time returned to England, the subject of his administration was revived, and referred to a committee of the whole house.

In the mean time petitions were presented by several merchants of London and Liverpool, concerned in the trade to Jamaica, alledging, that the removal of the public courts, offices, and records of the island of Jamaica to Kingston, and fixing the seat of government there, had been productive of many important advantages, by rendering the strength of the island more formidable, the property of the traders and inhabitants more secure, and the prosecution of all commercial business more expeditious and less expensive than formerly;

Ann. 1757. therefore praying, that the purposes of the act, passed in Jamaica for that end might be carried into effectual execution, in such manner as the house should think proper.

Resolutions
of the com-
mons on this
subject.

The committee, having examined a great number of papers, agreed to some resolutions, importing, that a certain resolution of the assembly of Jamaica, dated on the twenty-ninth day of October, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-three, implying a claim of right in that assembly to raise and apply public money without the consent of the governor and council, was illegal, repugnant to the terms of his majesty's commission to his governor of the said island, and derogatory of the rights of the crown and people of Great Britain: that the six last resolutions taken in the assembly of Jamaica, on the twenty-ninth day of October, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-three, proceeded on a manifest misapprehension of the king's instruction to his governor, requiring him not to give his assent to any bill of an unusual or extraordinary nature and importance, wherein his majesty's prerogative, or the property of his subjects, might be prejudiced, or the trade or shipping of the kingdom any ways affected, unless there should be a clause inserted, suspending the execution of such bill until his majesty's pleasure should be known; that such instruction was just and necessary, and no alteration of the constitution of the island, nor any way derogatory to the rights of the subjects in Jamaica. From these resolutions the reader may perceive the nature of the dispute, which had arisen between the people of Jamaica and their governor, vice admiral Knowles, whose conduct on this occasion seems to have been justified by the legislature. The parliament, however, forbore to determine the question, whether the removal of the courts of judicature from Spanish-town to Kingston was a measure calculated for the interest of the island in general.

Resolutions
concerning
Milford-ha-
ven.

The last subject which we shall mention, as having fallen under the cognizance of the commons during the session of parliament, was the state of Milford-haven on the coast of Wales, one of the most capacious, safe, and commodious harbours in Great Britain. Here the country affords many conveniences for building ships of war, and erecting forts, docks, quays, and magazines. It might be fortified at a very small expence, so as to be quite secure from any attempts of the enemy, and rendered by far the most useful harbour in the kingdom for fleets, cruisers, trading ships, and packet-boats, bound to and from the westward; for from hence they may be put to sea almost with any wind, and even at low water: they may weather Scilly and Cape Clear when no vessel can stir from the British channel, or out of the French ports of Brest and Rochfort; and as a post can travel from hence in three days to London, it might become the center of very useful sea intelligence. A petition from several merchants in London, was presented, and recommended to the house in a message from the king, specifying the advantages of this harbour, and the small expence at which it might be fortified; and praying that the house would take this important subject into consideration. Accordingly a committee was appointed for this purpose, with power to send for persons, papers, and records; and every circumstance relating to it was examined with accuracy and deliberation. At length, the report being made to the house by Mr. Charles Townshend, they unanimously agreed to an address, representing

to his majesty, that many great losses had been sustained by the trade of the kingdom, in time of war, from the want of a safe harbour on the western coast of the island, for the reception and protection of merchant ships, and sending out cruisers: that the harbour of Milford-haven, in the county of Pembroke, is most advantageously situated, and, if properly defended and secured, in every respect adapted to the answering those important purposes: they therefore humbly besought his majesty, that he would give immediate directions for erecting batteries, with proper cover, on the sides of the said harbour, in the most convenient places for guarding the entrance called Hubberstone-road; and also such other fortifications as might be necessary to secure the interior parts of the harbour; and that, until such batteries and fortifications could be completed, some temporary defence might be provided for the immediate protection of the ships and vessels lying in the said harbour: finally, they assured him the house would make good to his majesty all such expences as should be incurred for these purposes. The address met with a gracious reception, and a promise that such directions should be given. The harbour was actually surveyed, the places were pitched upon for batteries, and the estimates prepared; but we do not find that any further progress hath been made in the execution of this truly national design, which, in all probability, will be neglected until it shall be revived by some future disaster.

We have now finished the detail of all the material transactions of this session, except what relates to the fate of admiral Byng, which now claims our attention. In the mean time we may observe, that on the fourth day of July the session was closed with his majesty's harangue; the most remarkable and pleasing paragraph of which turned upon his royal assurance, that the succour and preservation of his dominions in America had been his constant care, and, next to the security of his kingdoms, should continue to be his great and principal object. He told them he had taken such measures as, he trusted, by the blessing of God, might effectually disappoint the designs of the enemy in those parts; that he had no further view but to vindicate the just rights of his crown and subjects from the most injurious encroachments; to preserve tranquillity, as far as the circumstances of things might admit; to prevent the true friends of Britain, and the liberties of Europe, from being oppressed and endangered by any unprovoked and unnatural conjunction.

Of all the transactions that distinguished this year, the most extraordinary was the sentence executed on admiral Byng, the son of that great officer who had acquired such honour by his naval exploits in the preceding reign, and was ennobled for his services by the title of lord viscount Torrington. His second son, John Byng, had, from his earliest youth, been trained to his father's profession; and was generally esteemed one of the best officers in the navy, when he embarked in that expedition to Minorca which covered his character with disgrace, and even exposed him to all the horrors of an ignominious death. On the twenty-eighth day of December his trial began before a court-martial, held on board of the ship St. George in the harbour of Portsmouth, to which place Mr. Byng had been conveyed from Greenwich by a party of horse-guards, and insulted by the populace in every town and village through which he passed.

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The court having proceeded to examine the evidences for the crown and the prisoner, from day to day, in the course of a long sitting, agreed unanimously to thirty-seven resolutions, implying their opinion, that admiral Byng, during the engagement between the British and French fleets on the twentieth day of May last, did not do his utmost endeavour to take, seize, and destroy the ships of the French king, which it was his duty to have engaged; and to assist such of his majesty's ships as were engaged, which it was his duty to have assisted; and that he did not exert his utmost power for the relief of St. Philip's castle. They therefore unanimously agreed, that he fell under part of the twelfth article of an act of parliament, passed in the twenty-second year of the present reign, for amending, explaining, and reducing into one act of parliament the laws relating to the government of his majesty's ships, vessels, and forces by sea; and as that article positively prescribed death, without any alternative left to the discretion of the court, under any variation of circumstances, they unanimously adjudged the said admiral John Byng to be shot to death, at such time and on board of such ships as the lords commissioners of the admiralty should please to direct. But as it appeared, by the evidence of the officers that were near the admiral's person, that no backwardness was perceivable in him during the action, nor any mark of fear or confusion either in his countenance or behaviour; but that he delivered his orders coolly and distinctly, without seeming deficient in personal courage, and from other circumstances, they believed his misconduct did not arise either from cowardice or disaffection, they unanimously and earnestly recommended him as a proper object of mercy.

The admiral himself behaved, through the whole trial, with the most cheerful composure, seemingly the effect of conscious innocence, upon which perhaps he too much relied. Even after he had heard the evidence examined against him, and finished his own defence, he laid his account in being honourably acquitted, and ordered his coach to be ready for conveying him directly from the tribunal to London. A gentleman, his friend, by whom he was attended, having received intimation of the sentence to be pronounced, thought it his duty to prepare him for the occasion, that he might summon all his fortitude to his assistance; and accordingly made him acquainted with the information he had received. The admiral gave tokens of surprize and resentment; but betrayed no marks of fear or disorder, either then or in the court when the sentence was pronounced. On the contrary, while divers members of the court-martial manifested grief, anxiety, and trepidation, shedding tears, and sighing with extraordinary emotion, he heard his doom denounced without undergoing the least alteration of feature, and made a low obeisance to the president and the other members of the court as he retired.

He is recommended to mercy.

The officers that composed this tribunal were so sensible of the law's severity, that they unanimously subscribed a letter to the board of admiralty, containing this remarkable paragraph: "We cannot help laying the distresses of our minds before your lordships on this occasion, in finding ourselves under a necessity of condemning a man to death, from the great severity of the twelfth article of war, part of which he falls under, which admits of no mitigation, if the crime should be committed by an error in judgment; and therefore, for our own consciences sake, as well as in justice to the prisoner, we pray your lordships,

lordships, in the most earnest manner, to recommend him to his majesty's clemency." The lords of the admiralty, instead of complying with the request of the court martial, transmitted their letter to the king, with copies of their proceedings, and a letter from themselves to his majesty, specifying a doubt with regard to the legality of the sentence, as the crime of Negligence, for which the admiral had been condemned, was not expressed in any part of the proceedings. Ann. 1757.

At the same time copies of two petitions from George lord viscount Torrington, in behalf of his kinsman admiral Byng, were submitted to his majesty's royal wisdom and determination. All the friends and relations of the unhappy convict employed and exerted their influence and interest for his pardon; and as the circumstances had appeared so strong in his favour, it was supposed that the sceptre of royal mercy would be extended for his preservation: but infamous arts were used to whet the savage appetite of the populace for blood.

The cry of vengeance was loud throughout the land: fullen clouds of suspicion and malevolence interposing, were said to obstruct the genial beams of the best virtue that adorns the throne; and the f——n was given to understand, that the execution of admiral Byng was a victim absolutely necessary to appease the fury of the people.

His majesty, in consequence of the representation made by the lords of the admiralty, referred the sentence to the consideration of the twelve judges, who were unanimously of opinion that the sentence was legal. This report being transmitted from the privy-council to the admiralty, their lordships issued a warrant for executing the sentence of death on the twenty-eighth day of February. One gentleman at the board, however, refused to subscribe the warrant, assigning, for his refusal, the reasons which we have inserted by way of note, for the satisfaction of the reader*.

Though

* A——l F——s's reasons for not signing the warrant for admiral Byng's execution.

"It may be thought great presumption in me to differ from so great authority as that of the twelve judges; but when a man is called upon to sign his name to an act, which is to give authority to the shedding of blood, he ought to be guided by his own conscience, and not by the opinions of other men.

In the case before us, it is not the merit of admiral Byng that I consider: whether he deserves death, or not, is not a question for me to decide; but whether or not his life can be taken away by the sentence pronounced on him by the court-martial, and after having so clearly explained their motives for pronouncing such a sentence, is the point which alone has employed my most serious consideration.

The twelfth article of war, on which admiral Byng's sentence is grounded, says, (according to my understanding of its meaning) "That every person, who, in time of action,

shall withdraw, keep back, or not come into fight, or who shall not do his utmost, &c. through motives of cowardice, negligence, or disaffection, shall suffer death." The court-martial does, in express words, acquit admiral Byng of cowardice and disaffection, and does not name the word Negligence. Admiral Byng does not, as I conceive, fall under the letter or description of the twelfth article of war. It may be said, that negligence is implied, though the word is not mentioned; otherwise the court-martial would not have brought his offence under the twelfth article, having acquitted him of cowardice and disaffection. But it must be acknowledged, that the negligence implied cannot be wilful negligence: for wilful negligence, in admiral Byng's situation, must have proceeded from either cowardice or disaffection, and he is expressly acquitted of both these crimes: besides, these crimes, which are implied only, and not named, may indeed justify

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The king's
message to
parliament
with respect to
the sentence.

Though mercy was denied to the criminal, the crown seemed determined to do nothing that should be thought inconsistent with law. A member of parliament, who had sat upon the court-martial at Portsmouth, rose up in his place, and made application to the house of commons, in behalf of himself, and several other members of that tribunal, praying the aid of the legislature to be released from the oath of secrecy imposed on courts-martial, that they might disclose the grounds on which sentence of death had passed on admiral Byng, and, perhaps, discover such circumstances as might shew the sentence to be improper. Although this application produced no resolution in the house, the king, on the twenty-sixth day of February, sent a message to the commons by Mr. secretary Pitt, importing, that though he had determined to let the law take its course, with relation to admiral Byng, and resisted all solicitations to the contrary, yet, as a member of the house had expressed some scruples about the sentence, his majesty had thought fit to respite the execution of it, that there might be an opportunity of knowing, by the separate examination of the members of the court-martial, upon oath, what grounds there were for such scruples; and that his majesty was resolved still to let the sentence be carried into execution, unless it should appear from the said examination, that admiral Byng was unjustly condemned. The sentence might be strictly legal, and, at the same time, very severe, according to the maxim, *Summum jus summa injuria*. In such cases, and perhaps in such cases only, the rigour of the law ought to be softened by the lenient hand of the royal prerogative. That this was the case of admiral Byng, appears from the warm and eager intercession of his jury; a species of intercession which hath generally, if not always, prevailed at the foot of the throne, when any thing favourable for the criminal had appeared in the course of the trial. How much more then might it have been expected to succeed, when earnestly urged as a case of conscience, in be-

tify suspicion, and private opinion; but cannot satisfy the conscience in a case of blood.

Admiral Byng's fate was referred to a court-martial; his life and death were left to their opinions. The court-martial condemn him to death, because, as they expressly say, they were under a necessity of doing so by reason of the letter of the law, the severity of which they complained of, because it admits of no mitigation. The court-martial expressly say, that for the sake of their consciences, as well as in justice to the prisoner, they most earnestly recommend him to his majesty for mercy; it is evident then, that in the opinions and consciences of the judges, he was not deserving of death.

The question then is, shall the opinions, or necessities, of the court-martial determine admiral Byng's fate? If it should be the latter, he will be executed contrary to the intentions and meaning of his judges; if the former, his life is not forfeited. His judges declare him not deserving of death; but, mistaking either the meaning of the law, or the nature of his offence, they bring him under an article of war,

which, according to their own description of his offence, he does not, I conceive, fall under; and then they condemn him to death, because, as they say, the law admits of no mitigation. Can a man's life be taken away by such a sentence? I would not willingly be misunderstood, and have it believed that I judge of admiral Byng's deserts: that was the business of a court-martial, and it is my duty only to act according to my conscience; which, after deliberate consideration, assisted by the best light a poor understanding can afford, it remains still in doubt, and therefore I cannot consent to sign a warrant whereby the sentence of the court-martial may be carried into execution; for I cannot help thinking, that however criminal admiral Byng may be, his life is not forfeited by that sentence. I don't mean to find fault with other mens opinions; all I endeavour at, is to give reasons for my own; and all I desire, or wish, is, that I may not be understood; I do not pretend to judge admiral Byng's deserts, nor to give any opinion on the propriety of the act.

Signed 16 Feb. 1757, at the Admiralty.

J. F—s.
half

half of a man whom his judges had expressly acquitted of cowardice and treachery, the only two imputations that rendered him criminal in the eyes of the nation! Such an interposition of the crown in parliamentary transactions was irregular, unnecessary, and, at another juncture, might have been productive of violent heats and declamation. At present, however, it passed without censure, as the effect of inattention, rather than a design to encroach upon the privileges of the house.

The message being communicated, a bill was immediately brought in to release the members of the court-martial from the obligation of secrecy, and passed through the lower house without opposition: but in the house of lords it appeared to be destitute of a proper foundation. They sent a message to the commons, desiring them to give leave that such of the members of the court-martial, as were members of that house, might attend their lordships, in order to be examined, on the second reading of the bill: accordingly, they and the rest of the court-martial attended, and answered all questions without hesitation. As they did not insist upon any excuse, nor produce any satisfactory reason for shewing that the man they had condemned was a proper object of mercy, their lordships were of opinion that there was no occasion for passing any such bill, which, therefore, they almost unanimously rejected. It is not easy to conceive what stronger reasons could be given for proving Mr. Byng an object of mercy than those mentioned in the letter sent to the board of admiralty, by the members of the court-martial, who were impowered to try the imputed offence, consequently must have been deemed well qualified to judge of his conduct.

The unfortunate admiral being thus abandoned to the stroke of justice, prepared himself for death with resignation and tranquillity. He maintained a surprising cheerfulness to the last; nor did he, from his condemnation to his execution, exhibit the least sign of impatience or apprehension. During that interval he had remained on board of the *Monarque*, a third-rate ship of war, anchored in the harbour of Portsmouth, under a strong guard, in custody of the marshal of the admiralty. On the fourteenth of March, the day fixed for his execution, the boats belonging to the squadron at Spithead being manned and armed, containing their captains and officers, with a detachment of marines, attended this solemnity in the harbour, which was also crowded with an infinite number of other boats and vessels filled with spectators. About noon, the admiral having taken leave of a clergyman, and two friends who accompanied him, walked out of the great cabin to the quarter-deck, where two files of marines were ready to execute the sentence. He advanced with a firm, deliberate step, a composed and resolute countenance, and resolved to suffer with his face uncovered, until his friends representing that his looks would possibly intimidate the soldiers, and prevent their taking aim properly, he submitted to their request, threw his hat on the deck, kneeled on a cushion, tied one white handkerchief over his eyes, and dropped the other as a signal for his executioners, who fired a volley so decisive that five balls passed through his body, and he dropped down dead in an instant. The time in which this tragedy was acted, from his walking out of the cabin to his being deposited in the coffin, did not exceed three minutes.

Thus

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Paper deli-
vered by him
to the marshal
of the admi-
rality.

Thus fell, to the astonishment of all Europe, admiral John Byng, who, whatever his errors and indiscretions might have been, seems to have been rashly condemned, meanly given up, and cruelly sacrificed to vile considerations. The sentiments of his own fate he avowed on the verge of eternity, when there was no longer any cause of dissimulation, in the following declaration, which, immediately before his death, he delivered to the marshal of the admiralty. "A few moments will now deliver me from the virulent persecution, and frustrate the further malice of my enemies. Nor need I envy them a life subject to the sensations my injuries, and the injustice done me, must create; persuaded I am that justice will be done to my reputation hereafter: the manner and cause of raising and keeping up the popular clamour and prejudice against me, will be seen through. I shall be considered (as I now perceive myself) a victim destined to divert the indignation and resentment of an injured and deluded people from the proper objects. My enemies themselves must now think me innocent. Happy for me, at this my last moment, that I know my own innocence, and am conscious that no part of my country's misfortunes can be owing to me. I heartily wish the shedding my blood may contribute to the happiness and service of my country; but cannot resign my just claim to a faithful discharge of my duty according to the best of my judgment, and the utmost exertion of my ability for his majesty's honour, and my country's service. I am sorry that my endeavours were not attended with more success; and that the armament, under my command, proved too weak to succeed in an expedition of such moment. Truth has prevailed over calumny and falsehood, and justice has wiped off the ignominious stain of my supposed want of personal courage, and the charge of disaffection. My heart acquits me of these crimes: but who can be presumptuously sure of his own judgment? If my crime is an error in judgment, or differing in opinion from my judges, and if yet the error in judgment should be on their side, God forgive them, as I do; and may the distress of their minds, and uneasiness of their consciences, which in justice to me they have represented, be relieved and subside as my resentment has done. The Supreme Judge sees all hearts and motives, and to him I must submit the justice of my cause."

Remarks up-
on the admi-
ral's fate.

Notwithstanding all that has been said in his favour; notwithstanding the infamous arts that were practised to keep up the cry against him; notwithstanding this solemn appeal to heaven in his last moments, and even self-conviction of innocence, the character of admiral Byng, in point of personal courage, will still with many people remain problematical. They will still be of opinion, that if the spirit of a British admiral had been properly exerted, the French fleet would have been defeated, and Minorca relieved. A man's opinion of danger varies at different times, in consequence of an irregular tide of animal spirits, and he is actuated by considerations which he dares not avow.

After an officer, thus influenced, has hesitated or kept aloof in the hour of trial, the mind, eager for its own justification, assembles, with surprizing industry, every favourable circumstance of excuse, and broods over them with parental partiality, until it becomes not only satisfied, but even enamoured of their beauty and complexion; like a doating mother, blind to the deformity of her own offspring. Whatever Mr. Byng's internal feelings might have been; whatever consequences might have attended his behaviour on that occasion;

as

as the tribunal before which he was tried, acquitted him expressly of cowardice and treachery, he was, without all doubt, a proper object for royal clemency, and so impartial posterity will judge him, after all those dishonourable motives of faction and of fear, by which his fate was influenced, shall be lost in oblivion, or remembered with disdain. The people of Great Britain, naturally fierce, impatient, and clamorous, have been too much indulged, upon every petty miscarriage, with trials, courts-martial, and dismissions, which tend only to render their military commanders rash and precipitate, the populace more licentious and intractable, and to disgrace the national character in the opinion of mankind.

Though the parliament of Great Britain unanimously concurred in strengthening the hands of government, for a vigorous prosecution of the war, those liberal supplies had like to have proved ineffectual, through a want of harmony in her councils. In the course of the last year the clamorous voice of dissatisfaction had been raised by a series of disappointments and miscarriages, which were imputed to want of intelligence, sagacity, and vigour in the administration. The defeat of Braddock, the reduction of Oswego and other forts in America, the delay of armaments, the neglect of opportunities, ineffectual cruises, absurd dispositions of fleets and squadrons, the disgrace in the Mediterranean, and the loss of Minorca, were numbered among the misfortunes that flowed from the crude designs of a weak dispirited ministry; and the prospect of their acquiescing in a continental war brought them still farther in contempt and detestation with the body of the people.

Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge are placed in the administration, to the great joy of the public.

In order to conciliate the good-will of those whom their conduct had disobligened, to acquire a fresh stock of credit with their fellow subjects, and remove from their own shoulders part of what future censure might ensue, they admitted into a share of the administration a certain set of gentlemen, remarkable for their talents and popularity, headed by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge, esteemed the two most illustrious patriots of Great Britain, alike distinguished and admired for their unconquerable spirit and untainted integrity. The former of these was appointed secretary of state, the other chancellor of the Exchequer; and their friends were vested with other honourable though subordinate offices.

So far the people were charmed with the promotion of individuals, upon whose virtues and abilities they had the most perfect reliance: but these new ingredients would never thoroughly mix with the old leaven. The administration became an emblem of the image that Nebuchadnezzar saw in his dream, the leg was of iron, and the foot was of clay. The old junto found their new associates very unfit for their purposes. They could neither persuade, cajole, nor intimidate them into measures which they thought repugnant to the true interest of their country. The new ministers combated in council every such plan, however patronized: they openly opposed in parliament every design which they deemed unworthy of the crown, or prejudicial to the people, even though distinguished by the predilection of the crown. Far from bargaining for their places, and surrendering their principles by capitulation, they maintained in office their independency and candour with the most vigilant circumspection, and seemed determined to shew, that he is the best minister to the sovereign who acts with the greatest probity towards the subject. Those who

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They are
commanded
to resign.

The fate of Mr. Pitt was extended to some of his principal friends: the board of admiralty was changed, and some other removals were made with the same intention.

What was intended as a disgrace to Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge, turned out one of the most shining circumstances of their characters. The whole nation seemed to rise up, as one man, in the vindication of their fame: every mouth was opened in their praise; and a great number of respectable cities and corporations presented them with the freedom of their respective societies, inclosed in golden boxes of curious workmanship, as testimonies of their peculiar veneration.

Clamour a-
gainst the
change in the
administra-
tion.

What the people highly esteem, they in a manner idolize. Not contented with making offerings so flattering and grateful to conscious virtue, they conceived the most violent prejudices against those gentlemen who succeeded in the administration; fully convinced, that the same persons who had sunk the nation in the present distressful circumstances, who had brought on her dishonour, and reduced her to the verge of destruction, were by no means the fit instruments of her delivery and redemption. The whole kingdom caught fire at the late changes; nor could the power, the cunning, and the artifice of a faction long support it against the united voice of Great Britain, which soon pierced the ears of the sovereign. It was not possible to persuade the people that salutary measures could be suggested or pursued, except by the few, whose zeal for the honour of their country, and steady adherence to an upright disinterested conduct, had secured their confidence and claimed their veneration.

Addressees
presented
to the king.

Mr. Pitt and
Mr. Legge re-
stored to their
employments.

A great number of addressees, dutifully and loyally expressed, solicited the king, ever ready to meet half way the wishes of his faithful people, to restore Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge to their former employments. Upon this they rested the security and honour of the nation, as well as the public expectation of the speedy and successful issue of a war, hitherto attended with disgraces and misfortunes. Accordingly his majesty was graciously pleased to redeliver the seals to Mr. Pitt, appointing him secretary of state for the southern department, on the twenty-ninth day of June; and five days after the office of chancellor of the exchequer was restored to Mr. Legge: promotions that afforded universal satisfaction.

It would not, perhaps, be possible to exclude from a share in the administration all who were not perfectly agreeable to the people: however unpopular the late ministry might appear, still they possessed sufficient influence in the privy council, and credit in the house of commons, to thwart every measure in which they did not themselves partake. This consideration, and very recent experience, probably dictated the necessity of a coalition, salutary in itself and prudent, because it was the only means of asswaging the rage of faction, and healing those divisions, more pernicious to the public than the most mistaken and blundering counsels. Sir Robert Henley was made lord-keeper of the great seal, and sworn of his majesty's privy-council, on the thirtieth day of June; the custody of the privy seal was committed to the earl Temple; his grace the duke of Newcastle, Mr. Legge, Mr. Nugent, the lord viscount Duncannon, and Mr. Grenville, were appointed commissioners for executing the office of treasurer of his majesty's Exchequer; lord Anson, the admirals Boscawen and Forbes, Dr. Hay, Mr. West, Mr. Hunter, and Mr. Elliot, to preside at the board of admiralty; Mr. Fox was gratified with the office of receiver and paymaster-general of all his majesty's guards, garrisons, and land forces; and the earl of Thomond was made treasurer of the king's household, and sworn of his majesty's privy council. Other promotions likewise took place, with a design to gratify the adherents of either party; and so equally was the royal favour distributed, that the utmost harmony for a long time subsisted. Ingredients seemingly heterogeneous, consolidated into one uniform mass, so as to produce effects far exceeding the most sanguine expectations; and this prudent arrangement proved displeasing only to those whom violent party attachment had inspired with a narrow and exclusive spirit.

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A coalition of parties.

A variety of civil promotions.

The accumulated losses and disappointments of the preceding year, made it absolutely necessary to retrieve the credit of the British arms and councils by some vigorous and spirited enterprize, which should at the same time produce some change in the circumstances of his Prussian majesty, already depressed by the repulse at Colin, and in danger of being attacked by the whole power of France, now ready to fall upon him, like a torrent, which had so lately swept before it the army of observation, now on the brink of disgrace.

A well-planned and vigorous descent on the coast of France it was thought would probably give a decisive blow to the marine of that kingdom, and at the same time effect a powerful diversion in favour of the Prussian monarch, and the duke of C——d, driven from all his posts in the electorate of Hanover, by drawing a part of the French forces to the defence and protection of their own coasts. Both were objects of great concern, upon which the f——n and m——y were sedulously bent.

A descent on the coast of France meditated.

His royal highness the duke, in a particular manner, urged the necessity of some enterprize of this nature, as the only expedient to obviate the shameful convention now in agitation. The ministry foresaw, that, by destroying the enemy's shipping, all succours would be cut off from America, whither they were daily transporting troops; the British commerce secured, without those convoys so inconvenient to the board of admiralty, and to the merchants; and those ideal fears of an invasion, that had in some measure affected the public credit, wholly dispelled.

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The command of the fleet given to Sir Edward Hawke, and of the land-forces to lieutenant-general Sir John Mordaunt.

Secrecy of the expedition.

The fleet sails Sept. 8th.

Admiral Knowles sent to take Aix.

He sends two ships to give chase to a French man of war.

From these considerations a powerful fleet was ordered to be got in readiness to put to sea on the shortest notice, and ten regiments of foot were marched to the Isle of Wight. The naval armament, consisting of eighteen ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, bomb-ketches, and transports, was put under the command of Sir Edward Hawke, an officer whose faithful services recommended him, above all others, to this command; and rear-admiral Knowles was appointed his subaltern. Sir John Mordaunt was preferred to take the command of the land-forces; and both strictly enjoined to act with the utmost unanimity and harmony.

Europe beheld with astonishment these mighty preparations. The destination of the armament was wrapped in the most profound secrecy: it exercised the penetration of politicians, and filled France with very serious alarms. Various were the impediments which obstructed the embarkation of the troops for several weeks, while Mr. P — expressed the greatest uneasiness at the delay, and repeatedly urged the commander in chief to expedite his departure; but a sufficient number of transports, owing to some blunder in the contractors, had not yet arrived. The troops expressed an eager impatience to signalize themselves against the enemies of the liberties of Europe; but the superstitious drew unfavourable presages from the dilatoriness of the embarkation.

At last the transports arrived, the troops were put on board with all expedition, and the fleet got under sail on the eighth day of September, attended with the prayers of every man warmed with the love of his country, and solicitous for her honour. The public, big with expectation, dubious where the stroke would fall, but confident of its success, were impatient for tidings from the fleet; but it was not till the fourteenth that even the troops on board began to conjecture that a descent was meditated on the coast of France near Rochefort, or Rochelle.

On the twentieth, the fleet made the isle of Oleron, and then Sir Edward Hawke sent an order to vice-admiral Knowles, requiring him, if the wind permitted the fleet, to proceed to Basque road, to stand in as near to the Isle of Aix, as the pilot would carry him, with such ships of his division as he thought necessary for the service, and to batter the fort till the garrison should either abandon or surrender it. But the immediate execution of this order was frustrated by a French ship of war's standing into the very middle of the fleet, and continuing in that station for some time before she discovered her mistake, or any of the captains had a signal thrown out to give chase. A — l K — les, when too late, ordered the Magnanime, captain Howe, and Torbay, captain Keppel, on that service, and thereby retarded the attack upon which he was immediately sent. A stroke of policy greatly to be admired, as from hence he gained time to assure himself of the strength of the fortifications of Aix, before he ran his majesty's ships into danger.

While the above ships, with the addition of the Royal William, were attending the French ship of war safe into the river Garonne, the remainder of the fleet was beating to the windward off the Isle of Oleron; and the commander in chief publishing orders and regulations which do credit to his judgment, and would have been highly useful had there ever been occasion to put them in execution.

On the twenty-third, the van of the fleet, led by captain Howe in the *Magnanime*, stood towards Aix, a small island situated in the mouth of the river Charente, leading up to Rochefort, the fortifications half finished, and mounted with about thirty cannon and mortars, the garrison composed of six hundred men, and the whole island about five miles in circumference. As the *Magnanime* approached, the enemy fired briskly upon her; but captain Howe, regardless of their faint endeavours, kept on his course without flinching, dropt his anchors close to the walls, and poured in so incessant a fire as soon silenced their artillery. It was, however, near an hour before the fort struck, when some forces were landed to take possession of so important a conquest, with orders to demolish the fortifications, the care of which was intrusted to vice-admiral Knowles.

Inconsiderable as this success might appear, it greatly elated the troops, and was deemed an happy omen of further advantages; but instead of embarking the troops that night, as was universally expected, several successive days were spent in councils of war, soundings of the coast, and deliberations whether the king's express orders were practicable, or to be complied with. Eight days were elapsed since the first appearance of the fleet on the coast, and the alarm was given to the enemy. Sir Edward Hawke, indeed, proposed laying a sixty-gun ship against Fouras, and battering that fort, which it was thought would help to secure the landing of the troops, and facilitate the enterprize on Rochefort. This, a French pilot on board (Thierry) undertook; but after a ship had been lightened for the purpose, vice-admiral Knowles reported that a bomb-ketch had run aground at above the distance of two miles from the fort; upon which the project of battering or bombarding the fort was abandoned. The admiral likewise proposed to bombard Rochelle; but this overture was over-ruled for reasons which we need not mention. It was at length determined in a council of war, held on the eighth, to make a descent, and attack the forts leading to and upon the mouth of the river Charente. An order, in consequence of this resolution, was immediately issued for the troops to be ready to embark from the transports in the boats precisely at twelve o'clock at night.

Accordingly the boats were prepared, and filled with the men at the time appointed; and now they remained beating against each other, and the sides of the ships, for the space of four hours, while the council were determining whether, after all the trouble given, they should land: when at length an order was published for the troops to return to their respective transports, and all thoughts of a descent, to appearance, were wholly abandoned.

The succeeding days were employed in blowing up and demolishing the fortifications of Aix; after which, the land officers, in a council of war, took the final resolution of returning to England without any farther attempts, fully satisfied they had done all in their power to execute the designs of the ministry, and chusing rather to oppose the frowns of an angry sovereign, the murmurings of an incensed nation, and the contempt of mankind, than fight a handful of dastardly militia. Such was the issue of an expedition that raised the expectation of all Europe, threw the coasts of France into the utmost confusion, and cost the people of England little less than a million of money!

Ann. 1757. The fleet was no sooner returned than the whole nation was in a ferment. The public expectation had been wound up to the highest pitch, and now the disappointment was proportioned to the sanguine hopes conceived that the pride of France would have been humbled by so formidable an armament. The m——y, and with them the national voice, exclaimed against the commanding officers, and the military men retorted the calumny, by laying the blame on the projectors of the enterprize, who had put the nation to great expence, before they obtained the necessary information. Certain it was, that blame must fall somewhere, and the m——y resolved to acquit themselves, and fix the accusation, by requesting his majesty to appoint a board of officers of character and ability to enquire into the causes of the late miscarriage. This alone it was that could appease the public clamours, and afford general satisfaction.

The people
clamour.

The enemies of Mr. P——t endeavoured to wrest the miscarriage of the expedition to his prejudice; but the whispers of faction were soon drowned in the voice of the whole people of England, who never could persuade themselves that a gentleman, raised to the height of power and popularity by mere dint of superior merit, integrity, and disinterestedness, would now sacrifice his reputation by a mock armament; or hazard incurring the derision of Europe, by neglecting to obtain all the necessary previous information, or doing whatever might contribute to the success of the expedition. It was asked, whether reason or justice dictated, that a late unfortunate admiral should be capitally punished for not trying and exerting his utmost ability to relieve Fort St. Philip's, invested by a powerful army, and surrounded with a numerous fleet, while no charge of negligence or cowardice was brought against those who occasioned the miscarriage of a well-concerted and well-appointed expedition? The people, they said, were not to be quieted with the resolutions of a council of war, composed of men, whose inactivity might frame excuses for declining to expose themselves to danger. It was publicly mentioned that such backwardness appeared among the general officers before the fleet reached the isle of Oleron, as occasioned the a——l to declare with warmth, that he would comply with his orders, and go into Basque road, whatever might be the consequence. It was asked why the army did not land on the night of the twenty-third or twenty-fourth; and whether the officers sent out to reconnoitre had returned with such intelligence as seemed to render a descent impracticable? It was asked, whether the commander in chief had complied with his majesty's orders, "To attempt, as far as should be found practicable, a descent on the coast of France, at or near Rochefort, in order to attack, and, by a vigorous impression, force that place; and to burn and destroy, to the utmost of his power, all docks, magazines, arsenals, and shipping, as shall be found there?" Such rumours as these, every where propagated, rendered an enquiry no less necessary to the reputation of the officers on the expedition, than to the minister who had projected it.

His majesty
appoints a
board of in-
quiry.

Accordingly a board, consisting of three officers of rank, reputation, and ability, were appointed by his majesty, to inquire into the reasons why the fleet returned without having executed his majesty's orders.

The

The three general-officers, who met on the twenty-first of the same month, Ann. 1757.
 were Charles, duke of Marlborough, lieutenant-general; majors-general, lord Proceedings
 George Sackville, and John Waldegrave. To judge of the practicability of of the court
 executing his majesty's orders, it was necessary to inquire into the nature of inquiry.
 of the intelligence upon which the expedition was projected. The first
 and most important was a letter sent to Sir John, now lord Ligonier, by lieutenant-colonel Clark. This letter had been frequently examined in the privy council, and contained in substance, That colonel Clark, in returning from Gibraltar in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-four, had travelled along the western coast of France, to observe the condition of the fortifications, and judge how far a descent would be practicable, in case of a rupture between Great Britain and France. On his coming to Rochefort, where he was attended by an engineer, he was surprised to find the greatest part of a good rampart, with a revetement, flanked only with redans; no outworks, no covert-way, and in many places no ditch, so that the bottom of the wall was seen at a distance. He remembered, that in other places, where the earth had been taken out to form the rampart, there was left round them a considerable height of ground, whence an enemy might draw a great advantage: that for above the length of a front, or two or three hundred yards, there was no rampart, or even entrenchment, but only small ditches, in the low and marshy grounds next the river, which however were dry at low water; yet the bottom remained muddy and slimy. Towards the river no rampart, no batteries, no parapet, on either side, appeared; and on the land side he observed some high ground, within the distance of one hundred and fifty or two hundred yards of the town; in which condition, the colonel was told by the engineer, the place had remained for above seventy years. To prevent giving umbrage, he drew no plan of the place, and even burnt the few sketches he had by him: however, as to utility, the colonel declared himself as much satisfied as if he had taken a plan. He could not ascertain the direct height of the rampart; but thought it could not exceed twenty-five feet, including the parapet. The river might be about one hundred and thirty feet broad, and the entrance defended by two or three small redoubts. As to forces, none are ever garrisoned at Rochefort, except marines, which, at the time the colonel was on the spot, amounted to about one thousand.

This was the first intelligence the ministry received of the state of Rochefort, which afforded sufficient room to believe, that an attack by surprise might be attended with happy consequences. It was true, that colonel Clark made his observations in time of peace; but it was likewise probable, that no great alterations were made, on account of the war, as the place had remained in the same condition during the two or three last wars with France, when they had the same reasons as now to expect their coasts would be insulted.

The next information was obtained from Joseph Thierry, a French pilot, of the protestant religion, who passed several examinations before the privy council. This person declared, that he had followed the business of a pilot on the coast of France for the space of twenty years, and served as first pilot in several of the king's ships: that he had, in particular, piloted the *Magnanime*, before she was taken by the English, for about twenty-two months,

Ann. 1757. months, and had often conducted her into the road of the Isle of Aix; and that he was perfectly acquainted with the entrance, which, indeed, is so easy as to render a pilot almost unnecessary. The road, he said, afforded good and chorage in twelve or fourteen fathom water, as far as Bayonne: the channel between the islands of Oleron and Rhe was three leagues broad, and the banks necessary to be avoided, lay near the land, except one called the Boiard, which is easily discerned by the breakers. He affirmed, that the largest vessels might draw up close to the fort of Aix, which he would undertake the Magnanime alone should destroy; that the largest ships might come up to the Vigerot, two miles distant from the mouth of the river, with all their cannon and stores: that men might be landed to the north of fort Fouras, out of sight of the fort, upon a meadow, where the ground is firm and level, under cover of the cannon of the fleet. This landing place he reckoned at about five miles from Rochefort, the way dry, and no way intercepted by ditches and morasses. He said great part of the city was encompassed by a wall; but towards the river, on both sides, for about sixty paces, it was inclosed only with pallisades, without a fossè.

To the intelligence of colonel Clark and Thierry, the ministry added a secret account obtained of the strength and distribution of the French forces; whence it appeared highly probable, that not more than ten thousand men could be allowed for the defence of the whole coast, from St. Valery to Bourdeaux.

In consequence of the above information the secret expedition was planned; instructions were given to Sir John Mordaunt and admiral Hawke to make a vigorous impression on the French coast, and all the other measures projected, which it was imagined would make an effectual diversion, by obliging the enemy to employ a great part of their forces at home, disturb and shake the credit of their public loans, impair the strength and resources of their navy; disconcert their extensive and dangerous operations of war, and, finally, give life, strength, and lustre to the common cause and his majesty's arms.

The board of inquiry took next into consideration the several letters and explanatory instructions sent to Sir John Mordaunt, in consequence of some difficulties which might possibly occur, stated by that general in letters to the minister, previous to his sailing. Then they examined the report made to Sir Edward Hawke by admiral Broderick, and the captains of men of war sent to sound the French shore from Rochelle to fort Fouras, dated September the twenty-ninth; the result of the councils of war on the twenty-fifth and twenty-eighth; Sir Edward Hawke's letter to Sir John Mordaunt on the twenty-seventh, and the general's answer on the twenty-ninth: after which Sir John Mordaunt was called upon to give his reasons for not putting his majesty's instructions and orders in execution. This he did in substance as follows: The attempt on Rochefort, he understood, was to have been on the footing of a coup de main, or surprize, which it would be impossible to execute, if the design was discovered, or the alarm taken. He also understood that an attempt could not be made, nay, that his majesty did not require it should, unless a proper place for debarking, and a safe retreat for the troops, was discovered; particularly

particularly where the ships could protect them, and a safe communication with the fleet, and conveyance of supplies from it, were found. His sentiments, he said, were confirmed by a paper, to this purpose, delivered to him by Sir John Ligonier, on his first being appointed to command the expedition. It was likewise probable, he thought, that although Rochefort should have remained in the situation in which colonel Clark and the pilot Thierry had seen it three years before, yet that a few days preparation could make it sufficiently defensible against a coup de main. Judging, therefore, the dependance on such an operation alone, improper, he applied to the ministry for two more old battalions, and artillery for a regular attack to force the place; which, from its construction, appeared as difficult to be made defensible against the latter, as easily secured against the former. But this request being refused, he still thought it his duty to obey his orders on the footing on which the expedition was planned, especially as he understood his instructions were discretionary, regarding the circumstances of the time, the condition of the place, and the nature of the service. He recited the positive and credible intelligence received, as well before the embarkation as during the voyage, of the alarm given to France, and the preparations made along the French coasts from Brest and St. Maloes to Rochefort: the accidents that kept the fleet hovering along the coasts, and prevented the possibility of an attempt by surprize: the reports of all the gentlemen employed in sounding the coasts, so contrary to the intelligence given by Thierry the pilot: the opinion of the council of war, by which he was enjoined to act, and with which his own judgment concurred: the endeavours used, after the twenty-sixth, to find out some expedient for annoying the enemy, and executing his majesty's instructions: the attempt made to land, in consequence of the resolution of the second council of war, which was prevented by boisterous and stormy weather; and, lastly, the reasons that determined him, in concert with the other land-officers, to return to England.

Having considered all these circumstances, and examined several officers who served in the expedition, the court of inquiry gave in the following report to his majesty.

"It appears to us, that one cause of the expedition having failed, is the not attacking fort Fouras by sea, at the same time that it could have been attacked by land, agreeable to the first design, which certainly must have been of the greatest utility towards carrying your majesty's instructions into execution. It was at first resolved by admiral Hawke (Thierry, the pilot, having undertaken the safe conduct of a ship to fort Fouras for that purpose), but afterwards laid aside, upon the representation of vice-admiral Knowles, that the *Barfleur*, the ship designed for that service, was on ground, at the distance of between four and five miles from the shore: but as neither Sir Edward Hawke or the pilot could attend to give any information upon that head, we cannot presume to offer any certain opinion thereupon.

Result of the court of inquiry.

"We conceive another cause of the failure of the expedition to have been, that instead of attempting to land, when the report was received, on the twenty-fourth of September, from rear-admiral Broderick, and the captains who had been sent out to sound and reconnoitre, a council of war was summoned and held on the twenty-fifth; in which it was unanimously resolved not

Ann. 1757. to land, as the attempt on Rochefort was neither adviseable nor practicable: but it does not appear to us, that there were then, or at any time afterwards, either a body of troops or batteries on shore sufficient to have prevented the attempting a descent, in pursuance of the instructions signed by your majesty: neither does it appear to us, that there were any reasons sufficient to induce the council of war to believe that Rochefort was so changed, in respect to its strength, or posture of defence, since the expedition was first resolved on in England, as to prevent all attempts of an attack upon the place, in order to burn and destroy the docks, magazines, arsenals, and shipping, in obedience to your majesty's command.

“ And we think ourselves obliged to remark, in the council of war on the twenty-eighth of September, that no reason could have existed sufficient to prevent the attempt of landing the troops, as the council then unanimously resolved to land with all possible dispatch.

“ We beg leave also to remark, that after its being unanimously resolved to land, in the council of war of the twenty-eighth of September, the resolution was taken of returning to England, without any regular or general meeting of the said council: but, as the whole operation was of so inconsiderable a nature, we do not offer this to your majesty as a cause of the failure of the expedition, since we cannot but look upon the expedition to have failed from the time the great object of it was laid aside, in the council of war of the twenty-fifth.”

Reflections
on the report.

This report, signed by the general officers Marlborough, Sackville and Waldegrave, probably laid the foundation for the court-martial which sat soon after upon the conduct of the commander in chief on the expedition. The enemies of the m——r made a handle of the miscarriage, to lessen him in the esteem of the public, by laying the whole blame on his forming a project so expensive to the nation, on intelligence not only slight at the first view, but false upon farther examination. But the people were still his advocates: they discerned something mysterious in the whole conduct of the commander in chief. They plainly perceived that caution took place of vigour, and that the hours for action were spent in deliberations and councils of war. Had he debarked the troops, and made such an attack as would have distinguished his courage, the voice of the people would have acquitted him, however unsuccessful, though prudence perhaps might have condemned him. Even Braddock's rashness they deemed preferable to M——'s inactivity: the loss of so many brave lives was thought less injurious and disgraceful to the nation, than the too safe return of the present armament. The one demonstrated that the British spirit still existed; the other seemed to indicate the too powerful influence of wealth, luxury, and those manners which tend to debauch and emasculate the mind. A public trial of the commander in chief was expected by the people, and it was graciously granted by his majesty. It is even thought that Sir John Mordaunt himself demanded to have his conduct scrutinized, by which method alone he was sensible his character could be re-established. His majesty's warrant for holding a court-martial was accordingly signed on the third day of December. The court was composed of nine lieutenant-generals, nine major-generals, and three colonels, who sat on the fourteenth, and continued by several adjournments to the twentieth.

A court martial is appointed to try Sir John Mordaunt.

Lieutenant

Lieutenant-general Sir John Mordaunt came prisoner before the court, and the following charge was exhibited against him; namely, That he being appointed by the king commander in chief of his majesty's forces sent on an expedition to the coast of France, and having received orders and instructions relative thereto from his majesty, under his royal sign-manual, and also by one of his principal secretaries of state, hath disobeyed his majesty's said orders and instructions. The proceedings of this court were nearly similar to those of the court of inquiry. The same evidences were examined, with the addition of Sir Edward Hawke's deposition; and a defence, differing in no essential point from the former, made by the prisoner; but the judgment given was clear and explicit. Sir John Mordaunt was unanimously found Not guilty, and therefore acquitted, while the public opinion remained unaltered; and many persons inveighed as bitterly against the lenity of the present court-martial, as they had formerly against the severity of the sentence passed upon a late unfortunate admiral. The evidence of one gentleman, in particular, drew attention: he was accused of tergiversation, and of shewing that partial indulgence which his own conduct required. He publicly defended his character: his performance was censured, and himself dismissed the service by his f——n. Ann. 1757.

Besides the diversion intended by a descent on the coast of France, several other methods were employed to amuse the enemy, as well as to protect the trade of the kingdom, secure our colonies in the West Indies, and insure the continuance of the extraordinary success which had lately blessed his majesty's arms in the East Indies; but these we could not mention before, without breaking the thread of our narration.

On the ninth of February admiral West sailed with a squadron of men of war to the westward; as did admiral Coates with the fleet under his convoy to the West Indies; and commodore Stevens with the trade to the East Indies, in the month of March. Admiral Holbourn and commodore Holms, with eleven ships of the line, a fire-ship, bomb ketch, and fifty transports, sailed from St. Helen's for America in April. The admiral had on board six thousand two hundred effective men, exclusive of officers, under the command of general Hopson, assisted by lord Charles Hay. In May admiral Osborne, who had been forced back to Plymouth with his squadron by stress of weather, set sail for the Mediterranean; as did two ships of war sent to convoy the American trade. Squadron of men of war sent to the East and West Indies.

In the mean time the privateers fitted out by private merchants, and societies, greatly annoyed the French commerce. The Antigallican, a private ship of war, equipped by a society of men who assumed that name, took the Duke de Penthievre Indiaman off the port of Corunna, and carried her into Cadiz. The prize was estimated worth two hundred thousand pounds; and immediate application was made by France to the court of Spain for restitution, while the proprietors of the Antigallican were squandering in mirth, festivity, and riot, the imaginary wealth, so easily and unexpectedly acquired. Such were the remonstrances made to his catholic majesty, with respect to the illegality of the prize, which the French East India company asserted was taken within shot of a neutral port, that the Penthievre was first violently wrested out of the hands of the captors, then detained as a deposit, with sealed hatches, and Success of the English privateers.

Ann. 1757. a Spanish guard on board, till the claims of both parties could be examined; and at last adjudged to be an illegal capture, and consequently restored to the French, to the great disappointment of the owners of the privateer.

Besides the success which attended a great number of other privateers, the lords of the admiralty published a list of above thirty ships of war and privateers taken from the enemy, in the space of four months, by the English sloops and ships of war; exclusive of the *Duke de Aquitaine* Indiaman, now fitted out as a ship of war, taken by the *Eagle* and *Medway*; the *Pondicherry* Indiaman, valued at one hundred and sixty thousand pounds, taken by the *Dover* man of war; and above six privateers brought into port by the diligent and brave captain Lockart, for which he was honoured with a variety of presents of plate by several corporations, in testimony of their esteem and regard. This run of good fortune was not, however, without some retribution on the side of the enemy, who, out of twenty-one ships homeward-bound from Carolina, made prize of nineteen; whence the merchants sustained considerable damage, and a great quantity of valuable commodities, indigo in particular, was lost to this country.

Riots occasioned by the high price of grain.

Notwithstanding the large imports of grain from different parts of Europe and America, the artifice of engrossers still kept up the price of corn. So incensed were the populace at the iniquitous combinations entered into to frustrate the endeavours of the legislature, and to oppress the poor, that they rose in a tumultuous manner in several counties, sometimes to the number of five or six thousand, and seized upon the grain brought to market. Nor was it indeed to be wondered at, considering the distress to which many persons were reduced. The difficulty of obtaining the necessaries of life raised the price of labour, at the most unseasonable time, when all manufacturers were overstocked for want of a proper market, which obliged them to dismiss above half the hands before employed. Hence arose the most pitiable condition of several thousands of useful industrious subjects; a calamity attended only with one advantage to the public, namely, the facility with which recruits were raised for his majesty's service. At last the plentiful crops, with which it pleased Providence to bless these kingdoms, the prodigious quantities of corn imported from foreign countries, and the wise measures of the legislature, broke all the villainous schemes set on foot by forestallers and engrossers, and reduced the price of corn to the usual standard. The public joy on this event, was greatly augmented by the safe arrival of the fleet from the Leeward Islands, consisting of ninety-two sail; and of the Streights fleet, esteemed worth three millions sterling, whereby the silk manufacturers in particular were again employed, and their distresses relieved. About the same time the India company was highly elated with the joyful account of the safe arrival and spirited conduct of three of their captains, attacked in their passage homeward by two French men of war, one of sixty-four, the other of twenty-six guns. After a warm engagement, which continued for three hours, they obliged the French ships to sheer off, with scarce any loss on their own side. When the engagement began, the captains had promised a reward of a thousand pounds to the crews, by way of incitement to their valour; and the company doubled the sum, in recompence of their fidelity and courage.

His Majesty, having taken into consideration the incredible damage sustained by the commerce of these kingdoms, for want of proper harbours and forts on the western coast to receive and protect merchantmen, was graciously pleased to order that a temporary security should be provided for the shipping which might touch at Milford-haven, until the fortifications voted in parliament could be erected. How far his majesty's directions have been complied with, the number of merchant ships taken by the enemies privateers upon that coast, sufficiently indicates. Ann. 1757.

Whatever reasons the government had to expect the campaign should be vigorously pushed in America, almost every circumstance turned out contrary to expectation. Not all the endeavours of the earl of Loudon to quiet the dissensions among the different provinces, and to establish unanimity and harmony, could prevail. Circumstances required, that he should act the part of a mediator, in order to raise the necessary supplies for prosecuting the war, without which it was impossible he could appear in the character of a general. A view of the operations in America.

The enemy, in the mean time, were pursuing the blow given at Oswego, and taking advantage of the distraction that appeared in the British councils. By their successes, in the preceding campaign, they remained masters of all the lakes. Hence they were furnished with the means of practising on the Indians in all the different districts, and obliging them, by rewards, promises, and menaces, to act in their favour. Every accession to their strength, was a real diminution of that of the British commander; but then the ignorance or pusillanimity of some of the inferior officers in our back settlements, was, in effect, more beneficial to the enemy than all the vigilance and activity of Montcalm.

In consequence of the shameful loss of Oswego, they voluntarily abandoned to the mercy of the French general the whole country of the Five Nations, the only body of Indians who had inviolably performed their engagements, or indeed who had preserved any sincere regard for the British government. The communication with these faithful allies was now cut off, by the imprudent demolition of the forts we possessed at the great Carrying-place. A strong fort, indeed, was built at Winchester, and called Fort Loudon, after the commander in chief, and four hundred Cherokee Indians, joined the English forces at Fort Cumberland: but this reinforcement by no means counterbalanced the losses sustained in consequence of our having imprudently stopped up Wood creek, and filled it with logs. Every person the least acquainted with the country, readily perceived the weakness of these measures, by which our whole frontier was left open and exposed to the irruption of the savages in the French interest, who would not fail to profit by our blunders, too notorious to escape them. By the removal of these barriers, a path was opened to our fine settlements on those grounds called the German Flats, and along the Mohawk's river, which the enemy destroyed with fire and sword before the end of the campaign.

In the mean time lord Loudon was taking the most effectual steps to unite the provinces, and raise a force sufficient to give some decisive blow. The attack on Crown Point, which had been so long meditated, was laid aside, as of less importance than the intended expedition to Louisbourg, now substituted Conduct of L—d L—n in America.

Ann. 1757. in its place, and undoubtedly a more considerable object in itself. Admiral Holbourn arrived at Hallifax, with the squadron and transports under his command, on the ninth of July; and it was his lordship's intention to repair thither with all possible diligence, in order to take upon him the command of the expedition; but a variety of accidents interposed. It was with the utmost difficulty he at length assembled a body of six thousand men, with which he instantly began his march to join the troops lately arrived from England. When the junction was effected, the whole forces amounted to twelve thousand men; an army that raised great expectations. Immediately some small vessels were sent out to examine and reconnoitre the condition of the enemy, and the intermediate time was employed in embarking the troops, as soon as the transports arrived. The return of the scouts totally altered the face of affairs: they brought the unwelcome news, that M. de Bois de la Mothe, who sailed in the month of May from Brest with a large fleet of ships of war and transports, was now safe at anchor in the harbour of Louisbourg. Their intelligence was supported by the testimony of several deserters; yet still it wanted confirmation, and many persons believed their account of the enemy's strength greatly magnified. Such advices, however, could not but occasion extraordinary fluctuations in the councils of war at Hallifax. Some were for setting aside all thoughts of the expedition for that season; while others, more warm in their dispositions, and sanguine in their expectations, were for prosecuting it with vigour, in spite of all dangers and difficulties. Their disputes were carried on with great vehemence, when a packet bound from Louisbourg for France, was taken by one of the English ships stationed at Newfoundland. She had letters on board, which put the enemies superiority beyond all doubt, at least by sea. It clearly appeared there were at that time in Louisbourg six thousand regular troops, three thousand natives, and one thousand three hundred Indians, with seventeen ships of the line, and three frigates, moored in the harbour; that the place was well supplied with ammunition, provision, and every kind of military stores; and that the enemy wished for nothing more than an attack, which it was probable would terminate to the disgrace of the assailants, and ruin of the British affairs in America. The commanders at Hallifax were fully apprized of the consequences of an unsuccessful attempt; it was therefore almost unanimously resolved to postpone the expedition to some more convenient opportunity, especially as the season was now far advanced, which alone would be sufficient to frustrate their endeavours, and render the enterprize abortive.

Expedition to
Louisbourg
postponed.

This resolution seems, indeed, to have been the most eligible in their circumstances, whatever constructions might afterwards be given, with intention to prejudice the public against the commander in chief. Lord Loudon's departure from New York, with all the forces he was able to collect, afforded the marquis de Montcalm the fairest occasion of improving the successes of the former campaign. That general had, in the very commencement of the season, made three different attacks on Fort-William-Henry, in all of which he was repulsed by the vigour and resolution of the garrison. But his disappointment here was ballanced by an advantage gained by a party of regulars and Indians at Ticonderoga. Colonel John Parker, with a detachment of near four hundred men, went by water, in whale and bay boats, to attack the enemy's ad-
vanced

vanced guard at that place. Landing at night on an island, he sent before dawn three boats to the main land, which the enemy way-laid and took. Having procured the necessary intelligence from the prisoners of the colonel's designs, they contrived their measures, placed three hundred men in ambush behind the point where he proposed landing, and sent three battoes to the place of rendezvous. Colonel Parker, mistaking these for his own boats, eagerly put to shore, was surrounded by the enemy, reinforced with four hundred men, and attacked with such impetuosity, that, of the whole detachment, only two officers and seventy private men escaped. Flushed with this advantage, animated by the absence of the British commander in chief, then at Halifax, and fired with a desire to revenge the disgrace he had lately sustained before Fort Henry, Montcalm drew together all his forces, with intention to lay siege to that place. Fort William-Henry stands on the southern coast of Lake George. It was built with a view to protect and cover the frontiers of the English colonies, as well as to command the lake. The fortifications were good, defended by a garrison of near three thousand men, and covered by an army of four thousand, under the conduct of general Webb, posted at no great distance. When the marquis de Montcalm had assembled all the forces at Crown Point, Ticonderoga, and the adjacent posts, together with a considerable body of Canadians and Indians, amounting in the whole to near ten thousand men, he marched directly to the fort, made his approaches, and began to batter it with a numerous train of artillery.

On the very day he invested the place, he sent a letter to colonel Monro, the governor, telling him, he thought himself obliged, in humanity, to desire he would surrender the fort, and not provoke the great number of savages in the French army by a vain resistance. "A detachment of your garrison has lately, says he, experienced their cruelty: I have it yet in my power to restrain them, and oblige them to observe a capitulation, as none of them hitherto are killed. Your persisting in the defence of your fort can only retard its fate a few days, and must of necessity expose an unfortunate garrison, who can possibly receive no relief, considering the precautions taken to prevent it. I demand a decisive answer, for which purpose I have sent the sieur Funtbrune, one of my aids-du-camp. You may credit what he will inform you of, from Montcalm."

General Webb beheld his preparations with an indifference and security bordering on infatuation. It is credibly reported, that he had private intelligence of all the French general's designs and motions; yet, either despising his strength, or discrediting the information, he neglected collecting the militia in time, which, in conjunction with his own forces, would probably have obliged Montcalm to relinquish the attempt, or, at least, have rendered his success very doubtful and hazardous. The enemy, meeting with no disturbance from the quarter they most dreaded, prosecuted the siege with vigour, and were warmly received by the garrison, who fired with great spirit, till they had burst almost all their cannon, and expended their ammunition. Neither Montcalm's promises or threats could prevail upon them to surrender, while they were in a condition to defend themselves, or could reasonably expect assistance from general Webb. They even persisted to hold out after prudence dictated they ought to surrender. Colonel Monro was sensible of the importance of his charge, and imagined

Ann. 1757. imagined that general Webb, though slow in his motions, would surely make some vigorous efforts either to raise the siege, or force a supply of ammunition, provision, and other necessaries into the garrison. At length necessity obliged him, after sustaining a siege from the third to the ninth day of August, to hang out a flag of truce, which was immediately answered by the French commander. Hostages were exchanged, and articles of capitulation signed by both parties. It was stipulated, that the garrison of Fort William-Henry, and the troops in the retrenched camp, should march out with their arms, the baggage of the officers and soldiers, and all the usual necessaries of war; escorted by a detachment of French troops, and interpreters attached to the savages: that the gate of the fort should be delivered to the troops of the most Christian king, immediately after signing the capitulation; and the retrenched camp, on the departure of the British forces: that the artillery, warlike stores, provision, and in general every thing, except the effects of the soldiers and officers, should, upon honour, be delivered to the French troops; for which purpose it was agreed there should be delivered, with the capitulation, an exact inventory of the stores, and other particulars specified: that the garrison of the fort, the troops in the retrenchment, and dependencies, should not serve for the space of eighteen months, from the date of the capitulation, against his most Christian majesty, or his allies: that with the capitulation there should be delivered an exact state of the troops, specifying the names of the officers, engineers, artillery men, commissaries, and all employed: that the officers and soldiers, Canadians, women, and savages, made prisoners by land since the commencement of the war in North America, should be delivered in the space of three months at Carrilon; in return for which an equal number of the garrison of Fort William should be capacitated to serve, agreeable to the return given by the English officer, and the receipt of the French commanding officers, of the prisoners so delivered: that an officer should remain as an hostage, till the safe return of the escorte sent with the troops of his Britannic majesty: that the sick and wounded, not in a condition to be transported to Fort Edward, should remain under the protection of the marquis de Montcalm; who engaged to use them with tenderness and humanity, and to return them as soon as recovered: that provision for two days should be issued out for the British troops: that, in testimony of his esteem and respect for colonel Monro and his garrison, on account of their gallant defence, the marquis de Montcalm should return one cannon, a six-pounder.

Whether the marquis de Montcalm was really assiduous to have these articles punctually executed, we cannot pretend to determine; but certain it is, they were perfidiously broke, in almost every instance. The savages, in the French interest, either paid no regard to the capitulation, or were permitted, from views of policy, to act the most treacherous, inhuman, and insidious part. They fell upon the British troops as they marched out, despoiled them of the few remaining effects, dragged the Indians in the English service out of their ranks, and assassinated them with circumstances of unheard-of barbarity.

Some British soldiers, with their wives and children, are said to have been savagely murdered by those brutal Indians, whose ferocity the French commander could not effectually restrain. The greater part of the English garrison

son, however, arrived at Fort Edward, under protection of the French escorte. Ann. 1757. The enemy demolished the fort, carried off the effects, provision, artillery, and every thing else left by the garrison, together with the vessels preserved in the lake, and departed, without pursuing their success by any other attempt.

Thus ended the third campaign in America, where, with an evident superiority over the enemy, an army of twenty thousand regular troops, a great number of provincial forces, and a prodigious naval power, not less than twenty ships of the line, we abandoned our allies, exposed our people, suffered them to be cruelly massacred in sight of our troops, and relinquished a large and valuable tract of country, to the eternal reproach and disgrace of the British name.

As to the naval transactions in this country, though less infamous, they were not less unfortunate. Immediately on lord Loudon's departure from Halifax, admiral Holbourn, now freed from the care of the transports, set sail for Louisbourg, with fifteen ships of the line, one ship of fifty guns, three small frigates, and a fire-ship. What the object of this cruize might have been, can only be conjectured. Some imagine curiosity was the admiral's sole motive, and the desire of informing himself with certainty of the enemy's strength; while others persuade themselves, that he was in hopes of drawing M. de la Mothe to an engagement, notwithstanding his superiority in number of ships and weight of metal. Be this as it may, the British squadron appeared off Louisbourg on the twentieth day of August; and approaching within two miles of the batteries, saw the French admiral make the signal to unmoor. Mr. Holbourn was greatly inferior in strength; and it is obvious, that his design was not to fight the enemy, as he immediately made the best of his way to Halifax. About the middle of September, being reinforced with four ships of the line, he again proceeded to Louisbourg, probably with intention, if possible, to draw the enemy to an engagement; but he found de la Mothe too prudent to hazard an unnecessary battle, the loss of which would have greatly exposed all the French colonies. Here the English squadron continued cruising until the twenty-fifth, when they were overtaken by a terrible storm from the southward. When the hurricane began, the fleet was about forty leagues distant from Louisbourg; but were driven in twelve hours within two miles of the rocks and breakers on that coast, when the wind providentially shifted. The ship Tilbury was shipwrecked upon the rocks, and half her crew drowned. Eleven ships were dismasted; others threw their guns overboard; and all returned in a very shattered condition to England, at a very unfavourable season of the year.

In this manner ended the expedition to Louisbourg, more unfortunate to the nation than the preceding designs upon Rochefort; less disgraceful to the commanders, but equally the occasion of ridicule and triumph to our enemies. Indeed, the unhappy consequences of the political disputes at home, the instability of the administration, and the frequent revolutions in our councils, were strongly manifested by that languor infused into all our military operations, and general unsteadiness in our pursuits. Faction in the mother country, produced divisions and misconduct in the colonies. No ambition to signalize themselves appeared among the officers, from the uncertainty whether

Naval transactions in America.

Reflections on the campaign in America.

Ann. 1757. their services were to be rewarded or condemned. Their attachment to particular persons weakened the love they ought to have entertained for their country in general, and destroyed that spirit of enterprize, that firmness and resolution, which constitutes the commander, and without which the best capacity, joined to the most uncorruptible integrity, can effect nothing.

Attempt of
M. de Kerfin
on Cape-
coast-castle,
on the coast
of Africa.

The French king not only exerted himself against the English in America, but even extended his operations to their settlements in Africa, which he sent one of his naval commanders with a small squadron to reduce. This gentleman, whose name was Kerfin, had scoured the coast of Guinea, and made prize of several English trading ships: but his chief aim was to reduce the castle at Cape-coast, of which had he gained possession, the other subordinate forts would have submitted without opposition. When Mr. Bell, the governor of this castle, received intelligence that M. de Kerfin was a few leagues to windward, and certainly intended to attack Cape-coast, his whole garrison did not exceed thirty white men, exclusive of a few Mulatto soldiers: his stock of ammunition was reduced to half a barrel of gunpowder; and his fortifications were so crazy and inconsiderable, that, in the opinion of the best engineers, they could not have sustained for twenty minutes the fire of one great ship, had it been properly directed and maintained. In these circumstances, few people would have dreamed of making any preparation for defence: but Mr. Bell entertained other sentiments, and acquitted himself with equal courage and discretion. He forthwith procured a supply of gunpowder, and a reinforcement of about fifty men, from certain trading vessels that happened to be upon that part of the coast. He mounted some spare cannon upon an occasional battery; and assembling a body of twelve hundred negroes, well armed, under the command of their chief, on whose attachment he could depend, ordered them to take post at the place where he apprehended the enemy would attempt a landing. These precautions were hardly taken when the French squadron consisting of two ships of the line and a large frigate, appeared, and in a little time their attack began: but they met with such a warm reception, that in less than two hours they desisted, leaving the castle very little damaged, and immediately made sail for the West Indies; very much to the disappointment and mortification of the Dutch officers belonging to the fort of Elmina, in the same neighbourhood, who made no scruple of expressing their wishes publicly in favour of the French commodore, and at a distance viewed the engagement with the most partial eagerness and impatience. M. de Kerfin was generally blamed for his want of conduct and resolution in this attempt: but he is said to have been deceived in his opinion of the real state of Cape-coast-castle by the vigorous and resolute exertion of the governor, and was apprehensive of losing a mast in the engagement; a loss which he could not have repaired on the whole coast of Africa. Had the fort of Cape-coast been reduced on this occasion, in all probability every petty republic of the Negroes, settled under the protection of the forts on the Gold Coast, would have revolted from the British interest: for while the French squadron, in their progress along shore, hovered in the offing at Anamaboe, an English settlement a few leagues to leeward of Cape coast, John Corrantee, the caboceiro, chief magistrate and general of the Blacks on that part of the coast, whose adopted son had a few years before been caressed,

ressed, and even treated as a prince in England, taking it for granted that this enterprize of the French would be attended with success, actually sent some of his dependants with a present of refreshments for their commodore; the delivery of which, however, was prevented by Mr. Brew, the English chief of the fort, who shattered in pieces the canoe before it could be launched, and threatened with his cannon to level the black town with the dust. The caboceiro, though thus anticipated in his design, resolved to be among the first who should compliment Mr. de Kerfin on his victory at Cape-coast; and, with this view, prepared an embassy or deputation to go thither by land; but, understanding that the French had failed in their attempt, he shifted his design, without the least hesitation, and dispatched the same embassy to Mr. Bell, whom he congratulated on his victory, assuring him he had kept his men ready armed to march at the first summons to his assistance. Ann. 1757.

In the East Indies the scene was changed greatly to the honour and advantage of Great Britain. There the commanders acted with that harmony, spirit, and unanimity becoming Britons, zealous for the credit of their king and the interest of their country. We left admiral Watson and colonel Clive advancing to Calcutta, to revenge the cruel tragedy acted upon their countrymen the preceding year. On the twenty-eighth of December, the fleet proceeded up the river: next day colonel Clive landed, and with the assistance of the squadron, in twenty-four hours made himself master of Busbudgia, a place of great strength, though very ill defended. On the first of January the admiral with two ships appeared before the town of Calcutta, and was received by a brisk fire from the batteries. This salute was returned so warmly, that the enemy's guns were soon silenced; and in less than two hours the place and fort were abandoned. Colonel Clive, on the other side, had invested the town, and made his attack with that vigour and intrepidity peculiar to himself, which greatly contributed to the sudden reduction of the settlement. As soon as the fort was surrendered, the brave and active captain Coote, with his majesty's troops, took possession, and found ninety-one pieces of cannon, four mortars, abundance of ammunition, stores, and provisions, with every requisite for sustaining an obstinate siege. Thus the English were re-established in the two strongest fortresses in the Ganges, with the inconsiderable loss of nine seamen killed, and three soldiers. A view of the English affairs in the East Indies. A few days after, Hughley, a city of great trade, situated higher up the river, was reduced with as little difficulty, but infinitely greater prejudice to the nabob, as here his storehouses of salt, and vast granaries for the support of his army, were burnt and destroyed. Incensed at the almost instantaneous loss of all his conquests, and demolition of the city of Hughley, the viceroy of Bengal discouraged all advances to an accommodation which was proposed by the admiral and chiefs of the company, and assembled an army of twenty thousand horse and fifteen thousand foot, fully resolved to expel the English out of his dominions, and take ample vengeance for the disgraces he had lately sustained. He was seen marching by the English camp in his way to Calcutta on the second of February, where he encamped, about a mile from the town. Colonel Clive immediately made application to the admiral for a reinforcement; and six hundred men, under the command of captain Warwick, were accordingly draughted from the different ships, and sent to assist his little army. Recovery of Calcutta. Clive drew out his forces,

Ann. 1757. forces, advanced in three columns towards the enemy, and began the attack so vigorously, that the viceroy retreated, after a feeble resistance, with the loss of a thousand men killed, wounded, and taken prisoners, five hundred horses, great numbers of draught bullocks, and four elephants. Tho' this advantage was less decisive than could be wished, yet did it sufficiently intimidate the Nabob into concessions much to the honour and advantage of the company. Admiral Watson gave him to understand in a letter, that this was no more than a specimen of what the British arms, when provoked, could perform. The suba desired the negotiation might be renewed; and in a few days the treaty was concluded. He promised not to disturb the English in any of those privileges or possessions specified in the phirmand granted by the Mogul: that all merchandize belonging to the company should pass and repass in every part of the province of Bengal, free of duty: that all the English factories seized the preceding year, or since, should be restored, with the money, goods, and effects appertaining: that all damages sustained by the English should be repaired, and their losses repaid: that the English should have liberty to fortify Calcutta, in whatever manner they thought proper, without interruption: that they should have the liberty of coining all the gold and bullion they imported, which should pass current in the province: that he would remain in strict friendship and alliance with the English, use his utmost endeavours to heal up the late divisions, and restore the former good understanding between them. All which several articles were solemnly signed and sealed, with the Nabob's own hand.

The suba's camp forced.

New treaty with the suba.

Feb. 9.

Such were the terms obtained for the company by the spirited and gallant conduct of the two English commanders. They had, however, too much discernment to rely on the promises of a barbarian, who had so perfidiously broke former engagements; but they prudently dissembled their sentiments, until they had thoroughly reinstated the affairs of the company, and reduced the French power in this province. In order to adjust the points that required discussion, the select committee for the company's affairs, appointed Mr. Watts, who had been released from his former imprisonment, as their commissary at the court of the suba, to whom he was personally known, as well as to his ministers, among whom he had acquired a considerable influence. Nothing less could have ballanced the interest which the French, by their art of intriguing, had raised among the favourites of the viceroy. While Mr. Watts was employed at Muxadavad, in counter-working those intrigues, and keeping the suba steady to his engagements; the admiral and Mr. Clive resolved to avail themselves of their armament in attacking the French settlements in Bengal. The chief object of their designs was the reduction of Chandénagore, situated higher up the river than Calcutta, of considerable strength, and the chief in importance of any possessed by that nation in the bay. Colonel Clive, being reinforced by three hundred men from Bombay, began his march to Chandénagore, at the head of seven hundred Europeans and one thousand six hundred Indians, where, on his first arrival, he took possession of all the out-posts, except one redoubt mounted with eight pieces of cannon, which he left to be silenced by the admiral. On the eighteenth of March the admirals Watson and Pocock arrived within two miles of the French settlement, with the Kent, Tyger, and Salisbury men of war; and found their passage obstructed by booms laid across the river,

river, and several vessels sunk in the channel. These difficulties being removed, they advanced early on the twenty-fourth, and drew up in a line before the fort, which they battered with great fury for three hours; while colonel Clive was making his approaches on the land side, and playing vigorously from the batteries he had raised. Their united efforts soon obliged the enemy to submission. A flag of truce was waved over the walls, and the place surrendered by capitulation. The keys were delivered to captain Latham of the Tyger, and in the afternoon colonel Clive with the king's troops took possession. Thus the reduction of a strong fortress, garrisoned by five hundred Europeans, and one thousand two hundred Indians, defended by one hundred and twenty-three pieces of cannon, and three mortars, well provided with all kinds of stores and necessaries, and of very great importance to the enemy's commerce in India, was accomplished with a loss not exceeding forty men on the side of the conquerors.

Ann. 1757.

Reduction of Chandena-gore.

By the treaty of capitulation the director, counsellors, and inferior servants of the settlement, were allowed to depart with their wearing apparel: the Jesuits were permitted to take away their church ornaments, and the natives to remain in the full exertion of their liberties; but the garrison were to continue prisoners of war. The goods and money found in the place were considerable; but the principal advantage arose from the ruin of the head settlement of the enemy on the Ganges, which could not but interfere with the English commerce in these parts.

March 24.

Success had hitherto attended all the operations of the British commanders, because they were concerted with foresight and unanimity; and executed with that vigour and spirit which have deservedly raised them high in the esteem of their country. They reduced the Nabob to reasonable terms of accommodation, before they alarmed the French; and now, when the power of the latter was destroyed, they entered upon measures to oblige the treacherous viceroy to a strict performance of the treaty he had so lately signed. However specious his promises were, they found him extremely dilatory in the execution of several articles of the treaty, which, in effect, was the same to the English commerce as if none had been concluded. The company's goods were loaded with high duties, and several other infractions of the peace committed, upon such frivolous pretences as evidently demonstrated, that he sought to come to an open rupture as soon as his projects were ripe for execution. In a word, he discovered, all along, a manifest partiality to the French, whose emissaries cajoled him with promises that he should be joined by such a body of their European troops, under Mr. de Buffly, as would enable him to crush the power of the English, whom they had taught him to fear and to hate. As recommencing hostilities against so powerful a prince was in itself dangerous, and, if possible, to be avoided, the affair was laid before the council of Calcutta, and canvassed with all the circumspection and caution that a measure required, on which depended the fate of the whole trade of Bengal. Mr. Watts from time to time sent them intelligence of every transaction in the suba's cabinet, and although that prince publicly declared he would cause him to be impaled as soon as the English troops should be put in motion within the kingdom of Bengal, he bravely sacrificed his own safety to the interest of the company, and exhorted them to proceed with vigour in their military operations. During these deliberations a

The suba's partiality to the French.

most

Ann. 1757. most fortunate incident occurred, that soon determined the council to come to an open rupture. The leading persons in the viceroy's court found themselves oppressed by his haughtiness and insolence. The same spirit of discontent appeared among the principal officers of his army: they were well acquainted with his perfidy, saw his preparations for war, and were sensible that the peace of the country could never be restored, unless either the English were expelled, or the Nabob deposed. In consequence a plan was concerted for divesting him of all his power; and the conspiracy was conducted by Jaffier Ali Khan, his prime minister and chief commander, a nobleman of great influence and authority in the province. The project was communicated by Ali Khan to Mr. Watts, and so improved by the address of that gentleman as in a manner to ensure success. A treaty was actually concluded between this Meer Jaffier Ali Khan and the English company; and a plan concerted with this nobleman and the other malcontents, for their defection from the viceroy. These previous measures being taken, colonel Clive was ordered to take the field with his little army. Admiral Watson undertook the defence of Chandanagore, and the garrison was detached to reinforce the colonel, together with fifty seamen, to be employed as gunners, and in directing the artillery. Then Mr. Watts deceiving the suba's spies, by whom he was surrounded, withdrew himself from Muxadavad, and reached the English camp in safety. On the nineteenth of June a detachment was sent to attack Cutwa fort and town, situated on that branch of the river forming the island Cassimbuzar. This place surrendered at the first summons; and here the colonel halted with the army for three days, expecting advices from Ali Khan. Disappointed of the hoped-for intelligence, he crossed the river, and marched to Plaissey, where he encamped. On the twenty-third at day-break, the suba advanced to attack him at the head of fifteen thousand horse, and near thirty thousand infantry, with about forty pieces of heavy cannon, conducted and managed by French gunners, on whose courage and dexterity he placed great dependance. They began to cannonade the English camp about six in the morning: but a severe shower falling at noon, they withdrew their artillery. Colonel Clive seized this opportunity to take possession of a tank and two other posts of consequence, which they in vain endeavoured to retake. Then he stormed an angle of their camp, covered with a double breast-work, together with an eminence which they occupied. At the beginning of this attack, some of their chiefs being slain, the men were so dispirited that they soon gave way: but still Meer Jaffier Ali Khan, who commanded their left wing, forbore declaring himself openly. After a short contest the enemy were put to flight, the Nabob's camp, baggage, and fifty pieces of cannon taken, and a most complete victory obtained. The colonel pursuing his advantage, marched to Muxadavad, the capital of the province, and was there joined by Ali Khan and the malcontents. It was before concerted, that this nobleman should be invested with the dignity of Nabob: accordingly the colonel proceeded solemnly to depose Suraja Dowlat, and, with the same ceremony, to substitute Ali Khan in his room, who was publicly acknowledged by the people as suba, or viceroy of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixia. Soon after the late viceroy was taken, and put to death by his successor, who readily complied with all the conditions of his elevation. He conferred on his allies very liberal rewards, and granted the company such extraordinary

extraordinary privileges, as fully demonstrated how justly he merited their assistance. By this alliance, and the reduction of Chandénagore, the French were intirely excluded the commerce of Bengal and its dependencies; the trade of the English company was restored, and increased beyond their most sanguine hopes; a new ally was acquired, whose interest obliged him to remain firm to his engagements; a vast sum was paid to the company and the sufferers at Calcutta, to indemnify them for their losses; the soldiers and seamen were gratified with six hundred thousand pounds, as a reward for the courage and intrepidity they exerted; and a variety of other advantages gained, which it would be unnecessary to enumerate. In a word, in the space of fourteen days a great revolution was effected, and the government of a vast country, superior in wealth, fertility, extent, and number of inhabitants, to most European kingdoms, transferred by a handful of troops, conducted by an officer untutored in the art of war, and a general rather by intuition than instruction and experience. But the public joy at these signal successes was considerably diminished by the death of admiral Watson, and the loss of Vizagapatam, an English settlement on the Coromandel coast. The admiral fell a victim to the unwholesomeness of the climate, on the sixteenth of August, universally esteemed and regretted; and the factory and fort at Vizagapatam were surrendered to the French, a few days after colonel Clive had defeated the Nabob.

We now turn our eyes to the continent of Europe, where we see the beginning of the year marked with a striking instance of the dreadful effects of frantic enthusiasm.

France had long enjoyed a monarch, easy, complying, good natured, and averse to all that wore the appearance of business, or of war. Contented with the pleasures of indolence, he sought no greatness beyond what he enjoyed, nor pursued any ambitious aim through the dictates of his own disposition. Of all men on earth, such a prince had the greatest reason to expect an exemption from plots against his person, and cabals among his subjects; yet was an attempt made upon his life by a man, who, though placed in the lowest sphere of fortune, had resolution to face the greatest dangers, and enthusiasm sufficient to sustain, without shrinking, all the tortures which the cruelty of man could invent, or his crimes render necessary. The name of this fanatic was Robert Francis Damien, born in the suburb of St. Catherine, in the city of Arras. He had lived in the service of several families, whence he was generally dismissed on account of the impatience, the melancholy, and sullenness of his disposition. So humble was the station of a person, who was resolved to step forth from obscurity, and, by one desperate effort, draw upon himself the attention of all Europe!

On the fifth day of January, as the king was stepping into his coach, to return to Trianon, whence he had that day come to Versailles, Damien, mingling among his attendants, stabbed him with a knife on the right side, between the fourth and fifth ribs. Immediately his majesty applying his hand to his side, cried out, "I am wounded! Seize him; but do not hurt him." Happily the wound was not dangerous; as the knife, taking an oblique direction, missed the vital parts. As for the assassin, he made no attempts to escape; but suffering himself quietly to be seized, was conveyed to the guard-room, where being interrogated if he committed the horrid action, he boldly answered in the

An attempt
to assassinate
the king of
France.

Ann. 1757. the affirmative. A process against him was instantly commenced at Versailles: many persons, supposed accessaries to the design upon the king's life, were sent to the Bastile; the assassin himself was put to the torture, and the most excruciating torments were applied, with intention to extort a confession of the reasons that could induce him to so execrable an attempt upon his sovereign. Incisions were made into the muscular parts of his legs, arms, and thighs, into which boiling oil was poured. Every refinement on cruelty, that human invention could suggest, was practised without effect: nothing could overcome his obstinacy; and his silence was construed into a presumption, that he must have had accomplices in the plot. To render his punishment more public and conspicuous, he was removed to Paris, there to undergo a repetition of all his former tortures, with such additional circumstances as the most fertile and cruel dispositions could devise for encreasing his misery and torment. Being conducted to the Conciergerie, an iron bed, which likewise served for a chair, was prepared for him, and to this he was fastened with chains. The torture again was applied, and a physician ordered to attend, to see what degree of pain he could support. Nothing, however, material was extorted; for what he one moment confessed, he recanted the next. It is not within our province, and we consider it as a felicity, to relate all the circumstances of this cruel and tragical event. Sufficient it is, that, after suffering the most exquisite torments that human nature could invent, or man support, his judges thought proper to terminate his misery by a death shocking to imagination, and shameful to humanity. On the twenty-eighth day of March he was conducted, amidst a vast concourse of the populace, to the Greve, the common place of execution, stripped naked, and fastened to the scaffold by iron gyves. One of his hands was then burnt in liquid flaming sulphur; his thighs, legs, and arms were torn with red hot pincers; boiling oil, melted lead, rosin, and sulphur, were poured into the wounds; tight ligatures tied round his limbs to prepare him for dismemberment; young and vigorous horses applied to the draught, and the unhappy criminal pulled with all their force to the utmost extension of his sinews for the space of an hour, during all which time he preserved his senses and constancy. At length the physician and surgeon, attending, declared it would be impossible to accomplish the dismemberment, unless the tendons were separated: upon which orders were given to the executioner to cut the sinews at the joints of the arms and legs. The horses drew afresh: a thigh and arm were separated, and, after several pulls, the unfortunate wretch expired under the extremity of pain. His body and limbs were reduced to ashes under the scaffold; his father, wife, daughter, and family, banished the kingdom for ever; the name of Damien effaced and obliterated, and the innocent involved in the punishment of the guilty.

Tortures inflicted on the assassin.

Thus ended the procedure against Damien and his family, in a manner not very favourable to the avowed clemency of Lewis, or the acknowledged humanity of the French nation. It appeared from undoubted evidence, that the attempt on the king's life was the result of insanity, and a disturbed imagination. Several instances of a disordered mind had before been observed in his conduct, and the detestation justly due to the enormity of his crime ought now to have been absorbed in the consideration of his misfortune, the greatest that can befall human nature.

Another

Another remarkable event in France, in the beginning of this year, was the Ann. 1757 change in the ministry of that nation, by the removal of M. de Machault, Change in keeper of the seals, from the post of secretary of state for the marine; and of the French M. d'Argenson from that of secretary at war. Their dismissal was sudden and ministry. unexpected; nor was any particular reason assigned for this very unexpected alteration.

The French king, to shew the queen of Hungary how judiciously she had acted in forming an alliance with the house of Bourbon, raised two great armies; the first of which, composed of near eighty thousand men, the flower of the French troops, with a large train of artillery, was commanded by M. d'Etrées, a general of great reputation; under whom served M. de Contades, M. Chevert, and the count de St. Germain, all officers of high character. This formidable army passed the Rhine early in the spring, and marched by Westphalia, in order to invade the king of Prussia's dominions, in quality of allies to the Empress-queen, and guardians of the liberties of the Empire: But their real view was to invade Hanover, a scheme which they knew would make a powerful diversion of the British force, from the prosecution of the war in other parts of the world, where the strength of France could not be fully exerted, and where their most valuable interests were at stake. They flattered themselves moreover, that the same blow by which they hoped to crush the king of Prussia, might likewise force his Britannic majesty into some concessions with regard to America. The other army of the French, commanded by the prince de Soubise, was destined to strengthen the Imperial army of execution, consisting of twenty-five thousand men, besides six thousand Bavarians, and four thousand Wirtembergers. But before these troops under Soubise, passed the Rhine, they made themselves masters of several places belonging to the king of Prussia upon the borders of the Low Countries; * whilst a detachment from d'Etrées's army seized upon the town of Embden, and whatever else belonged to the same monarch in East-Friesland.

At the close of the last campaign, the king of Prussia, having gained a petty advantage over the Imperialists under the command of marechal Brown, and incorporated into his own troops a great part of the Saxon army taken prisoners at Pirna, as was observed before, retired into winter-quarters until the season should permit him to improve these advantages. His majesty and marechal Keith wintered in Saxony, having their cantonments between Pirna and the frontier along the Elbe; and marechal Schwerin, returning into Silesia, took up his quarters in the county of Glatz.

In the mean time, the Empress-queen finding the force which she had sent State of the out against the king of Prussia was not sufficient to prevent his designs, made confederacy the necessary requisitions to her allies for the auxiliaries they had engaged to against the furnish. In consequence of these requisitions, the Czarina, true to her engage- king of ments, dispatched above an hundred thousand of her troops, who began their Prussia. march in the month of November, and proceeded to the borders of Lithuania, with design particularly to invade the Ducal Prussia, whilst a strong fleet was equipped in the Baltic to aid the operations of this numerous army.

* The k— of P—a had withdrawn his enemy, that their irruption into G—y might garrison from Cleves, not without suspicion hasten the resolutions of the B—h m—y. of having purposely left this door open to the

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The Austrian army, assembled in Bohemia, amounted to upwards of four-score thousand men, commanded by prince Charles of Lorraine and marechal Brown. The Swedes had not yet openly declared themselves; but it was well known, that though their king was allied in blood and inclination to his Prussian majesty, yet the jealousy which the senate of Sweden entertained of their sovereign, and the hope of recovering their ancient possessions in Pomerania, by means of the present troubles, together with their old attachment to France, newly cemented by intrigues and subsidies, would certainly induce them to join in the general confederacy. The Duke of Mecklenbourg took the same party, and agreed to join the Swedish army, when it should be assembled with six thousand men. Besides all these preparations against the king of Prussia, he was, in his quality of elector of Brandenburg, put under the ban of the Empire by the aulic council; declared deprived of all his rights, privileges, and prerogatives; his fiefs were escheated into the exchequer of the Empire; and all the circles accordingly ordered to furnish their respective contingencies for putting this sentence in execution.

The progress
of the Russians
stopt.

Precautions
taken by the
king of Prussia.

In this dangerous situation, thus menaced on all sides, and seemingly on the very brink of inevitable destruction, the Prussian monarch owed his preservation to his own courage and activity. The Russians knowing that the country they were to pass through in their way to Lithuania, would not be able to subsist their prodigious numbers, had taken care to furnish themselves with provisions for their march, depending upon the resources they expected to find in Lithuania after their arrival in that country. These provisions were exhausted by the time they reached the borders of that province, where they found themselves suddenly and unexpectedly destitute of subsistence, either to return back or to proceed forward. The king of Prussia had, with great prudence and foresight, secured plenty to himself, and distress and famine to his enemies, by buying up all the corn and forage of the country which these last were entering. Notwithstanding these precautions, his Prussian majesty, to guard as much as could be against every possible event, sent a great number of gunners and matrosses from Pomerania to Memel, with three regiments of his troops, to reinforce the garrison of that place.

He visited all the posts which his troops possessed in Silesia, and gave the necessary orders for their security. He repaired to Neiss, where he settled with marechal Schwerin the general plan of the operations of the approaching campaign. There it was agreed, that the marechal's army in Silesia, which consisted of fifty thousand men, should have in constant view the motions of the royal army, by which its own were to be regulated, that they might both act in concert, as circumstances should require. At the same time other armies were assembled by the king of Prussia in Lusatia and Voigtland; twenty thousand men were collected at Zwickaw, on the frontiers of Bohemia, towards Egra, under the command of prince Maurice of Anhalt-Dessau; and sixty thousand chosen troops began their march towards Great Zeidlitz, where their headquarters were settled. In the mean while, the Austrian troops began to form on the frontiers of Saxony, where some of their detachments appeared, to watch the motions of the Prussians, who still continued to pursue their operations with great activity and resolution.

All

All possible care was taken by the Prussians at Dresden to secure a retreat, in case of a defeat. As only one regiment of Prussians could be spared to remain there in garrison, the burghers were disarmed, their arms deposited in the arsenal, and a detachment was posted at Konigstein, to oblige that fortress to observe a strict neutrality. All correspondence with the enemy was strictly prohibited; and it having been discovered that the countess of Ogilvie, one of the queen's maids of honour, had disobeyed his majesty's commands, she was arrested; but, on the queen's intercession, afterwards released. The countess of Bruhl, lady of the Saxon prime minister, was also arrested by his Prussian majesty's order; and, on her making light of her confinement, and resolving to see company, she was ordered to quit the court, and retire from Saxony. M. Henwin, the French minister, was told that his presence was unnecessary at Dresden; and on his replying, that his master had commanded him to stay, he was again desired to depart; on which he thought proper to obey. The count de Waekerbath, minister of the cabinet, and grand master of the household to the prince royal of Poland, was arrested, and conducted to Custrin, by the express command of his majesty. The king of Prussia, having thrown two bridges over the Elbe early in the spring, ordered the several districts of the electorate of Saxony to supply him with a great number of waggons, each drawn by four horses. The circles of Misnia and Leipzig were enjoined to furnish four hundred each, and the other circles in proportion.

While the king of Prussia was taking these measures in Saxony, two skirmishes happened on the frontiers of Bohemia, between his troops and the Austrians. On the twentieth of February, a body of six thousand Austrians surrounded the little town of Hirschfeld in Upper Lusatia, garrisoned by a battalion of Prussian foot. The first attack was made at four in the morning, on two redoubts without the gates, each of which was defended by two field-pieces: and though the Austrians were several times repulsed, they at last made themselves masters of one of the redoubts, and carried off the two pieces of cannon. In their retreat they were pursued by the Prussians, who fell upon their rear, killed some, and took many prisoners: this affair cost the Austrians at least five hundred men. About a fortnight after, the prince of Bevern marched out of Zittau, with a body of near nine thousand men, in order to destroy the remaining strong holds possessed by the Austrians on the frontiers. In this expedition he took the Austrian magazine at Friedland in Bohemia, consisting of nine thousand sacks of meal, and great store of ammunition; and, after making himself master of Reichenberg, he returned to Zittau. The van of his troops, consisting of a hundred and fifty hussars of the regiment of Putkammer, met with a body of six hundred Croats, sustained by two hundred Austrian dragoons of Bathiana, at their entering Bohemia; and immediately fell upon them sword in hand, killed about fifty, took thirty horses, and made ten dragoons prisoners. The Prussians, it is said, did not lose a single man on this occasion; and two soldiers only were slightly wounded, the Austrians having made but a slight resistance.

Whatever the conduct of the court of Vienna might have been to the allies of Great Britain, still, however, proper regard was shewn to the subjects of this crown: for an edict was published at Florence on the thirteenth of February, as grand duke of Tuscany.

Ann. 1757. ary, wherein his Imperial majesty, as grand duke of Tuscany, declared his intention of observing the most scrupulous neutrality in the then situation of affairs. All the ports in that dutchy were accordingly enjoined to pay a strict regard to this declaration, in all cases relating to the French or English ships in the Mediterranean. The good effects of this injunction soon appeared; for two prizes taken by the English having put into Porto Ferraio, the captains of two French privateers addressed themselves to the governor, alledging that they were captures of a pirate, and requesting that they might be obliged to put to sea: but the governor prudently replied, That as they came in under English colours, he would protect them; and forbid the privateers, at their peril, to commit any violence. They, however, little regarding the governor's orders, prepared for sailing, and sent their boats to cut out one of the prizes. The captain firing at their boats, killed one of their men, which alarming the centinels, notice was sent to the governor; and he, in consequence, ordered the two privateers immediately to depart.

Behaviour of the Dutch; The conduct of the Dutch was rather cautious than spirited. Whilst his Prussian majesty was employed on the side of Bohemia and Saxony, the French auxiliaries began their march to harrafs his defenceless territories in the neighbourhood of the Low Countries. A free passage was demanded of the States General through Namur and Maestricht, for the provisions, ammunition, and artillery belonging to this new army; and though the English ambassador remonstrated against their compliance, and represented it as a breach of the neutrality their High Mightinesses declared they would observe, yet, after some hesitation, the demand was granted; and their inability to prevent the passage of the French troops, should it be attempted by force, pleaded in excuse of their conduct.

who grant the French a free passage to the Low Countries;

where they take possession of several places belonging to the king of Prussia.

Scarce had the French army, commanded by the prince of Soubise, set foot in the territories of Juliers and Cologne, when they found themselves in possession of the dutchy of Cleves and the county of Mark, where all things were left open to them; the Prussians, who evacuated their posts, taking their route along the river Lippe, in order to join some regiments from Magdeburgh, who were sent to facilitate their retreat. The distressed inhabitants, thus exposed to the calamities of war, from an unprovoked enemy, were instantly ordered to furnish contributions, forage, and provisions, for the use of their invaders; and, what was still more terrifying to them, the partizan Fischer, whose cruelties, the last war, they still remembered with horror, was again let loose upon them by the inhumanity of the Empress-queen. Wesel was immediately occupied by the French: Emmerick and Maseyk soon shared the same fate: and the city of Gueldres was besieged, the Prussians seeming resolved to defend this last place; to which end they opened the sluices, and laid the country round under water. Those who retreated, filing off to the north-west of Paderborn, entered the county of Ritberg, the property of count Kaunitz Ritberg, great chancellor to the Empress-queen. After taking his castle, in which they found thirty pieces of cannon, they raised contributions in the district, to the amount of forty thousand crowns. As the Prussians retired, the French took possession of the country they quitted in the name of the Empress-queen, whose commissary attended them for that purpose. The general rendezvous

deztous of these troops, under the prince Soubise, was appointed at Neufs, in the electorate of Cologne, where a large body of French was assembled by the first of April. Ann. 1757.

The Austrians, in their turn, were not idle. Marshal Brown visited the fortifications of Brinn and Koningratz; reviewed the army of the late prince Piccolomini, now under the command of general Serbelloni; and put his own army in march for Kostlitz on the Elbe, where he proposed to establish his head-quarters.

During the recess of the armies, while the rigours of winter forced them to suspend their hostile operations, and the greatest preparations were making to open the campaign with all possible vigour, count Bestucheff, great chancellor of Russia, wrote a circular letter to the primate, senators, and ministers of the republic of Poland, setting forth, "That the empress of Russia was extremely affected with the king of Poland's distress, which she thought could not but excite the compassion of all other powers, but more especially of his allies: That the fatal consequences which might result from the rash step taken by the king of Prussia, not only with respect to the tranquillity of Europe in general, but of each power in particular, and more especially of the neighbouring countries, were so evident, that the interest and safety of the several princes rendered it absolutely necessary they should make it a common cause: not only to obtain proper satisfaction for those courts whose dominions had been so unjustly attacked, but likewise to prescribe such bounds to the king of Prussia as might secure them from any future apprehensions from so enterprising and restless a neighbour: that with this view, the Empress was determined to assist the king of Poland with a considerable body of troops, which were actually upon their march *, under the command of general Apraxin; and that, as there would be an absolute necessity for their marching through part of the territories of Poland, her Imperial majesty hoped the republic would not fail to facilitate their march as much as possible." She farther recommended to the republic, to take some salutary measures for frustrating the designs of the king of Prussia, and restoring harmony among themselves, as the most conducive measure to these good purposes. In this, however, the Poles were so far from following her advice, that, though sure of being sacrificed in this contest, which side soever prevailed, they divided into parties with no less zeal, than if they had as much to hope from the prevalence of one side, as to fear from that of the other. Some of the palatines were for denying a passage to the Russians, and others were for affording them the utmost assistance in their power. With this cause of contention, others of a more private nature fatally concurred, by means of a misunderstanding between the prince Czartorinski and count Mnissec. Almost every inhabitant of Warsaw was involved in the quarrel; and the violence of these factions was so great, that scarce a night passed without bloodshed, many dead bodies, chiefly Saxons, being found in the streets every morning. Declaration of the Czarina against the king of Prussia.

In the mean time Great Britain, unsettled in her ministry and councils at home, unsuccessful in her attempts abroad, judging peace, if it could be ob-

* This letter was written in December; and the Russians, as we observed before, began their march in November.

tained

Fruitless endeavours of the English to restore the tranquillity of Germany.

Ann. 1757. tained on just and honourable terms, more eligible than a continental war, proposed several expedients to the Empress-queen for restoring the tranquillity of Germany; but her answer was, "That, whenever she perceived that the expedients proposed would indemnify her for the extraordinary expences she incurred in her own defence, repair the heavy losses sustained by her ally the king of Poland, and afford a proper security for their future safety, she would be ready to give the same proofs she had always given of her desire to restore peace; but it could not be expected she should listen to expedients, of which the king of Prussia was to reap the whole advantage, after having begun the war, and wasted the dominions of a prince, who relied for his security upon the faith of treaties, and the appearance of a harmony between them.

Upon the receipt of this answer, the court of London made several proposals to the Czarina, to interpose as mediatrix between the courts of Vienna and Berlin; but they were rejected with marks of displeasure and resentment. When Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, the British ambassador, continued to urge his solicitations very strongly, and even with some hints of menaces, an answer was delivered to him by order of the Empress, purporting, "That her Imperial majesty was astonished at his demand, after he had already been made acquainted with the measures she had taken to effect a reconciliation between the courts of Vienna and Berlin. He might easily conceive, as matters were then situated, that the earnestness with which he now urged the same proposition, must necessarily surprize her Imperial majesty, as it shewed but little regard to her former declaration. The Empress, therefore, commanded his excellency to be told, that as her intentions contained in her first answer remained absolutely invariable, no ulterior propositions for a mediation would be listened to; and that as for the menaces made use of by his excellency, and particularly that the king of Prussia himself would soon attack the Russian army, such threats served only to weaken the ambassador's proposals; to confirm still more, were it possible, the Empress in her resolutions; to justify them to the whole world; and to render the king of Prussia more blameable."

The king of
Prussia enters
Bohemia.

The season now drawing on in which the troops of the contending powers would be able to take the field, and the alarming progress of the Russians being happily stopt, his Prussian majesty, whose maxim it has always been to keep the seat of war as far as possible from his own dominions, resolved to carry it into Bohemia, and there to attack the Austrians on all sides. To this end he ordered his armies in Saxony, Misnia, Lusatia and Silesia, to enter Bohemia in four different and opposite places, nearly at the same time. The first of these he commanded in person, assisted by marechal Keith; the second was led by prince Maurice of Anhalt-Deffau; the third by prince Ferdinand of Brunswic-Bevern; and the fourth by marechal Schwerin. In consequence of this plan, marechal Schwerin's army entered Bohemia, on the eighteenth of April, in five columns, at as many different places. The design was so well concerted, that the Austrians had not the least suspicion of their approach till they were past the frontiers; and then they filled the dangerous defile of Guider-Oelse with Pandours, to dispute that passage; but they were no sooner discovered, than two battalions of Prussian grenadiers attacked them with their bayonets fixed, and routed them. The prince of Anhalt passed the
frontiers

frontiers from Misnia, and penetrated into Bohemia on the twenty-first of April, without any resistance. The prince of Bevern, on the twentieth of the same month, having marched at the head of a body of the army, which was in Lusatia, from the quarters of cantonment near Zittau, possessed himself immediately of the first post on the frontier of Bohemia, at Krottau and Grafenstein, without the loss of a single man: drove away the enemy the same day from Kratzen, and proceeded to Machendorf, near Reichenberg. The same morning Putkammer's hussars, who formed part of a corps, commanded by a colonel and major, routed some hundreds of the enemy's cuirassiers, posted before Cohlin, under the conduct of prince Lichtenstein, took three officers and upwards of sixty horse prisoners, and so dispersed the rest, that they were scarcely able to rally near Kratzen. Night coming on, obliged the troops to remain in the open air till the next morning; when, at break of day, the Prussians marched in two columns, by Habendorf, towards the enemy's army, amounting to twenty-eight thousand men, commanded by count Konigseg, and posted near Reichenberg. As soon as the troops were formed, they advanced towards the enemy's cavalry, drawn up in three lines of about thirty squadrons. The two wings were sustained by the infantry, which was posted among felled trees and intrenchments. The Prussians immediately cannonaded the enemy's cavalry, who received it with resolution, having on their right hand a village, and on their left a wood, where they had entrenched themselves. But the prince of Bevern having caused fifteen squadrons of dragoons of the second line to advance, and the wood on his right to be attacked at the same time by the battalions of grenadiers of Kahlden and of Moellendorff, and by the regiment of the prince of Prussia, his dragoons, who, by clearing the ground, and possessing the intrenchments, had their flanks covered, intirely routed the enemy's cavalry. In the mean time colonel Putkammer and major Schenfeld, with their hussars, though flanked by the enemy's artillery, gave the Austrian horse grenadiers a very warm reception; whilst general Lestewitz, with the left wing of the Prussians, attacked the redoubts that covered Reichenberg. Though there were many defiles and rising grounds to pass, all occupied by the Austrians, yet the regiment of Darmstadt forced the redoubt, and put to flight and pursued the enemy, after some discharge of their artillery and small arms, from one eminence to another, for the distance of a mile, when they left off the pursuit. The action began at half an hour after six, and continued till eleven. About one thousand of the Austrians were killed and wounded: among the former were general Porporati and count Hohenfelds, and among the latter prince Lichtenstein and count Mansfeld. Twenty of their officers, and four hundred soldiers, were taken prisoners, and they also lost three standards. On the side of the Prussians seven subalterns and about an hundred men were killed, and sixteen officers and an hundred and fifty men wounded.

After this battle marechal Schwerin joined the prince of Bevern, made himself master of the greatest part of the circle of Buntzlau, and took a considerable magazine from the Austrians, whom he dislodged. The prince of Anhalt-Deffau, with his corps, drew near the king of Prussia's army; then the latter advanced as far as Budin, from whence the Austrians, who had an advantageous camp there, retired to Westwarn, half way between Budin and Prague;

The prince of Bevern defeats the Austrians under count Korigseg at Reichenberg.

Ann. 1757. Prague; and his Prussian majesty having passed the Egra, his army and that of marechal Schwerin were so situated as to be able to act jointly.

The king of Prussia gains a complete victory over the Austrians near Prague.

These advantages were but the prelude to a much more decisive victory, which the king himself gained a few days after. Preparing to enter Bohemia, at a distance from any of the corps commanded by his generals, he made a movement as if he had intended to march towards Egra. The enemy, deceived by this feint, and imagining he was going to execute some design, distinct from the object of his other armies, detached a body of twenty thousand men to observe his motions: then he made a sudden and masterly movement to the left, by which he cut off all communication between that detachment and the main army of the Austrians, which, having been reinforced by the army of Moravia, by the remains of the corps lately defeated by the duke of Bevern, and by several regiments of the garrison of Prague, amounted to near a hundred thousand men. They were strongly entrenched on the banks of the Moldaw, to the north of Prague, in a camp so fortified by every advantage of nature, and every contrivance of art, as to be deemed almost impregnable. The left wing of the Austrians, thus situated, was guarded by the mountains of Ziscka, and the right extended as far as Herboholi: Prince Charles of Lorrain and marechal Brown, who commanded them, seemed determined to maintain this advantageous post: but the king of Prussia overlooked all difficulties. Having thrown several bridges over the Moldaw on the fifth of May, he passed that river in the morning of the sixth, with thirty thousand men, leaving the rest of the army under the command of the prince of Anhalt-Dessau; and being immediately joined by the troops under marechal Schwerin and the prince of Bevern, resolved to attack the enemy on the same day. In consequence of this resolution, his army filed off on the left by Potschernitz; and at the same time count Brown wheeled to the right, to avoid being flanked. The Prussians continued their march to Bichwitz, traversing several defiles and morasses, which for a little time separated the infantry from the rest of the army. The foot began the attack too precipitately, and were at first repulsed; but they soon recovered themselves. While the king of Prussia took the enemy in flank, marechal Schwerin advanced to a marshy ground, which suddenly stopping his army, threatened to disconcert the whole plan of operation. In this emergency, he immediately dismounted, and taking the standard of the regiment in his hand, boldly entered the morass, crying out, "Let all brave Prussians follow me."

Marechal Schwerin killed in the battle.

Inspired by the example of this great commander, now eighty-two years of age, all the troops pressed forward; and, though he was unfortunately killed by the first fire, their ardour abated not till they had totally defeated the enemy. Thus fell marechal Schwerin, loaded with years and glory; an officer whose superior talents in the military art, had been displayed in a long course of faithful service.

In the mean time, the Prussian infantry, which had been separated in the march, forming themselves afresh, renewed the attack on the enemy's right, and intirely broke it; while their cavalry, after three charges, obliged that of the Austrians to retire in great confusion, the center being at the same time totally routed. The left wing of the Prussians then marched immediately to-

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wards Micheley, and being there joined by the horse, renewed their attack, while the enemy were retreating hastily towards Saszawa. Mean while the troops on the right of the Prussian army, attacked the remains of the left wing of the Austrians, and made themselves masters of three batteries. But the behaviour of the infantry in the last attack was so successful, as to leave little room for this part of the cavalry to act. Prince Henry of Prussia, and the prince of Bevern, signalized themselves on this occasion, in storming two batteries; Prince Ferdinand of Brunswic took the left wing of the Austrians in flank, while the king with his left, and a body of cavalry, secured the passage of the Moldaw. In short, after a very long and obstinate engagement, and many signal examples of valour on both sides, the Austrians were forced to abandon the field of battle, leaving behind sixty pieces of cannon, all their tents, baggage, military chest, and, in a word, their whole camp. The weight of the battle fell upon the right wing of the Austrians; the remains of whom, to the amount of ten or twelve thousand men, fled towards Beneschau, where they afterwards assembled under M. Pretlach, general of horse. The infantry retired towards Prague, and threw themselves into that city, with their commanders, prince Charles of Lorraine and marechal Brown; but they were much harraressed in their retreat, by a detachment of the Prussians under marechal Keith. The Prussians took, on this occasion, ten standards, and upwards of four thousand prisoners, thirty of whom were officers of rank. Their loss amounted to about two thousand five hundred killed, and about three thousand wounded. Among the former, were general d'Amstel, the prince of Holstein-Beck, the colonels Goltze and Manstein, and lieutenant colonel Roke. Among the latter, the generals Wenterfield, De la Mothe, Feuque, Hautcharmoy, Blankensee, and Plettenberg. The number of the killed and wounded on the side of the Austrians was much greater. Among these last, was marechal Brown, who received a wound, which, from the chagrin he suffered, rather than from its own nature, proved mortal.

The day after the battle, colonel Meyer was detached with a battalion of Prussian Pandours, and four hundred hussars, to destroy a very considerable and valuable magazine of the Austrians at Pilsen, and this service he performed. He also compleated the destruction of several others of less importance; by the loss of which, however, all possibility of subsistence was cut off, from any succours the Austrians might have expected from the Empire.

The Prussians, following their blow, immediately invested Prague on both sides of the river, the king commanding on one side, and marechal Keith on the other. In four days the whole city was surrounded with lines and intrenchments, by which all communication from without was intirely cut off: prince Charles of Lorraine and marechal Brown, the two princes of Saxony, the prince of Modena, the duke d'Aremberg, count Lacy, and several other persons of great distinction, were shut up within the walls; together with above twenty thousand of the Austrian army, who had taken refuge in Prague after their defeat.

Every thing continued quiet on both sides, scarce a cannon shot being fired by either for some time after this blockade was formed; and in the mean while the Prussians made themselves masters of Cziscaberg, an eminence which

Ann. 1757. commands the town, where the Austrians had a strong redoubt, continuing likewise to strengthen their works. Already they had made a sally, and taken some other ineffectual steps to recover this post; but a more decisive stroke was necessary. Accordingly a design was formed of attacking the Prussian army in the night with a body of twelve thousand men, to be sustained by all the grenadiers, volunteers, Pandours, and Hungarian infantry. In case an impression could be made on the king's lines; it was intended to open a way, sword in hand, through the camp of the besiegers, and to ease Prague of the multitude of forces locked up useless within the walls, serving only to consume the provisions of the garrison, and hasten the surrender of the place. Happily a deserter gave the prince of Prussia intelligence of the enemy's design, about eleven o'clock at night. Proper measures were immediately taken for their reception, and in less than a quarter of an hour the whole army was under arms.

The besieged
make a vigor-
ous sally;

This design was conducted with so much silence, that, though the Prussians were warned of it, they could discover nothing before the enemy had charged their advanced posts. The attack was begun on the side of the little town, against marechal Keith's camp, and the left wing of the Prussian army encamped on the Moldaw. From hence it is probable the Austrians proposed not only to destroy the batteries that were raising, but to attack the bridges of communication which the Prussians threw over the Moldaw, at about a quarter of a German mile above and below Prague, at Branick and Podbaba.

but are re-
pulsed.

The greatest alarm began about two o'clock, when the enemy hoped to have come silently and unexpectedly upon the miners; but they had left work about a quarter of an hour before. At the report of the first piece which they fired, the piquet of the third battalion of Prussian guards, to the number of an hundred men, who marched out of the camp to sustain the body which covered the works, was thrown into some confusion, from the darkness of the night, which prevented their distinguishing the Austrian troops from their own. Lieutenant Jork, detached with two platoons to reconnoitre the enemy, attempting to discover their disposition by kindling a fire, Captain Rodig, by the light of this fire, perceiving the enemy's situation, immediately formed the design of falling upon them in flank, and gave orders to his men to fire in platoons, which they performed, mutually repeating the signal given by their commander. The enemy fled with the greater precipitation, as they were ignorant of the weakness of the piquet, and as the shouting of the Prussian soldiers made them mistake it for a numerous body. Many of them deserted, many took shelter in Prague, and many more were driven into the river and drowned.

At the same time this attack began, a regiment of horse-grenadiers fell upon a redoubt which the Prussians had thrown up, supported by the Hungarian infantry: they returned three times to the assault, and were as often beat back by the Prussians, whom they found it impossible to dislodge; though Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick's battalion, which guarded this post, suffered extremely. During this attack, the enemy kept an incessant fire with their musquetry upon the whole front of the Prussians, from the convent of St. Margaret to the river.

At

At three in the morning the Prussians quitted their camp, to engage the enemy. The battalion of Pannewitz attacked a building called the Red-house, situated at the bottom of a declivity before Wellastowitz. The Pandours, who had taken possession of this house, fired upon them incessantly from all the doors and windows, until they were dislodged; and the Prussian battalions were obliged to sustain the fire, both of cannon and musquetry, for above two hours, when the enemy retired to the city, except the Pandours, who again took possession of the Redhouse, which the Prussians were forced to abandon, because the artillery of Prague kept a continual fire upon it from the moment it was known to be in their hands. The Austrians left behind them many dead and wounded, besides deserters; and the Prussians, notwithstanding the loss of several officers and private men, made some prisoners. Prince Ferdinand, the king of Prussia's youngest brother, had a horse killed under him, and was slightly wounded in the face. Ann. 1757.

The Prussian works being completed, and heavy artillery arrived, four batteries, erected on the banks of the Moldaw, began to play with great fury. Near three hundred bombs, besides an infinity of ignited balls, were thrown into the city in the space of twenty-four hours. The scene was lamentable; houses, men, and horses, wrapped in flames, and reduced to ashes. The confusion within, together with the want of proper artillery and ammunition, obliged the Austrians to cease firing, and furnished his Prussian majesty with all the opportunity he could wish of pouring destruction upon this unfortunate city. The horrors of war seemed to have extinguished the principles of humanity. No regard was paid to the distress of the inhabitants: the Austrians obstinately maintained possession, and the Prussians practised every stratagem, every barbarous refinement, that constitutes the military art, to oblige them to capitulate. After the conflagration had lasted three days, and consumed a prodigious number of buildings, the principal inhabitants, burghers, and clergy, perceiving their city on the point of being reduced to a heap of rubbish, besought the commander, in a body, to hearken to terms; but he was deaf to the voice of pity, and, instead of being moved with their supplications, drove out twelve thousand persons, the least useful in defending the city. These, by order of his Prussian majesty, were again forced back; which soon produced so great a scarcity of provision within the walls, that the Austrians were reduced to the necessity of eating horse-flesh, forty horses being daily distributed to the troops, and the same food sold at four pence a pound to the inhabitants. However, as there still remained great abundance of corn, they were far from being brought to the last extremity. Two vigorous and well-conducted sallies were made; but they proved unsuccessful. The only advantage resulting from them was the perpetual alarm in which they kept the Prussian camp, and the vigilance required to guard against the attacks of a numerous, resolute, and desperate garrison. Prague bombarded.

Whatever difficulties might have attended the conquest of Prague, certain it is, that the affairs of the Empress-queen were in the most critical and desperate situation. Her grand army dispersed in parties, and flying for subsistence in small corps; their princes and commanders cooped up in Prague; that capital in imminent danger of being taken; the flourishing kingdom of Bohemia ready to fall into the hands of the conqueror; a considerable army on the

Ann. 1757. the point of surrendering prisoners of war; all the queen's hereditary dominions open and exposed; the whole fertile tract of country from Egra to the Moldaw, in actual possession of the Prussians; the distance to the archduchy of Austria not very considerable, and secured only by the Danube; Vienna under the utmost apprehensions of a siege, and the Imperial family ready to take refuge in Hungary; the Prussian forces deemed invincible, and the sanguine friends of that monarch already sharing with him, in imagination, the spoils of the ancient and illustrious house of Austria. Such was the aspect of affairs, and such the difficulties to be combated, when Leopold, count Daun,

Count Daun takes the command of the Austrian army.

Character of that general.

was appointed to the command of the Austrian forces, to stem the torrent of disgrace, and turn the fortune of the war. This general, tutored by long experience, under the best officers of Europe, and the particular favourite of the great Kevenhuller, was now, for the first time, raised to act in chief, at the head of an army, on which depended the fate of Austria, and the empire. Born of a noble family, he relied solely upon his own merit, without soliciting court-favour: he aspired after the highest preferment, and succeeded by mere dint of superior worth. His progress from the station of a subaltern was slow and silent: his promotion to the chief command was received with universal esteem and applause. Cautious, steady, penetrating, and sagacious, he was opposed as another Fabius to the modern Hannibal, to check the fire and vigour of that monarch, by prudent foresight, and wary circumspection. Arriving at Boemisch-brod, within a few miles of Prague, the day after the late defeat, he halted to collect the fugitive corps and broken remains of the Austrian army, and soon drew together a force so considerable, as to attract the notice of his Prussian majesty, who detached the prince of Bevern with twenty battalions and thirty squadrons, to attack him before numbers should render him formidable. Daun was too prudent to give battle, with dispirited troops, to an army flushed with victory. He retired on the first advice that the Prussians were advancing, and took post at Kolin, where he entrenched himself strongly, opened the way for the daily supply of recruits sent to his army, and inspired the garrison of Prague with fresh courage, in expectation of being soon relieved. Here he kept close within his camp, divided the Prussian forces, by obliging the king to employ near half his army in watching his designs, weakened his efforts against Prague, harassed the enemy by cutting off their convoys, and restored, by degrees, the languishing and almost desponding spirits of his troops. Perfectly acquainted with the ardor and discipline of the Prussian forces, with the enterprising and impetuous disposition of that monarch, and sensible that his situation would prove irksome and embarrassing to the enemy, he improved it to the best advantage, seemed to foresee all the consequences, and directed every measure to produce them. Thus he retarded the enemy's operations, and assiduously avoided precipitating an action, until the Prussian vigour should be exhausted, their strength impaired by losses and desertion, the first fire and ardor of their genius extinguished by continual fatigue and incessant alarms; and until the impression made on his own men, by the late defeat, should, in some degree, be effaced. The event justified Daun's conduct. His army grew every day more numerous, while his Prussian majesty began to express the utmost impatience at the length of the siege. When that monarch first invested Prague, it was on the presumption that the numerous forces

forces within the walls would, by consuming all the provision, oblige it to surrender in a few days; but perceiving that the Austrians had still a considerable quantity of corn, that count Daun's army was daily encreasing, and would soon be powerful enough, not only to cope with the detachment under the prince of Bevern, but in a condition to raise the siege, he determined to give the count battle with one part of his army, while he kept Prague blocked up with the other. The Austrians amounting now to sixty thousand men, were deeply entrenched, and defended by a numerous train of artillery, placed on redoubts and batteries erected on the most advantageous posts. Every accessible part of the camp was fortified with lines and heavy pieces of battering cannon, and the foot of the hills secured by difficult defiles. Yet strong as this situation might appear, formidable as the Austrian forces certainly were, his Prussian majesty undertook to dislodge them with a body of horse and foot, not exceeding thirty-two thousand men. On the thirteenth day of June he quitted the camp before Prague, escorted by a few battalions and squadrons, with which he joined the prince of Bevern at Milkowitz. Marechal Keith, it is said, strenuously opposed this measure, and advised either raising the siege entirely, and attacking the Austrians with the united forces of Prussia, or postponing the attack on the camp at Kolin, until his majesty should either gain possession of the city, or some attempts should be made to oblige him to quit his posts. From either measure an advantage would have resulted. With his whole army he might probably have defeated count Daun, or at least have obliged him to retreat. Had he continued within his lines at Prague, the Austrian general could not have constrained him to raise the siege, without losing his own advantageous situation, and giving battle upon terms nearly equal. But the king, elated with success, impetuous in his valour, and confident of the superiority of his own troops in point of discipline, thought all resistance must sink under the weight of his victorious arm, and yield to that courage which had already surmounted such difficulties, disregarded the marechal's sage counsel, and marched up to the attack undaunted, and even assured of success. By the eighteenth the two armies were in fight; and his majesty found that count Daun had not only fortified his camp with all the heavy cannon of Olmutz, but was strongly reinforced with troops from Moravia and Austria, which had joined him after the king's departure from Prague. He found the Austrians drawn up in three lines upon the high grounds between Genlitz and St. John the Baptist. Difficult as it was to approach their situation, the Prussian infantry marched up with firmness, while shot was poured like hail from the enemy's batteries, and began the attack about three in the afternoon. They drove the Austrians with irresistible intrepidity from two eminences secured with heavy cannon, and two villages defended by several battalions; but, in attacking the third eminence, were flanked by the Austrian cavalry, by grape-shot poured from the batteries; and, after a violent conflict, and prodigious loss of men, thrown into disorder.

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The king of Prussia advances against him.

The battle of Kolin, or Kaurzim.

Animated with the king's presence, they rallied, and returned with double ardour to the charge; but were a second time repulsed. Seven times successively did prince Ferdinand renew the attack, performing every duty of a great

Ann. 1757. great general and valiant soldier, though always with the same fortune. The inferiority of the Prussian infantry, the disadvantages of ground, where the cavalry could not act, the advantageous situation of the enemy, their numerous artillery, their entrenchments, numbers, and obstinacy, joined to the skill and conduct of their general, all conspired to defeat the hopes of the Prussians, to surmount their valour, and oblige them to retreat. The king then made a last and furious effort, at the head of the cavalry, on the enemy's left wing; but with as little success as all the former attacks. Every effort was made, and every attempt was productive only of greater losses and misfortunes. At last, after exposing his person in the most perilous situations, his Prussian majesty drew off his forces from the field of battle, retiring in such good order, in sight of the enemy, as prevented a pursuit, or the loss of his artillery and baggage. Almost all the officers on either side distinguished themselves; and count Daun, whose conduct emulated that of his Prussian majesty, received two slight wounds, and had a horse killed under him. The losses of both armies were very considerable: on that of the Prussians, the killed and wounded amounted to eight thousand; less pernicious, however, to his majesty's cause than the frequent desertions, and other innumerable ill consequences that ensued.

The Prussians
defeated.

When the Prussian army arrived at Nimburg, his majesty leaving the command with the prince of Bevern, took horse, and, escorted by twelve or fourteen hussars, set out for Prague, where he arrived next morning without halting, after having been the whole preceding day on horseback. Immediately he gave orders for sending off all his artillery, ammunition, and baggage; these were executed with so much expedition, that the tents were struck, and the army on their march, before the garrison were informed of the king's defeat.

The siege of
Prague raised.

Thus terminated the battle of Kolin and siege of Prague, in which the acknowledged errors of his Prussian majesty were in some measure atoned by the candour with which he owned his mistake, both in a letter to the Earl Marshal *, and in conversation with several of his general officers. Most people, indeed, imagined the king highly blameable for checking the ardour of his

* "The Imperial grenadiers, says he, are an admirable corps: one hundred companies defended a rising ground, which my best infantry could not carry. Ferdinand, who commanded them, returned seven times to the charge; but to no purpose. At first he mastered a battery, but could not hold it. The enemy had the advantage of a numerous and well-served artillery. It did honour to Lichtenstein, who had the direction. Only the Prussian army can dispute it with him. My infantry were too few. All my cavalry were present, and idle spectators, excepting a bold push by my household troops and some dragoons. Ferdinand attacked without powder; the enemy, in return, were not sparing of theirs. They had the advantage of a rising ground, of intrenchments, and of a prodigious artillery. Several of my regiments were re-

pulsed by their musquetry. Henry performed wonders. I tremble for my worthy brothers: they are too brave. Fortune turned her back on me this day. I ought to have expected it: she is a female, and I am no gallant. In fact, I ought to have had more infantry.—Success, my dear lord, often occasions a destructive confidence. Twenty-four battalions were not sufficient to dislodge sixty-thousand men from an advantageous post. Another time we will do better.—What say you of this league, which has only the marquis of Brandenburg for its object? The great Elector would be surprized to see his grandson at war with the Russians, the Austrians, almost all Germany, and an hundred thousand French Auxiliaries,—I know not whether it will be disgrace in me to submit; but I am sure there will be no glory in vanquishing me."

troops,

troops, to stop and lay siege to Prague. They thought he should have pursued his conquests, over-run Austria, Moravia, and all the hereditary dominions, from which alone the Empress-queen could draw speedy succours. A body of twenty or thirty thousand men would have blocked up Prague, while the remainder of the Prussian forces might have obliged the Imperial family to retire from Vienna, and effectually prevented count Daun from assembling another army. It was universally expected he would have bent his march straight to this capital; but he dreaded leaving the numerous army in Prague behind; and it was of great importance to complete the conquest of Bohemia.

The prince of Prussia marched all night with his corps to Nimburg, where he joined the prince of Bevern; and marechal Keith retreated next day. Count Brown having died before of the wounds he received on the sixth of May, prince Charles of Lorraine sallied out with a large body of the Austrians, and attacked the rear of the Prussians; but did no farther mischief than killing about two hundred of their men.

The siege of Prague being thus raised, the imprisoned Austrians received their deliverer, count Daun, with inexpressible joy; and their united forces became greatly superior to those of the king of Prussia, who was in a short time obliged to evacuate Bohemia, and take refuge in Saxony. The Austrians harassed him as much as possible in his retreat: but their armies, though superior in numbers, were not in a condition, from their late sufferings, to make any decisive attempt upon him, as the frontiers of Saxony abound with situations easily defended.

The King of Prussia evacuates Bohemia.

Having thus described the progress of the Prussians in Bohemia, we must cast our eyes on the transactions which distinguished the campaign in Westphalia.

To guard against the storm which menaced Hanover in particular, orders were transmitted thither to recruit the troops that had been sent back from England, to augment each company, to remount the cavalry with the utmost expedition; not to suffer any horses to be conveyed out of the electorate; to furnish the magazines in that country with all things necessary for fifty thousand men. Of these twenty-six thousand were to be Hanoverians, and, in consequence of engagements entered into for that purpose, twelve thousand Hessians, six thousand Brunswickers, two thousand Saxe-Gothans, and a thousand Lunenburgers, to be joined by a considerable body of Prussians, and the whole commanded by his royal highness the Duke of Cumberland.

Preparations for the defence of Hanover.

The king of England having published a manifesto, dated at Hanover, specifying his motives for taking the field in Westphalia, the troops of the confederated states that were to compose the allied army, under the name of an army of observation, began to assemble with all possible diligence near Bielefeldt. Thither the generals, appointed to command the several divisions, repaired, to settle the plan of operations with their commander the duke of Cumberland, who, having left London on the ninth of April, arrived on the sixteenth at Hanover, and from thence repaired to the army, which, having been joined by three Prussian regiments that retired from Wesel, consisted of thirty-seven battalions.

The allied army assembles, under the command of the Duke of Cumberland.

Ann. 1757. battalions and thirty-four squadrons. Of these, six battalions and six squadrons were posted at Bielefeldt, under the command of lieutenant-general baron de Sporcken; six battalions under lieutenant-general de Block, at Hervorden; six battalions and four squadrons, under major-general Ledebour, between Hervord and Minden; seven battalions and ten squadrons, under lieutenant-general d'Oberg, in the neighbourhood of Hamelen; and five battalions and four squadrons, under major-general de Haufs, near Nienburg. The headquarters of his royal highness were at Bielefeldt.

In the mean time the French on the Lower Rhine continued filing off incessantly. The siege of Gueldres was converted into a blockade, occasioned by the difficulties the enemy found in raising batteries; and a party of Hanoverians, having passed the Weser, as well to ravage the country of Paderbourn as to reconnoitre the French, carried off several waggons loaded with wheat and oats, destined for the territories of the elector of Cologne. On the other hand, colonel Fischer having had an engagement with a small body of Hanoverians, in the county of Teklenburgh, routed them, and made some prisoners.

After several other petty skirmishes between the French and the Hanoverians, the duke of Cumberland altered the position of his camp, by placing it between Bielefeldt and Hervorden, in hopes of frustrating the design of the enemy; who, declining to attack him on the side of Bracwede, after having reconnoitred his situation several days, made a motion on their left, as if they meant to get between him and the Weser. This step was no sooner taken, than, on the thirteenth of June in the afternoon, having received advice that the enemy had caused a large body of troops, followed by a second, to march on his right to Burghotte, he ordered his army to march that evening towards Hervorden; and at the same time major-general Hardenberg marched with four battalions of grenadiers, and a regiment of horse, to reinforce that post. Count Schulenberg covered the left of the march with a battalion of grenadiers, a regiment of horse, and the light troops of Buckeburg. The whole army marched in two columns. The right, composed of horse, and followed by two battalions, to cover their passage through the inclosures and defiles, passed by the right of Bielefeldt: and the left, consisting of infantry, marched by the left of the same town.

Skirmishes
with the
French.

The van-guard of the French army attacked the rear-guard of the allies, commanded by major-general Einsiedel, very briskly, and at first put them into some confusion; but they immediately recovered themselves. This was in the beginning of the night. At break of day the enemy's reinforcements returned to the charge, but were again repulsed; nor could they once break through lieutenant-colonel Alfeldt's Hanoverian guards, which closed the army's march with a detachment of regular troops, and a new-raised corps of hunters.

The allies encamped at Cofeldt the fourteenth, and there remained all the next day, when the enemy's detachments advanced to the gates of Hervorden, and made a feint as if they would attack the town, after having summoned it to surrender: but they retired without attempting any thing farther; and, in the mean time, the troops that were posted at Hervorden, and formed the rear-guard, passed the Weser on the side of Remen, without any molestation,
and

and encamped at Holtzuyfen. A body of troops which had been left at Bielefeldt, to cover the duke's retreat, after some skirmishes with the French, re-joined the army in the neighbourhood of Herfort; and a few days after his royal highness drew near his bridges on the Weser, and sent over his artillery, baggage, and ammunition. At the same time some detachments passed the river on the right, between Minden and Oldendorp, and marked out a new camp, advantageously situated, having the Weser in front, and the right and left covered with eminences and marshes. There the army under his royal highness reassembled; and the French fixed their head-quarters at Bielefeldt, which the Hanoverians had quitted, leaving in it only part of a magazine, which had been set on fire.

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The duke of Cumberland passes the Weser.

By this time the French were in such want of forage, that M. d'Etrées himself, the princes of the blood, and all the officers, without exception, were obliged to send back part of their horses. However, on the tenth of June their whole army, consisting of seventy battalions and forty squadrons, with fifty-two pieces of cannon, besides a body of cavalry left at Ruremonde for the conveniency of forage, was put in motion. In spite of almost impassable forests, famine, and every other obstacle that could be thrown in their way by a vigilant and experienced general, they at length surmounted all difficulties, and advanced into a country abounding with plenty, and unused to the ravages of war.

It was imagined that the passage of the Weser, which defends Hanover from foreign attacks, would have been vigorously opposed by the army of the allies: but whether, in the present situation of affairs, it was thought advisable to act only upon the defensive, and not to begin the attack in a country that was not concerned as a principal in the war; or the duke of Cumberland found himself too weak to make head against the enemy, is a question we shall not pretend to determine. However that may have been, the whole French army passed the Weser on the tenth and eleventh of July, without the loss of a man. The manner of effecting this passage is thus related.

The French follow him.

Marechal d'Etrées, being informed that his magazines of provisions were well furnished, his ovens established, and the artillery and pontoons arrived at the destined places, ordered lieutenant-general Broglie, with ten battalions, twelve squadrons, and ten pieces of cannon, to march to Enggheren; lieutenant-general M. de Chevert, with sixteen battalions, three brigades of carabineers, the royal hunters, and six hundred hussars, to march to Hervorden; and lieutenant-general marquis d'Armentieres, with twelve battalions, and ten squadrons, to march to Ulrickhausen. All these troops being arrived in their camp on the fourth of July, halted the fifth. On the sixth, twenty-two battalions, and thirty-two squadrons, under the command of the duke of Orleans, who was now arrived at the army, marched to Ulrickhausen; from whence M. d'Armentieres had set out early in the morning, with the troops under his command, and by hasty marches got on the seventh, by eleven at night, to Blankenhoven, where he found the boats which had gone from Ahrensberg. The bridges were built, the cannon planted, and the entrenchments at the head of the bridges completed in the night between the seventh and eighth. The marechal, having sent away part of his baggage from Bielefeldt on the sixth, went in person on the seventh at eleven o'clock to Horn, and on the eighth to

M m

Braket.

Ann. 1757. Braket. On advice that M. d'Armentieres had thrown his bridges across, without opposition, and was at work on his entrenchments, he went on the ninth to Blankenhoven, to see the bridges and entrenchments; and afterwards advanced to examine the first position he intended for this army, and came down the right side of the Weser to the abbey of Corvey, where he forded the river, with the princes of the blood, and their attendants. On the tenth in the morning he got on horseback, by four o'clock, to see the duke of Orleans's division file off, which arrived at Corvey at ten o'clock; as also that of M. d'Armentieres, which arrived at eleven; and that of M. Souvré, which arrived at noon. The marechal, having examined the course of the river, caused the bridges of pontoons to be laid within gun-shot of the abbey, where the viscount de Turenne passed that river in the year one thousand six hundred and seventy three, and where the divisions under Broglie and Chevert now passed it on the twelfth and thirteenth. These two generals, being informed of what was to be done upon the Upper Weser, attacked Minden, and carried it; whilst a detachment of the French entered the country of East-Friesland, under the command of the marquis d'Auvel; and, after taking possession of Lier, marched on the right of the Ems to Embden, the only sea-port the king of Prussia had, which at first seemed determined to make a defence; but the inhabitants were not agreed upon the methods to be taken for that purpose. They therefore met to deliberate; but in the mean time, their gates being shut, M. d'Auvel caused some cannon to be brought to beat them down: and the garrison, composed of four hundred Prussians, not being strong enough to defend the town, the soldiers mutinied against their officers; whereupon a capitulation was agreed on, and the gates were opened to the French commander, who made his troops enter with a great deal of order, assured the magistrates that care should be taken to make them observe a good discipline; and published two ordinances, one for the security of the religion and commerce of the city, and the other for prohibiting the exportation of corn and forage out of that principality. The inhabitants were, however, obliged to take an oath of allegiance to the French king.

and lay the
electorate of
Hanover un-
der contribu-
tion.
On Sunday the twenty-fourth of July, the French, after having laid a part of the electorate of Hanover under contribution, marched in three columns, with their artillery, towards the village of Latford; when major-general Fustenberg, who commanded the out-ports in the village, sent an officer to inform the duke of Cumberland of their approach. His royal highness immediately reinforced those posts with a body of troops, under the command of lieutenant-general Sporcken; but finding it impossible to support the village, as it was commanded by the heights opposite to it, which were possessed by the enemy, and being sensible that it would be always in his power to retake it, from its situation in a bottom between two hills, he withdrew his post from Latford.

The action of
Hastenbeck. The French then made two attacks, one at the point of the wood, and the other higher up in the same wood, opposite to the grenadiers commanded by major-general Hardenberg; but they failed in both: and though the fire of their artillery was very hot, they were obliged to retire. The French army encamping on the heights opposite to the duke of Cumberland's posts, the intelligence received, that M. d'Etrées had assembled all his troops, and was furnished with a very considerable train of artillery, left his royal highness no room

to

to doubt of his intending to attack him. He therefore resolved to change his camp for a more advantageous situation, by drawing up his army on the eminence between the Wefer and the woods, leaving the Hamelen river on his right, the village of Hastenbeck in his front, and his left close to the wood, at the point of which his royal highness had a battery of twelve-pounders and haubitzers. There was a hollow way from the left of the village to the battery, and a morass on the other side of Hastenbeck to his right. Major-general Schulenberg, with the hunters, and two battalions of grenadiers, was posted in the corner of the wood upon the left of the battery: his royal highness ordered the village of Hastenbeck to be cleared to his front, to prevent its being in the power of the enemy to keep possession of it, and the ways by which the allies had a communication with that village during their encampment to be rendered impassable. In the evening he withdrew all his out-posts; and in this position the army lay upon their arms all night.

On the twenty-fifth in the morning the French army marched forwards in columns, and began to cannonade the allies very severely, marching and counter-marching continually, and seeming to intend three attacks, on the right, the left, and the center. In the evening their artillery appeared much superior to that of the allies. The army was again ordered to lie all night on their arms: his royal highness caused a battery at the end of the wood to be repaired, count Schulenberg to be reinforced with a battalion of grenadiers, and two field pieces of cannon, and that battery to be also supported by four more battalions of grenadiers, under the command of major-general Hardenberg. He likewise caused a battery to be erected of twelve and six pounders, behind the village of Hastenbeck, and took all the precautions he could think of to give the enemy a warm reception. As soon as it was day-light he mounted on horseback, to reconnoitre the position of the enemy, whom he found in the same situation as the day before. At a little after five a very smart cannonading began against the battery behind the village, which was supported by the Hessian infantry and cavalry, who stood a most severe fire with surprising steadiness and resolution. Between seven and eight the firing of small arms began on the left of the allies, when his royal highness ordered major-general Behr, with three battalions of Brunswick, to sustain the grenadiers in the wood, if their assistance should be wanted. The cannonading continued above six hours, during which, the troops that were exposed to it, never once abated of their firmness.

The fire of the small arms on the left, increasing; and the French seeming to gain ground; his royal highness detached the colonels Darkenhausen and Bredenbach with three Hanoverian battalions and six squadrons round the wood by Afferde, who, towards the close of the day, drove several squadrons of the enemy back to their army, without giving them any opportunity to charge. At length the grenadiers in the wood, apprehensive of being surrounded, from the great numbers of the enemy that appeared there, and were marching round on that side, though they repulsed every thing that appeared in their front, thought it adviseable to retire nearer the left of the army, a motion which gave the enemy an opportunity of possessing themselves of that battery without opposition. Here the hereditary prince of Brunswick distinguished himself at the head of a battalion of Wolfenbuttle-guards, and another of Hanoverians, who attacked and repulsed, with their bayonets, a superior force of the enemy,

Ann. 1757. and retook the battery. But the French being in possession of an eminence, which commanded and flanked both the lines of the infantry and the battery of the allies, and where they were able to support their attack under the cover of a hill, his royal highness considering the superior numbers of the enemy, near double to his, and the impossibility of dislodging them from their post, without exposing his own troops too much, ordered a retreat; in consequence of which his army retired, first to Hamelen, where he left a garrison, then to Nienburg, and afterwards to Hoya; in the neighbourhood of which town, after sending away all the magazines, sick, and wounded, he encamped, in order to cover Bremen and Verden, and to preserve a communication with Stade, to which place the archives, and most valuable effects of Hanover had been removed.

The allies retreat.

In this engagement, colonel Bredenbach attacked four brigades very strongly posted, with a battery of fourteen pieces of cannon, repulsed, and drove them down a precipice, and took all their artillery and ammunition; but preferring the care of his wounded to the glory of carrying away the cannon, he brought off only six, nailing up and destroying the rest. The loss of the allies, in all these skirmishes, which lasted three days, was three hundred and twenty-seven men killed, nine hundred and seven wounded, and two hundred and twenty missing, or taken prisoners; whilst that of the French, according to their own accounts, amounted to fifteen hundred men.

The French take Hamelen.

The French, being left masters of the field, soon reduced Hamelen, which was far from being well fortified, obliged the garrison to capitulate, and took out of the town sixty brass cannon, several mortars, forty ovens, part of the equipage of the duke's army, and large quantities of provisions and ammunition, which they found in it, together with a great many sick and wounded, who, not being included in the capitulation, were made prisoners of war.

The duke de Richelieu superseded the marshal d'Etrées in the command of the French army.

Whether the court of France had any reason to find fault with the conduct of the marshal d'Etrées, or whether its monarch was blindly guided by the counsels of his favourite the marquise de Pompadour, who, desirous to testify her gratitude to the man that had been one of the chief instruments of her high promotion, was glad of an opportunity to retrieve his shattered fortunes, and, at the same time, to add to her own already immense treasures, we shall not pretend to determine; though the event seems plainly to speak the last. Even at the time no comparison was made between the military skill of the marshal d'Etrées, and that of the duke de Richelieu; but however that may have been, this last, who, if he had not shone in the character of a soldier, excelled all, or at least most of his contemporaries in the more refined arts of a courtier, was, just before the battle we have been speaking of, appointed to supersede the former in the command of the French army in Lower Saxony, where he arrived on the sixth of August, with the title of marshal of France; and M. d'Etrées immediately resigned the command.

The French take possession of Hanover,

Immediately after the battle of Hastenbeck, the French sent a detachment of four thousand men to lay under contribution the countries of Hanover, and Brunswick-Wolfenbuttel, as well as the dutchies of Bremen and Verden; and two days after the arrival of this new commander, the duke de Chevreuse was detached with two thousand men to take possession of Hanover itself, with the title

title of governor of that city. He accordingly marched thither; and upon his arrival the Hanoverian garrison was disarmed, and left at liberty to retire where they pleased. Ann. 1757.

About the same time M. de Contades, with a detachment from the French army, was sent to make himself master of the territories of Hesse-Cassel, and of Hesse-Cassel. where he found no opposition. He was met at Warberg by that prince's master of the horse, who declared, that they were ready to furnish the French army with all the succours the country could afford; and accordingly the magistrates of Cassel presented him with the keys as soon as he entered their city. Gottingen was ordered by M. d'Armentieres, to prepare for him within a limited time, upon pain of military execution, four thousand pounds of white bread, two thousand bushels of oats, a greater quantity than could be found in the whole country, an hundred loads of hay, and other provisions.

The duke of Cumberland remained encamped in the neighbourhood of Hoya till the twenty-fourth of August, when, upon advice that the enemy had laid two bridges over the Aller in the night, and had passed that river with a large body of troops, he ordered his army to march, to secure the important post and passage of Rothenburg, lest they should attempt to march round on his left. He encamped that night at Hausen, having detached lieutenant-general Oberg, with eight battalions and six squadrons, to Ottersberg, to which place he marched next day, and encamped behind the Wummer, in a very strong situation, between Ottersberg and Rothenburg. The French took possession of Verden on the twenty-sixth of August, and one of their detachments went on the twenty-ninth to Bremen, where the gates were immediately opened to them. The duke of Cumberland, pressed on all sides by the French, who take Verden and Bremen. The duke of Cumberland, now closely pressed on all sides, and in danger of having his communication with Stade cut off, which the enemy was endeavouring to effect, by seizing upon all the posts round him, found it necessary to decamp again; to abandon Rothenburg, of which the French immediately took possession; to retreat to Selsingen, where his head-quarters were on the first of September; and from thence, on the third of the same month, to retire under the cannon of Stade. Here it was imagined that his army would have been able to maintain their ground between the Aller and the Elbe, till the severity of the season should put an end to the campaign. Accordingly his royal highness, upon his taking this position, sent a detachment of his forces to Buck-Schantz, with some artillery, and orders to defend that place to the utmost: but as it could not possibly have held out many days, and as the French, who now hemmed him in on all sides, by making themselves masters of a little fort at the mouth of the river Zwinga, would have cut off his communication with the Elbe, so that four English men of war then in that river could have been of no service to him; he was forced to accept of a mediation offered by the king of Denmark, by his minister the count de Lynar, and to sign the famous convention of Closter-Seven*, by which thirty-eight thousand Hanoverians laid down their arms, and were dispersed into different quarters of cantonment. Is forced to sign the convention of Closter-Seven.

The

* This remarkable capitulation, which we shall give here at full length, on account of the disputes that arose shortly after, concerning what the French called an infraction of it, was to the following effect:

“ His

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The French,
let loose by
this treaty a-
gainst the
king of Pru-
ssia,

The Hanoverians being now quite subdued, and the whole force of the French let loose against the king of Prussia by this treaty, marechal Richelieu immediately ordered lieutenant general Berchini to march with all possible expedition, with the troops under his command, to join the prince of Soubise : the

“ His majesty the king of Denmark, touched with the distresses of the countries of Bremen and Verden, to which he has always granted his special protection ; and being desirous, by preventing those countries from being any longer the theatre of war, to spare also the effusion of blood in the armies which are ready to dispute the possession thereof, hath employed his mediation by the ministry of the count de Lynar. His royal highness the duke of Cumberland, general of the army of the allies, on the one part, and his excellency the marechal duke de Richelieu, general of the king of France's forces in Germany, on the other, have, in consideration of the intervention of his Danish majesty, respectively engaged their word of honour to the count de Lynar, to abide by the convention hereafter stipulated ; and he, the count de Lynar, correspondently to the magnanimity of the king his master's intentions, obliges himself to procure the guaranty mentioned in the present convention ; so that it shall be sent to him, with his full powers, which there was no time to make out, in the circumstances which hurried his departure.

Article I. Hostilities shall cease on both sides within twenty-four hours, or sooner, if possible. Orders for this purpose shall be immediately sent to the detached corps.

II. The auxiliary troops of the army of the duke of Cumberland, namely, those of Hesse, Brunswick, Saxe-Gotha, and even those of the count de la Lippe-Buckbourg, shall be sent home : and as it is necessary to settle particularly their march to their respective countries, a general officer of each nation shall be sent from the army of the allies, with whom shall be settled the route of those troops, the divisions they shall march in, their subsistence on their march, and their passports to be granted them by his excellency the duke de Richelieu to go to their own countries, where they shall be placed and distributed as shall be agreed upon between the court of France and their respective sovereigns.

III. His royal highness the duke of Cumberland obliges himself to pass the Elbe, with such part of his army as he shall not be able to place in the city of Stade : That the part of his forces which shall enter into garrison in the said city, and which it is supposed may amount

to between four and six thousand men, shall remain there under the guaranty of his majesty the king of Denmark, without committing any act of hostility : nor, on the other hand, shall they be exposed to any from the French troops. In consequence thereof, commissaries, named on each side, shall agree upon the limits to be fixed round that place, for the conveniency of the garrison ; which limits shall not extend beyond half a league or a league from the place, according to the nature of the ground or circumstances, which shall be fairly settled by the commissaries. The rest of the Hanoverian army shall go and take quarters in the country beyond the Elbe : and, to facilitate the march of those troops, his excellency the duke de Richelieu shall concert with a general-officer, sent from the Hanoverian army, the route they shall take ; obliging himself to give the necessary passports and security for the free passage of them and their baggage to the places of their destination ; his royal highness the duke of Cumberland reserving to himself the liberty of negotiating between the two courts, for an extension of those quarters. As to the French troops, they shall remain in the rest of the dutchies of Bremen and Verden, till the definitive reconciliation of the two sovereigns.

IV. As the aforesaid articles are to be executed as soon as possible, the Hanoverian army, and the corps which are detached from it, particularly that which is at Buck-Schantz, and the neighbourhood, shall retire under Stade in the space of eight and forty hours. The French army shall not pass the river Oste, in the dutchy of Bremen, till the limits be regulated. It shall, besides, keep all the posts and countries of which it is in possession ; and, not to retard the regulation of the limits between the armies, commissaries shall be nominated and sent on the tenth instant to Bremenworden, by his royal highness the duke of Cumberland, and his excellency the marechal duke de Richelieu, to regulate, as well the limits to be assigned to the French army, as those that are to be observed by the garrison at Stade, according to Art. III.

V. All the aforesaid articles shall be faithfully executed according to their form and tenor, and under the faith of his majesty the king of Denmark's guaranty, which the

count

the gens-d'arms, and other troops that were in the landgraviate of Hesse-Cassel, Ann. 1757. received the same order; and sixty battalions of foot, and the greatest part of the horse belonging to the French army, were directed to attack the Prussian territories. Marechal Richelieu himself arrived at Brunswick on the fifteenth of September; and having, in a few days after, assembled an hundred and ten battalions, and an hundred and fifty squadrons, with an hundred pieces of cannon, near Wolfenbottle, he entered the king of Prussia's dominions with enter his do- his army on the twenty-seventh, twenty-eighth, and twenty-ninth of the same minions, month, in three columns, which penetrated into Halberstadt and Brandenburg, plundering the towns, exacting contributions, and committing many where they enormities, at which their general is said to have connived. In the mean time commit great the duke of Cumberland returned to England, where he arrived on the eleventh disorders. of October, and shortly after resigned all his military commands.

Had the allied army, after the battle of Hastenbeck, marched directly Reflections to the Leine, as it might easily have done, and then taken post on the other on the mis- side of Wolfenbottle, Halberstadt, and Magdeburgh, it might have waited conduct of securely under the cannon of the latter place for the junction of the Prussian the allied ar- forces; instead of which, they injudiciously turned off to the Lower Weser, my. retiring successively from Hamelen to Nienberg, Verden, Rothenburgh, Buxtehude, and lastly to Stade, where, for want of subsistence and elbow-room, the troops were all made prisoners of war at large. They made a march of an hundred and fifty miles to be cooped up in a nook, instead of

count de Lynar, his minister, engages to procure.

Done at the camp at Closter-Seven, Sept. 8, 1757.

Signed WILLIAM.

SEPARATE ARTICLES.

Upon the representations made by the count de Lynar, with a view to explain some dispositions made by the present convention, the following articles have been added:

I. It is the intention of his excellency the marechal duke de Richelieu, that the allied troops of his royal highness the duke of Cumberland shall be sent back to their respective countries, according to the form mentioned in the second article; and that as to their separation and distribution in the country, it shall be regulated between the courts, those troops not being considered as prisoners of war.

II. It having been represented, that the country of Lunenberg cannot accommodate more than fifteen battalions and six squadrons, and that the city of Stade cannot absolutely contain the garrison of six thousand men allotted to it, his excellency the marechal duke de Richelieu, being pressed by M. de Lynar, who supported this representation by the guaranty of his Danish majesty, gives his consent; and his royal highness the duke of Cumberland engages, to cause fifteen battalions and

six squadrons to pass the Elbe; and the whole body of hunters, and the remaining ten battalions and twenty-eight squadrons, shall be placed in the town of Stade, and the places nearest to it that are within the line, which shall be marked by posts from the mouth of the Liche in the Elbe, to the mouth of the Elmerbeck in the river Oste: provided always that the said ten battalions and twenty-eight squadrons shall be quartered there as they are at the time of signing this convention, and shall not be recruited under any pretext, or augmented in any case; and this clause is particularly guarantied by the count de Lynar in the name of his Danish majesty.

III. Upon the representation of his royal highness the duke of Cumberland, that the army and the detached corps cannot both retire under Stade in eight and forty hours, agreeable to the convention, his excellency the marechal duke de Richelieu hath signified, that he will grant them proper time, provided the corps encamped at Buck-Schantz, as well as the army encamped at Bremer-warden, begin their march to retire in four and twenty hours after signing the convention. The time necessary for other arrangements, and the execution of the articles concerning the respective limits, shall be settled between lieutenant-general Sporcke, and the marquis de Villemar, first lieutenant-general of the king's army.

Done, &c.

taking

Ann. 1757.
Consequences of that misconduct.

taking the other route, which was only about an hundred miles, and would have lead them to a place of safety. By this unaccountable conduct, the king of Prussia was not only deprived of the assistance of near forty thousand good troops, which, in the close of the campaign, might have put him upon an equality with the French and the army of the Empire; but also exposed to, and actually invaded by his numerous enemies on all sides, insomuch that his situation became now more dangerous than ever; and the fate which seemed to have threatened the Empress a few months before, thro' his means, was, to all appearance, turned against himself. His ruin was predicted, nor could human prudence foresee how he might be extricated from his complicated distress; for, besides the invasion of his territories by the French under the duke de Richelieu, the Russians, who had made for a long time a dilatory march, and seemed uncertain of their own resolutions, all at once quickened their motions, and entered Ducal Prussia under marechal Apraxin and general Fermor, marking their progress by every inhumanity that unbridled cruelty, lust, and rapine, can be imagined capable of committing. A large body of Austrians entered Silesia, and penetrated as far as Breslau: then, turning back, they laid siege to the important fortress of Schweidnitz, the key of that country. A second body entered Lusatia, another quarter of the Prussian territories, and made themselves masters of Zittau. Twenty-two thousand Swedes penetrated into Prussian Pomerania, took the towns of Anclam and Demmin, and laid the whole country under contribution. The army of the Empire, reinforced by that of prince Soubise, after many delays, was at last in full march to enter Saxony; and this motion left the Austrians at liberty to turn the greatest part of their forces to the reduction of Silesia. An Austrian general, penetrating through Lusatia, passed by the Prussian armies, and suddenly presenting himself before the gates of Berlin, laid the whole country under contribution; and though he retired on the approach of a body of Prussians, yet he still found means to interrupt the communication of these last with Silesia. The Prussians, it is true, exerted themselves bravely on all sides, and their enemies fled before them; but whilst one body was pursuing, another gained upon them in some other part. The winter approached, their strength decayed, and their adversaries multiplied daily. Their king, harrassed, and almost spent with incessant fatigue both of body and of mind, was in a manner excluded from the Empire. The greatest part of his dominions were either taken from him, or laid under contribution, and possessed by his enemies; who collected the public revenues, fattened on the contributions, and with the riches which they drew from the electorate of Hanover, and other conquests, defrayed the expences of the war; and by the convention of Closter-Seven, he was deprived of his allies, and left without any assistance whatever, excepting what the British parliament might think fit to supply. How different is this picture from that which the king of Prussia exhibited when he took arms to enter Saxony! But, in order to form a clear idea of these events, of the situation of his Prussian majesty, and of the steps he took to defeat the designs of his antagonists, and extricate himself from his great and numerous distresses, it will be proper now to take a view of the several transactions of his enemies, as well during his stay in Bohemia, as from

from the time of his leaving it, down to that which we are now speaking of. Ann. 1757.

Whilst the king of Prussia was in Bohemia, the empress of Russia ordered notice to be given to all masters of ships, That if any of them were found assisting the Prussians, by the transportation of troops, artillery and ammunition, they should be condemned as legal prizes : and her fleet, consisting of fifteen men of war and frigates, with two bomb-ketches, was sent to block up the Prussian ports in the Baltic, where it took several ships of that nation, which were employed in carrying provisions and merchandize from one port to another. One of these ships of war appearing before Memel, a town of Poland, but subject to Prussia, the commandant sent an officer to the captain, to know whether he came as a friend or an enemy ; to which interrogation the Russian captain replied, That notwithstanding the dispositions of the empress of both the Russias were sufficiently known, yet he would farther explain them, by declaring, that his orders, and those of the other Russian commanders, were, in conformity to the laws of war, to seize on all the Prussian vessels they met with on their cruize. Upon which the commandant of Memel immediately gave orders for pointing the cannon, to fire upon all Russian ships that should approach that place.

The Russian fleet sent to block up the Prussian port in the Baltic.

The land-forces of the Russians had now lingered on their march upwards of six months ; and it was pretty generally doubted, by those who were supposed to have the best intelligence, whether they ever were designed really to pass into the Prussian territories, not only on account of their long stay on the borders of Lithuania, but also because several of their Cossacks had been severely punished for plundering the waggons of some Prussian peasants upon the frontiers of Courland, and the damage of the peasants compensated with money, though general Apraxin's army was at the same time greatly distressed by the want of provisions ; when, on a sudden, they quickened their motions, and shewed they were, in earnest, determined to accomplish the ruin of Prussia. Their first act of hostility was the attack of Memel, which surrendered ; and by the articles of capitulation it was agreed, that the garrison should march out with all the honours of war, after having engaged not to serve against the Empress, or any of her allies, for the space of one year.

The Russian army under M. Apraxin quickens its motions, in order to invade Prussia.

Memel taken by the Russians.

His Prussian majesty, justly foreseeing the great enormities that were to be expected from these savage enemies, who were unaccustomed to make war, except upon nations as barbarous as themselves, who looked upon war only as an opportunity for plunder, and every country through which they happened to march as their's by right of conquest, published the following declaration.

“ It is sufficiently known, that the king of Prussia, after the example of his glorious predecessors, has, ever since his accession to the crown, laid it down as a maxim to seek the friendship of the imperial court of Russia, and cultivate it by every method. His Prussian majesty hath had the satisfaction to live, for several successive years, in the strictest harmony with the reigning Empress ; and this happy union would be still subsisting, if evil-minded potentates had not broke it by their secret machinations, and carried things to such a height, that the ministers on both sides have been recalled, and the correspondence broken off.

Declaration of the king of Prussia on this occasion.

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“ However melancholy these circumstances might be for the King, his majesty was nevertheless most attentive to prevent any thing that might increase the alienation of the Russian court. He hath been particularly careful, during the disturbances of the war that now unhappily rages, to avoid whatever might involve him in a difference with that court, notwithstanding the great grievances he hath to alledge against it; and that it was publickly known the court of Vienna had at last drawn that of Russia into its destructive views, and made it serve as an instrument for favouring the schemes of Austria.

“ His majesty hath given the whole world incontestable proofs, that he was under an indispensable necessity of having recourse to the measures he hath taken against the courts of Vienna and Saxony, who forced him by their conduct to take up arms for his defence. Yet, even since things have been brought to this extremity, the king hath offered to lay down his arms, if proper securities should be granted to him.

“ His majesty hath not neglected to expose the artifices by which the imperial court of Russia hath been drawn into measures so opposite to the Empress's sentiments, and which would excite the utmost indignation of that great princess, if the truth could be placed before her without disguise. The King did more: he suggested to her imperial majesty sufficient means either to excuse her not taking any part in the present war, or to avoid, upon the justest grounds, the execution of those engagements which the court of Vienna claimed by a manifest abuse of obligations, which they employed to palliate their unlawful views.

“ It wholly depended upon the empress of Russia to extinguish the flames of the war, without unsheathing the sword, by pursuing the measures suggested by the King. This conduct would have immortalized her reign throughout all Europe. It would have gained her more lasting glory, than can be acquired by the greatest triumphs.

“ The king finds with regret, that all his precautions and care to maintain peace with the Russian empire are fruitless, and that the intrigues of his enemies have prevailed. His majesty sees all the considerations of friendship and good neighbourhood set aside by the imperial court of Russia, as well as the observance of its engagements with his majesty. He sees that court marching its troops through the territories of a foreign power, and contrary to the tenor of treaties, in order to attack the King in his dominions: and thus taking part in a war, in which his enemies have involved the Russian empire.

“ In such circumstances, the King hath no other part to take, but to employ the power which God hath intrusted to him, in defending himself, protecting his subjects, and repelling every unjust attack.

“ His majesty will never lose sight of the rules which are observed, even in the midst of war, among civilized nations. But if, contrary to all hope and expectation, these rules should be violated by the troops of Russia, if they commit in the king's territories disorders and excesses disallowed by the laws of arms, his majesty must not be blamed if he makes reprisals in Saxony: and if, instead of that good order and rigorous discipline which have hitherto been observed by his army, avoiding all sorts of violence, he finds himself forced, contrary to his inclination, to suffer the provinces and subjects of Saxony to be treated in the same manner as his own territories shall be treated.

"As to the rest, the king will soon publish to the whole world the futility of the reasons alledged by the imperial courts of Russia to justify its aggression; and as his majesty is forced upon making his defence, he has room to hope, with confidence, that the Lord of hosts will bless his righteous arms, that he will disappoint the unjust enterprizes of his enemies, and grant him his powerful assistance, to enable him to make head against them."

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When the king of Prussia was put under the ban of the empire, the several princes who compose that body, were required, by the decree of the Aulic council, as we observed before, to furnish their respective contingents against him. Those who feared him looked upon this as a fair opportunity of reducing him; and those who stood in awe of the house of Austria, were, through necessity, compelled to support that power which they dreaded. Besides, they were accustomed to the influence of a family, in which the empire had, for a long time, been in a manner hereditary; and were also intimidated by the appearance of a confederacy, the most formidable, perhaps, that the world had ever seen. Yet, notwithstanding all this, the contingents, both of men and money, were collected slowly; the troops were badly composed; and many of those, not only of the protestant princes, but also of the catholics, shewed the utmost reluctance to act against his Prussian majesty, which, indeed, none of them would have been able to do, had it not been for the assistance of the French under the prince of Soubise. The Elector-Palatine lost above a thousand men by desertion. Four thousand of the troops belonging to the duke of Wirtemberg, being delivered to the French commissary on the twenty-fourth of June, were immediately reviewed; but the review was scarcely finished, when they began to cry aloud, that they were sold. Next morning thirty of them deserted at once, and were soon followed by parties of twenty and thirty each, who forced their way through the detachments that guarded the gates of Stutgard, and in the evening the mutiny became general. They fired upon the officers in the barracks, and let their general know, that if he did not immediately withdraw, they would put him to death. Mean while some of the officers having pursued the deserters, brought back a part of them prisoners, when the rest of the soldiers declared, that if they were not immediately released, they would set fire to the stadthouse and barracks; upon which the prisoners were set at liberty late in the evening. Next morning the soldiers assembled, and having seized some of the officers, three or four hundred of them marched out of the town at a time, with the music of the regiments playing before them; and in this manner near three thousand of them filed off, and the remainder were afterwards discharged.

The army of the empire raised with difficulty.

Unwillingness of many of the troops to serve against the king of Prussia.

The king of Prussia, upon his leaving Bohemia, after the battle of Kolin, retired towards Saxony, as we observed before; and having sent his heavy artillery and mortars up the Elbe to Dresden, fixed his camp on the banks of that river, at Leitmeritz, where his main army was strongly intrenched, whilst marechal Keith, with the troops under his command, encamped on the opposite shore; a free communication being kept open by means of a bridge. At the same time detachments were ordered to secure the passes into Saxony.

The king of Prussia encamped at Leitmeritz.

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The Austrians
take Gabel.

As this position of the king of Prussia prevented the Austrians from being able to penetrate into Saxony by the way of the Elbe, they moved, by slow marches, into the circle of Buntzlau, and, at last, with a detachment, commanded by the duke d'Arenberg and M. Macguire, on the eighteenth of June, fell suddenly upon, and took the important post at Gabel, situated between Boemish-Leypa and Zittau, after an obstinate defence made by the Prussian garrison, under major-general Putkammer, consisting of four battalions, who were obliged to surrender prisoners of war.

Upon their
drawing to-
wards Lusa-
tia, the king
of Prussia de-
camps from
Leitmeritz,
and marches
thither.

The Austrians having by this motion gained a march towards Lusatia, upon a corps which had been detached under the command of the prince of Prussia, to watch them; his Prussian majesty thought proper to leave Leitmeritz on the twentieth in the morning, and lay that night at Lickowitz, a village opposite to Leitmeritz, of which a battalion of his troops still kept possession, whilst the rest of his army remained encamped in the plain before that place. Next morning, at break of day, prince Henry decamped, and made so good a disposition for his retreat, that he did not lose a single man, though he marched in sight of the whole body of Austrian irregulars. He passed the bridge at Leitmeritz, after withdrawing the battalion that was in the town, and having burnt the bridge, the whole army united, and made a small movement towards the passes of the mountains; the king then lying at Sulowitz, near the field where the battle of Lowoschutz was fought on the first of October of the preceding year. The heavy baggage was sent on in the afternoon, with a proper escorte; and in the morning of the twenty-second the army marched in two columns, and encamped on the high grounds at Lusechitz, a little beyond Lenai, where it halted the twenty-third. No attack was made upon the rear-guard, though great numbers of Austrian hussars, and other irregulars, had appeared the evening before within cannon-shot of the Prussian camp. On the twenty-fourth the army marched to Nellendorf; on the twenty-fifth it encamped near Cotta; on the twenty-sixth near Pirna, where it halted the next day; and on the twenty-eighth it crossed the river near that place, and entered Lusatia, where, by the end of the month, it encamped at Bautzen.

The Austrians
destroy Zit-
tau,

with many
circumstances
of great
cruelty.

The king's army made this retreat with all the success that could be wished; but the corps under the prince of Prussia had not the same good fortune: for the Austrians, immediately after their taking Gabel, sent a strong detachment against Zittau, a trading town in the circle of Upper Saxony, where the Prussians had large magazines, and a garrison of six battalions, and, in his sight, attacked it with uncommon rage. Paying no regard to the inhabitants as being friends or allies, but determined to reduce the place before the king of Prussia could have time to march to its relief; they no sooner arrived before it, than they bombarded and cannonaded it with such fury, that most of the garrison finding themselves unable to resist, made their escape, and carried off as much as they could of the magazines, leaving only three or four hundred men in the town, under colonel Diricke, to hold it out as long as possible; which he accordingly did, till the whole place was almost destroyed. The cannonading began on the twenty-third of July, at eleven in the morning, and lasted till five in the evening. In this space of time four thousand balls, many of them red-hot, were fired into this unfortunate city, with so little intermission,

termiffion, that it was foon fet on fire in feveral places. In the confufion which the conflagration produced, the Auftrians entered the town, and the inhabitants imagined that they had then nothing farther to fear; and that their friends, the Auftrians, would affift them in extinguifhing the flames, and faving the place: but in this particular their expectations were difappointed. The pandours and Sclavonians, who rufhed in with the regular troops, made no diftinction between the Pruffians and the inhabitants of Zittau; inftead of helping to quench the flames, they began to plunder the warehouses which the fire had not reached; fo that all the valuable merchandize they contained, were either carried off or reduced to afhes. Upwards of fix hundred houfes, and almoft all the public buildings, the cathedrals of St. John and St. James, the orphan-houfe, eight parfonage-houfes, eight fchools, the town-houfe, and every thing contained in it, the public weigh-houfe, the prifon, the archives, and all the other documents of the town-council, the plate, and other things of value, prefented to the town, from time to time, by emperors, kings, and other princes and noblemen, were entirely destroyed, and more than four hundred citizens were killed in this affault. Of the whole town there was left ftanding only one hundred and thirty-eight houfes, two churches, the council, library, and the falt-work. The queen of Poland was fo affected by this melancholy account, that fhe is faid to have fainted away upon hearing it. As this city belonged to their friend the king of Poland, the Auftrians thought proper to publifh an excufe for their conduct, afcribing it entirely to the neceffity they were under, and the obftinate defence made by the Pruffian garrifon. But what excufes can atone for fuch barbarity?

The corps under the prince of Pruffia, which had been witneffes to the de-
 ftruction of this unhappy place, was, by the king's march to Bautzen, fortunately extricated from the danger of being furrounded by the Auftrians, who, upon his majesty's approach, retired from their pofts on the right. Soon after this event the prince of Pruffia, finding his health much impaired by the fatigues of the campaign*, quitted the army, and returned to Berlin. In the mean time marechal Keith, who had been left upon the frontier to guard the paffes of the mountains of Bohemia, arrived at Pirna, having been much haraffed in his march by the enemy's irregular troops, and loft fome waggons of provifions and baggage. After refting a day at Pirna, he purfued his march through Dresden with twenty battalions and forty fquadrons, and encamped on the right of the Elbe, before the gate of the new city, from whence he joined the king between Bautzen and Gorlitz. The Pruffian army now reafsembled at this place, amounted to about fixty thoufand men, befides twelve battalions and ten fquadrons which remained in the famous camp at Pirna, under the prince of Anhalt-Deffau, to cover Dresden, fecure the gorges of the mountains, and check the incurfions of the Auftrian irregulars, with whom,

The prince of
 Pruffia leaves
 the army.

which reaf-
 fembles near
 Bautzen,

* This was the reason that was publickly af-
 figned for his quitting the army: but a much
 more probable one, which was only whifpered,
 feems to have been, that this prince, than whom
 none ever was more remarkable for humanity
 and the focial virtues, difliking the violent pro-
 ceedings of the king his brother, could not re-
 frain from expoftulating with him on that fub-
 ject: upon which his majesty, with an air of
 great difapprobation, told him, "That the
 air of Berlin would be better for him than
 that of the camp." The prince accordingly
 retired to Berlin, where he died foon after;
 grief and concern for the welfare of his bro-
 ther, and for the fteps taken by him, having
 no fmall fhare in his death.

Ann. 1757. as they were continually flying about the skirts of the Prussian army, as well in their encampments as on their marches, almost daily skirmishes happened, with various success.

but is weakened by skirmishes and desertions.

Though some of these encounters were very bloody, they cost the Prussians much fewer men than they lost by desertion since the battle of Kolin. The reason seems obvious. The Prussian army had been recruited, in times of peace, from all parts of Germany; and though this way of recruiting may be very proper in such times, yet it cannot be expected to answer in a state of actual war, especially an unfortunate war: because the fidelity of such soldiers can never be so much depended on as that of natives, who serve their natural sovereign from principle, and not merely for pay, and who must desert their country, their parents, and their friends, at the same time that they desert their prince.

It will be proper here to take notice of some events, which could not easily be mentioned before, without breaking through the order we have proposed to ourselves in the writing of this history.

Ministers of the belligerent powers recalled.

The Empress-queen, more embittered than ever against the king of Prussia and his allies, recalled her ministers, count Coloredo, and mons. Zoherm, from London, towards the beginning of July; and about the same time count Kaunitz, great chancellor of the empire, informed Mr. Keith, the British minister at Vienna, that the court of London, by the succours it had given, and still continued to give the king of Prussia, as well as by other circumstances relating to the present state of affairs, having broken the solemn engagements which united this crown with the house of Austria, her majesty the Empress-queen had thought proper to recal her minister from England, and consequently to break off all correspondence. Mr. Keith, in pursuance of this notice, set out from Vienna on the twenty-ninth of July; as did also Mr. Desrolles his Britannic majesty's minister at the court of Brussels, from this last place, about the same time.

The communication between England and Ostend broke off.

On the seventh of July general Pisa, commandant of Ostend, Nieuport, and the maritime ports of Flanders, sent his adjutant to the English vice-consul at Ostend, at six o'clock in the morning, to tell him, that by orders from his court all communication with England was broke off; and desired the vice-consul to intimate to the packet-boats and British shipping at Ostend, Bruges, and Nieuport, to depart in twenty-four hours, and not to return into any of the ports of the Empress-queen, till further dispositions should be made.

The reasons alledged by the court of Vienna, for debarring the subjects of his Britannic majesty from the use of these ports, obtained for the house of Austria by the arms and treasures of Great Britain, were, "That her Imperial majesty, the Empress-queen, could not, with indifference, see England, instead of giving the succours due to her by the most solemn treaties, enter into an alliance with her enemy the king of Prussia, and actually afford him all manner of assistance, assembling armies to oppose those which the most Christian king, her ally, had sent to her aid, and suffering privateers to exercise open violence in her roads, under the cannon of her ports and coasts, without giving the least satisfaction or answer to the complaints made on that account; and the king of Great Britain himself, at the very time she was offering him a
neutrality

neutrality for Hanover, publishing by a message to his parliament, that she Ann. 1757.
 had formed, with the most Christian king, dangerous designs against that elec-
 torate: therefore her majesty, desirous of providing for the security of her
 ports, judged it expedient to give the forementioned orders; and at the same
 time to declare, that she could no longer permit a free communication between
 her subjects and the English, which had hitherto been founded upon treaties
 that Great Britain had, without scruple, openly violated."

Notwithstanding these orders, the English packet-boats, with letters, were
 allowed to pass as usual to and from Ostend; the ministers of her Imperial
 majesty wisely considering, how good a revenue the postage of English letters
 brings into the post-office of the Austrian Netherlands.

Ostend and Nieuport, by order of her Imperial majesty, received each of Ostend and
Nieuport
 them a French garrison; the former on the nineteenth of July, and the latter the garrisoned by
the French.
 next day, under the command of M. de la Motte, upon whose arrival the
 Austrian troops evacuated those places; though the Empress-queen still re-
 served to herself, in both of them, the full and free exercise of all her rights of
 sovereignty; to which purpose an oath was administered to the French com-
 mandant by her majesty's minister-plenipotentiary for the government of the
 Low Countries.

At the same time their Imperial and most Christian majesties notified to the Hamburg
 magistracy of Hamburg, that they must not admit any English men of war, menaced.
 or transports, into their port, on pain of having a French garrison imposed on
 them.

The city of Gueldres, which had been blocked up by the French ever since Gueldres ca-
 the beginning of summer, was forced by famine to capitulate on the twenty- pitulates.
 fourth of August, and the garrison marched out with all the honours of war,
 in order to be conducted to Berlin: but so many of them deserted, that when
 they passed by Cologne, the whole garrison consisted only of the commandant,
 and forty-seven men. By the surrender of this place the whole country lay
 open to the French and their allies quite up to Magdeburg; and the Empress-
 queen immediately received two hundred thousand crowns from the revenues
 of Cleves and la Marcke alone.

To return to the affairs more immediately relating to the king of Prussia. Skirmishes
 The advanced posts of the prince of Anhalt-Deffau at Pirna, were attacked between the
 on the tenth of August by a body of hussars, and other irregular troops of the Prussians and
 Austrians; but the Prussians soon obliged them to retire, with the loss of seve- the Austrians.
 ral men and two pieces of cannon.

On the nineteenth of the same month, early in the morning, a great number
 of Austrian Pandours surrounded a little town called Gotliebe, in which a
 Prussian garrison was quartered, with a design to take it by surprize. The
 Pandours attacked it on all sides, and in the beginning killed twenty-three
 Prussians, and wounded many; but the Prussians having rallied, repulsed the
 assailants with great loss.

These, however, were but a sort of preludes to much more decisive actions
 which happened soon after. Silesia, which had hitherto been undisturbed this
 year, began now to feel the effects of war. Baron Jahnus, an Austrian colo-
 nel, entering that country with only an handful of men, made himself master
 of Hirschberg, Waldenberg, Gottesburg, Frankenstein, and Landshut. They
 were

Ann. 1757. were, indeed, but open places, and he was repulsed in an attempt upon Strigau. On the side of Franconia the army of the empire was assembling with all speed, under the prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen; the French were marching a second army from their interior provinces into Alsace, in order to join the Imperialists: the first division of their troops had already entered the empire, and were advanced as far as Hanau. The Swedes were now preparing, with the utmost expedition, to send a numerous army into Pomerania; and the Russians, who, since the taking of Memel, had not done the king of Prussia much damage, besides that of obliging him to keep an army in Prussia to oppose them, and interrupting the trade of Königsberg by their squadrons, were again advancing with hasty strides towards Prussia, marking their steps with horrid desolation.

Eighty thousand Russians advance against Prussia. Field-marechal Lehwald, who had been left in Prussia, with an army of thirty thousand men, to guard that kingdom during the absence of his master, was encamped near Velau, when the Russians, to the number of eighty thousand, after taking Memel, advanced against the territories of the Prussian king, whose situation now drew upon him the attention of all Europe.

Skirmish between the Prussians and the Russians. In the night between the seventh and eighth of August, colonel Malachowski, one of marechal Lehwald's officers, marched to reconnoitre the position of the enemy, when a skirmish happened, which lasted near two hours, between his advanced ranks and a Russian detachment, three times stronger than the Prussians. The Russians were repulsed and fled into the woods, after having fifty men killed, and a great number wounded. The Prussians lost but one man, and had fourteen wounded.

Several other little skirmishes happened between straggling parties of the two armies; and the Russians went on pillaging and laying waste every thing before them, till at length the two armies having approached one another in Brandenburg-Prussia, marechal Lehwald, finding it impossible to spare detachments from so small a number as his was, compared to that of the enemy, to cover the wretched inhabitants from the outrages committed on them by the Russian Cossacks, and other barbarians belonging to them, judged it absolutely necessary to attack their main army; and accordingly, notwithstanding his great disadvantage in almost every respect, he resolved to hazard a battle on the thirtieth of August.

Marechal Lehwald attacks the Russians in their intrenchments near Norkitten. The Russians, consisting, as we before observed, of eighty thousand regulars, under the command of marechal Apraxin, avoiding the open field, were intrenched in a most advantageous camp near Norkitten, in Prussia. Their army was composed of four lines, each of which was guarded by an intrenchment, and the whole was defended by two hundred pieces of cannon, batteries being placed upon all the eminences. Marechal Lehwald's army scarcely amounted to thirty thousand men.

The action began at five in the morning, and was carried on with so much vigour, that the Prussians entirely broke the whole first line of the enemy, and forced all their batteries. The prince of Holstein-Gottorp, brother to the king of Sweden, at the head of his regiment of dragoons, routed the Russian cavalry; and afterwards fell upon a regiment of grenadiers, which was cut to pieces; but when the Prussians came to the second intrenchment, marechal Lehwald, seeing that he could not attempt to carry it without exposing his army

army too much, took the resolution to retire. The Prussians returned to their former camp at Velau, and the Russians remained in their present situation. The loss of the Prussians, little exceeding two thousand, killed and wounded, was immediately replaced out of the disciplined militia. The Russians lost a much greater number. General Lapuchin was wounded, and taken prisoner, with a colonel of the Russian artillery; but the former was sent back on his parole. The Prussian army had, at first, made themselves masters of above eighty pieces of cannon; but were afterwards obliged to abandon them, with eleven of their own, for want of carriages. Three Russian generals were killed; but the Prussians lost no general or officer of distinction, of which rank count Dohna was the only one that was wounded.

After this engagement, marechal Lehwald changed the position of his army, by drawing towards Peterwald; and the Russians, after remaining quite inactive till the thirteenth of September, on a sudden, to the great surprize of every one, retreated out of Prussia, with such precipitation, that they left all their sick and wounded behind them, to the amount of fifteen or sixteen thousand men; together with eighty pieces of cannon, and a considerable part of their military stores. Marechal Apraxin masked his design, by advancing all his irregulars towards the Prussian army; so that marechal Lehwald was not informed of it till the third day, when he detached prince George of Holstein with ten thousand horse to pursue them; but with little hopes of coming up with them, as they made forced marches, in order to be the sooner in their own country. However, the Prussians took some of them prisoners; and many stragglers were killed by the country people in their flight towards Tilsit, which they abandoned; though they still kept Memel, and shortly after added some new fortifications to that place. They made their retreat in two columns, one of which directed its course towards Memel; whilst the other took the nearest way through the bailiwick of Absternen, and threw bridges over the river Jura. Both columns burnt every village they passed through, without distinction. The Prussians were obliged to desist from the pursuit of these barbarians, because the bridges thrown over the river Memel had been destroyed by the violence of the stream.

Hasty retreat
of the Rus-
sians out of
Prussia.

The Russian army suffered greatly for want of bread, as all the countries were ruined through which it had passed, so that they could procure no sort of subsistence but herbage, and rye bread. All the roads were strewed with dead bodies of men and horses.

The real cause of this sudden retreat is yet as great a mystery as the reason of their stopping so long the year before, on the borders of Lithuania; though the occasion of it is said to have been the illness of the Czarina, who was seized with a kind of apoplectic fit; and had made some new regulations, in case of a vacancy of a throne, which rendered it expedient that the regular forces should be at hand, to support the measures taken by the government.

The king of Prussia, after remaining for some time encamped between Bautzen and Goerlitz, removed his head-quarters to Bernstedel; and on the fifteenth of August his army came in sight of the Austrian camp, and within cannon-shot of it: upon which the Austrians struck their tents, and drew up in order of battle before their camp. The king formed his army over-against them, but in vain,

The king of
Prussia, after
daring the
Austrian ar-
my to a battle,
but in vain,

Ann. 1757. them, and immediately went to reconnoitre the ground between the armies; but, as it was then late, he deferred the more exact examination of that circumstance till the next day. The two armies continued under arms all night.

Next morning, at break of day, the king found the Austrians encamped with their right at the river Weisse: the rest of their army extended along a rising ground, at the foot of a mountain covered with wood, which protected their left; and before their front, at the bottom of the hill, on which they were drawn up, was a small brook, passable only in three places, and for no more than four or five men a-breast. Towards the left of their army was an opening, where three or four battalions might have marched in front: but behind it they had placed three lines of infantry; and on a hill which flanked this opening, within musket-shot, were placed four thousand foot, with forty or fifty pieces of cannon; so that, in reality, this was the strongest part of their camp.

The king left nothing undone to bring the Austrians to a battle; but finding them absolutely bent on avoiding it, after lying four days before them, he and his army returned to their camp at Bernstedel. They were followed by some of the enemy's hussars and Pandours, who, however, had not the satisfaction to take the smallest booty in this retreat.

The Austrian army, which thus declined engaging, was, by their own account, an hundred and thirty thousand strong: more than double the number of the king of Prussia, who, the day he returned to Bernstedel, after he had retired about two thousand yards, again drew up his army in line of battle, and remained so upwards of an hour; but not a man stirred from the Austrian camp.

marches
against the
united army
of the French
and the Em-
pire; who,
upon his ap-
proach, re-
treat;

The army of the Empire, commanded by the prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen, and that of the French under the prince of Soubise, making together about fifty thousand men, half of which were French, had by this time joined, and advanced as far as Erfurth in Saxony: upon which his Prussian majesty, finding that all his endeavours could not bring the Austrians to an engagement, set out from Lusatia, accompanied by marechal Keith, with sixteen battalions and forty squadrons of his troops, and arrived at Dresden on the twenty-ninth of August, leaving the rest of the army in a strong camp under the prince of Bevern. With this detachment, which, by the junction of several bodies of troops, amounted to about forty thousand men, he made a quick march, by the way of Leipzig, towards Erfurth, to give battle to the united army of the French and the Empire. But by the time he arrived at Erfurth, which was on the fourteenth of September, the enemy had retreated towards Gotha; and upon his further approach, they retired to Eysenach, where they entrenched themselves in a very strong camp. His majesty's headquarters were at Kirschlaben, near Erfurth.

While the two armies were thus situated, major-general Seydelitz, who occupied the town of Gotha, being informed, on the nineteenth, that a large body of the enemy was coming towards him, and that it consisted of two regiments of Austrian hussars, one regiment of French hussars, and a detachment made up of French grenadiers, troops of the army of the Empire, and a great number of Croats and Pandours, retired, and posted himself at some distance.

distance. The enemy immediately took possession of the town and castle; Ann. 1757. but general Seydelitz, having been reinforced, attacked the enemies with such vigour, that he soon obliged them to abandon their new conquest, and to retire with great precipitation; a report having been spread, that the Prussian army was advancing against them, with the king himself in person. The Prussian hussars took a considerable booty on this occasion; and general Seydelitz sent prisoners to the camp one lieutenant-colonel, three majors, four lieutenants, and sixty-two soldiers of the enemy, who had also about an hundred and thirty killed. and take possession of Gotha; from whence they are soon driven;

After this action his Prussian majesty advanced near Eysenach, with a design to attack the combined army: but they were so strongly intrenched, that he found it impracticable. His provisions falling short, he was obliged to retire towards Erfurth, and soon after to Naumburg on the river Sala; where upon the combined army marched, and again took possession of Gotha, Erfurth, and Weimar; which last place, however, they soon after quitted. but possess themselves of it again.

Upon the king of Prussia's leaving Bernstedel, the Austrians took possession of it on the sixth of September, and made prisoners a Prussian battalion, which had been left there. The next day fifteen thousand Austrians attacked two battalions of general Winterfeld's troops, being part of the prince of Bevern's army, who were posted on a high ground on the other side of the Neiss, near Hennerdorff, in the neighbourhood of Goerlitz; and, after being repulsed several times, at last made themselves masters of the eminence. The loss, in this action, was considerable on both sides; but greatest on that of the Prussians, not so much by the number of their slain, which scarcely exceeded that of the Austrians, as by the death of their brave general Winterfeld, who, as he was leading up succours to the battalions that were engaged, received a shot from a cannon, of which he died the night following. Action at Goerlitz, between the Prussians and the Austrians, in which general Winterfeld is killed. The generals Naddasti and Clerici, count d'Arberg, colonel Elrickhausen, and several other officers of distinction, were wounded, and the young count of Groesbeeck, and the marquis d'Asque killed, on the side of the Austrians; who took six pieces of the Prussian cannon, six pair of their colours, and made general Kemeke, the count d'Anhalt, and some other officers, prisoners.

After this skirmish, the prince of Bevern, with the Prussian army under his command, retreated from Goerlitz to Rothenberg, then passed the Queiss at Sygersdorff, from whence he marched to Buntzlau in Silesia, and on the first of October reached Breslau, without suffering any loss, though the numerous army of the Austrians followed him for some days. Upon his arrival there, he chose a very strong camp on the other side of the Oder, in order to cover the city of Breslau, to the fortifications of which he immediately added several new works. The prince of Bevern retreats to Breslau.

Though neither side had any very signal advantage in this engagement, more than that the Austrians remained masters of the field, yet great rejoicings were made at Vienna on account of it. The death of general Winterfeld was, indeed, an irreparable loss to his Prussian majesty, who received at the same time the news of this misfortune, and of the Swedes having now actually begun hostilities in Pomerania.

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The French, who had entered the territories of Halberstadt and Magdeburgh, meet with a check;

but oblige prince Ferdinand to retire.

A body of the French, who, let loose against the king of Prussia by the ever-memorable and shameful convention of Closter-seven, had entered the territories of Halberstadt and Magdeburgh, were worsted at Eglen by a party of six hundred men, under the command of count Horn, whom prince Ferdinand of Brunswick had detached from a body of troops, with which his Prussian Majesty had sent him to defend those countries. The Prussians took prisoners the count of Lusignan, colonel, eighteen other French officers, and four hundred soldiers, and made themselves masters of a considerable booty in baggage, &c. with the loss of only two men; and moreover, a French officer and forty men were made prisoners at Halberstadt. Upon this check the French evacuated the country of Halberstadt for a little while: but returning again on the twenty-ninth of September, with a considerable reinforcement from marechal Richelieu's army which he now could easily spare, prince Ferdinand was obliged to retire to Winsleben, near the city of Magdeburgh.

The dangers which had been hitherto kept at a distance from the Prussian dominions, by the surprising activity of their king, now drew nearer, and menaced them on all sides. Marechal Richelieu, with eighty battalions and an hundred squadrons, entered the country of Halberstadt, and levied immense contributions; whilst the allied army of the French and Imperialists being joined by six thousand men under general Laudohn, who had just defeated a regiment of Prussian cavalry near Erfurth, marched to Weissenfels, a city in the very center of Thuringia. The Swedes had actually taken some towns in Pomerania, and were advancing to besiege Stetin; and the Austrians, who had made themselves masters of Lignitz, and a considerable part of Silesia, had now laid siege to Schweidnitz, and were preparing to pass the Oder, in order to attack the prince of Bevern in his camp near Breslau. In the mean time they made frequent, and always destructive incursions into Brandenburg; to oppose which his Prussian majesty ordered detachments from all his regiments in those parts to join the militia of the country, and sent the Prince of Anhalt Dessau from Leipzig, with a body of ten thousand men, to guard Berlin, whilst he himself marched with the troops, under his command, to Interbeck, on the frontier of the Lower Lusatia, to be the more at hand to cover Brandenburg, and preserve the communication with Silesia.

Berlin laid under contribution by the Austrians.

While these precautions were taking, general Haddick, with fifteen or sixteen thousand Austrians, entered Brandenburg on the sixteenth of October, and the next day arrived before Berlin, of which city he demanded a contribution of six hundred thousand crowns, but contented himself with two hundred and ten thousand. The Austrians pillaged two of the suburbs; but before they could do any farther mischief they were obliged to retire in great haste, at the approach of the prince of Anhalt Dessau, whose vanguard entered the city on the evening of their departure. This alarm, however, obliged the queen, and the royal family of Prussia, to remove to Magdeburgh on the twenty-third; and the most valuable records were sent to the fort of Spandau, at the conflux of the Havel and the Sphe.

Leipzig subjected to military execution by the Prussians.

On the other hand, the unfortunate inhabitants of Leipzig now felt, most severely, the cruel effects of the power of their new master. The Prussian commandant in that city had, by order of his king, demanded of them three hundred thousand crowns; a sum far greater than it was in their power to raise.

raise. This truth they represented; but in vain. The short time allowed them to furnish their contingents being expired, and all their efforts to comply with this demand having proved ineffectual, they were subjected to the rigours of military execution; in consequence of which their houses were occupied by the soldiery, who seized upon the best apartments, and lived at discretion; but the sum demanded could not be found. Such was the situation of this distressed city, when, on the fifteenth of October, an express arrived, with advice that his Prussian majesty would soon be there; and accordingly he arrived a few minutes after, attended by his life-guards. At the same time a rumour was spread, that the city would be delivered up to pillage, which threw the inhabitants into the utmost consternation. Their fears, however, in that respect, were soon abated by his majesty's declaring, that he was willing to spare the place, upon condition that half the sum required should be immediately paid. All that could be done was to collect, among the merchants, traders, and others, fifty thousand crowns; bills of exchange were drawn upon Amsterdam and London for seventy thousand crowns, and hostages were given, by way of security, for the payment of thirty thousand more within a time which was agreed on. But still, notwithstanding this, the military execution was continued, even with greater rigour than before; and all the comfort the wretched inhabitants could obtain, was, that it should cease whenever advice should be received that their bills were accepted.

The king of Prussia had tried several times to bring the combined army under the princes Saxe-Hildbourghausen and Soubise to an engagement upon fair ground; but finding them bent on declining it, notwithstanding the superiority of their numbers, he had recourse to one of those strokes in war, by which a general is better seen than by the gaining of a victory. He made a feint soon after the beginning of October, as if he intended nothing more than to secure his own dominions, and march his army into winter-quarters back to Berlin, leaving marechal Keith with only seven or eight thousand men to defend Leipzig. Upon this the enemy took courage, passed the Sala, and having marched up to the city, summoned the marechal to surrender; to which he answered, That the king, his master, had ordered him to defend the place to the last extremity, and he would obey his orders. The enemy then thought of besieging the city: but before they could prepare any one implement for that purpose, they were alarmed by the approach of the king of Prussia, who judging that his feint would probably induce them to take the step they did, had, by previous and private orders, collected together all his distant detachments, some of which were twenty leagues asunder, and was advancing, by long marches, to Leipzig; upon notice of which the enemy repassed the Sala. The Prussian army was reassembled on the twenty-seventh of October, and remained at Leipzig the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth, when every body expected a battle would be fought in the plains of Lutzen. On the thirtieth the king drew nigh that place; and on the thirty-first, in his way through Weissenfels and Mersebourg, he made five hundred men prisoners of war.

The combined army had repassed the Sala at Weissenfels, Mersebourg, and Halle, where they broke down the bridges; but these were soon repaired, and the whole Prussian army, amounting to no more than twenty thousand men, having passed that river through these towns, in each of which they left a battalion,

Ann 1757. talion, joined again on the third of November in the evening over-against the enemy, whose forces consisted of forty thousand French, and twenty-five thousand Imperialists.

The battle of Rosbach, in which the king of Prussia, with twenty thousand men, defeats sixty-five thousand French and Imperialists. On the fifth, about nine o'clock in the morning, the Prussians received intelligence that the enemy were every where in motion. They likewise heard their drums beating the march, and, so near were the two armies to each other, plainly perceived from their camp, that their whole infantry, which had drawn nearer upon the rising grounds, over against them, was filing off towards their right. No certain judgment could, however, yet be formed of the enemy's real design; and as they were in want of bread, it was thought probable that they intended to repass the Unstrut: but it was soon perceived, that their several motions were contradictory to each other. At the same time that some of their infantry was filing off towards their right, a large body of cavalry wheeled round towards their left, directing its march all along to the rising grounds, with which the whole Prussian camp, that lay in a bottom between the villages of Rederow and Rosbach, was surrounded within the reach of large cannon. Soon after that cavalry was seen to halt, and afterwards to fall back to the right; though some of them still remained where they were, whilst the rest marched back. About two in the afternoon the doubts of the Prussians were cleared up: it plainly appeared then, that the enemy intended to attack them, and that their dispositions were made with a view to surround them, and to open the action by attacking them in the rear. A body of reserve was posted over against Rederow, to fall upon their routed troops, in case they should be defeated, and to prevent their retiring to Merseburgh, the only retreat which could then have been left them.

In this situation the king of Prussia resolved to attack them. His majesty had determined to make the attack with one wing only; and the disposition of the enemy made it necessary that it should be the left wing. The very instant the battle was going to begin, his majesty ordered the general who commanded the right wing, to decline engaging, to take a proper position in consequence thereof, and, above all, to prevent his being surrounded. All the cavalry of the right wing of the Prussians, except two or three squadrons, had already marched to the left at full gallop; and being arrived at the place assigned them, they formed over against that of the enemy. They then moved on immediately; the enemies advanced to meet them, and the charge was very fierce, several regiments of the French coming on with great resolution. The advantage, however, was entirely on the side of the Prussians. The enemy's cavalry being routed, were pursued for a considerable time with great spirit; but having afterwards reached an eminence, which gave them an opportunity of rallying, the Prussian cavalry fell upon them afresh, and gave them so total a defeat, that they fled in the utmost disorder. This happened at four in the afternoon. Whilst the cavalry of the Prussians charged, their infantry opened. The enemy cannonaded them briskly during this interval, and did some execution; but the Prussian artillery was not idle. After this cannonading had continued on both sides a full quarter of an hour, without the least intermission, the fire of the infantry began. The enemy could not stand it, nor resist the valour of the Prussian foot, who gallantly marched up to their batteries. The batteries were carried one after another, and the enemy were forced to give way,

way, which they did in great confusion. As the left wing of the Prussians advanced, the right changed its position; and having soon met with a small rising ground, they availed themselves of it, by planting it with sixteen pieces of heavy artillery. The fire from thence was partly pointed at the enemy's right, to increase the disorder there, and took their left wing in front, which was excessively galled thereby. At five the victory was decided, the cannonading ceased, and the enemy fled on all sides. They were pursued as long as there was any light to distinguish them; and it may be said, that night alone was the preservation of this army, which had been so formidable in the morning. They took the benefit of the darkness to hurry into Fryburgh, and there to repass the Unstrut, which they did on the morning of the sixth, after a whole night's march. The king of Prussia set out early in the morning to pursue them with all his cavalry, supported by four battalions of grenadiers, the infantry following them in two columns. The enemy had passed the Unstrut at Fryburgh, when the Prussians arrived on its banks; and as they had burnt the bridge it became necessary to make another, which, however, was soon done. The cavalry passed first, but could not come up with the enemy till five in the evening, upon the hills of Eckersberg. It was then too late to force them there; for which reason the king thought proper to canton his army in the nearest villages, and to be satisfied with the success his hussars had in taking near three hundred baggage-waggons, and every thing they contained. The whole loss of the Prussians, in this important engagement, did not exceed five hundred men killed and wounded. Among the former was general Meincke; and among the latter prince Henry and general Seydelitz. The enemy lost sixty-four pieces of cannon, a great many standards and colours, near three thousand men killed on the field of battle, and upwards of eight thousand taken prisoners, among whom were several generals, and other officers of distinction. Three hundred waggons were sent to Leipzig, loaded with wounded French and Swiss. Upon the approach of the Prussians towards Eckersberg, the enemy retreated with great precipitation; and, after marching all night, arrived the next day at Erfurth, in the utmost want of every necessary of life, not having had a morsel of bread for two days, during which they had been obliged to live upon turnips, radishes, and other roots, which they dug out of the earth.

The French, under the duke of Richelieu, were preparing to go into winter-quarters; but, upon the news of this defeat of the combined army, they again put themselves in motion, and a large detachment of them advanced as far as Duderstadt, to favour the retreat of their countrymen under the prince of Soubise, who, with great precipitancy, made the best of their way from Erfurth to the county of Hohenstein, and from thence bent their march towards Halberstadt. Of the remains of the Imperial army, which was now almost intirely dispersed, whole bodies deserted, and went over to the king of Prussia, soon after this battle.

Whilst his Prussian majesty was thus successful against the French and Imperialists, the Austrians, who had carefully avoided coming to an open engagement with him, gained ground apace in Silesia. A detachment of their army under the command of count Nadasti, had already invested Schweidnitz, and opened the trenches before it on the twenty-sixth of October. The Prussian

Ann. 1757. The Austrians take Schweidnitz; sian garrison, commanded by general de la Motte Fouquet, determined to defend the place as long as possible; and accordingly on the thirtieth they made a sally, in which they killed, wounded, and took prisoners, eight hundred of the besiegers, and did some damage to their works; but on the sixth of November the Austrians began to cannonade the city furiously, and on the eleventh made themselves masters of the ramparts by assault. The garrison, however, having taken care, during the siege, to throw up a strong intrenchment in the market-place, retreated thither, and held out till the next day, when they surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

After the reduction of this place, general Nadaſti, leaving in it a sufficient garrison, marched with the remainder of his troops, and joined the main army of the Austrians, under the command of prince Charles of Lorraine and marshal Daun, who, whilst he was busied in the siege of Schweidnitz, had invested Breslau on the left of the Oder; the prince of Bevern defending it on the right, where he was strongly encamped, with his little army, under the cannon of the city.

defeat the
prince of
Bevern
near Breslau.

The whole army of the Austrians being now reassembled; and intelligence having been brought, not only of the king of Prussia's late victory near Leipzig, but also that he was advancing to the relief of the prince of Bevern, it was resolved immediately to attack the last in his intrenchments. Accordingly, on the twenty-second of November, about nine in the morning, the Austrians began a most furious discharge of their cannon, forty of which were twenty-four pounders; and this continued without ceasing till one, when it was succeeded by a severe fire of their small arms, which lasted till five in the evening. The Prussians, with undaunted resolution, stood two of the most violent attacks that were ever made; but at the third, overpowered by numbers, and assailed on both sides, they began to lose ground, and were forced to retire from one intrenchment to another. In this extremity, night coming on, the Prussian generals, fearing their intrenchments would be intirely forced, and that they should then be totally defeated, thought proper to retreat. The prince of Bevern, with the greatest part of the army, retired to an eminence on the banks of the Oder, whilst the rest of the troops threw themselves into Breslau, which they might have defended, in all probability, till the king had come up to its relief. But, on the twenty-fourth, their commander in chief, the prince of Bevern, going to reconnoitre the enemy, with only a single groom to attend him, fell in among a party of Croats, who took him prisoner*. His army thus deprived of their general, retreated northward that night, leaving in Breslau only four battalions, who, the next day, surrendered the place

* We are told, that he mistook these Croats for Prussian hussars. But some of the circumstances of this mysterious affair were interpreted into a premeditated design in the prince to be taken prisoner. It cannot otherwise be supposed that a man of his rank, a prince, a commander in chief, should officiously undertake the always dangerous task of reconnoitring the enemy, with so slight an attendance as only one man, and that but a groom, even if he had judged it necessary to see things with his own eyes. Some secret dissatisfaction, hitherto un-

known to us, may possibly have been the cause of his taking this step; or, which seems still more probable, he might be ashamed, or, perhaps, even afraid, to see the king his master, after having so injudiciously abandoned the defence of Breslau, by quitting his lines, which, it is asserted, his Prussian majesty had sent him express orders not to quit, on any account whatever; for that he would certainly be with him by the fifth of December; in which we shall find he kept his word.

by capitulation; one of the articles of which was, that they should not serve Ann. 1757. against the Empress, or her allies, for two years. All the magazines, chests, artillery, &c. remained in the hands of the Austrians. The garrison marched out with all military honours, conducted by general Leswitz, governor of Breslau.

Though the Austrians sung Te Deum for this victory, they owned that such another would put an end to their army; for it cost them the lives of twelve thousand men: a number almost equal to the whole of the Prussian army before the battle. They had four almost inaccessible intrenchments to force, planted thick with cannon, which fired cartridge-shot from nine in the morning till the evening; and the Prussians, when attacked, were never once put into the least confusion. Among the slain, on the side of the Austrians, were general Wurben, and several other officers of distinction. The loss of the Prussians did not much exceed three thousand men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, of which last there were about sixteen hundred. Their general Kleist was found dead on the field of battle.

The king of Prussia, who, like Cæsar, thought nothing was done while any thing was left undone, staid no longer at Rosbach than till the routed forces of the French and Imperialists, whom he had defeated there on the fifth of November, were totally dispersed. Then he marched directly with the greatest part of his army for Silesia; and on the twenty-fourth of that month, arrived at Naumburg on the Queiss, a little river which runs into the Bobber, having in his route detached marechal Keith, with the rest of his army, to clear Saxony from all the Austrian parties, and then to make an irruption into Bohemia; a service which he performed so effectually, as to raise large contributions in the circles of Satz and Leitmeritz; and even to give an alarm to Prague itself. The king of Prussia marches for Silesia; detaches marechal Keith, who lays Bohemia under contribution;

His majesty reserved for himself only fifteen thousand men, with whom he advanced, with his usual rapidity, to Barchwitz; where, notwithstanding all that had happened at Schweidnitz and at Breslau, he was joined by twenty-four thousand more; part of them troops which he had ordered from Saxony, part the remains of the army lately commanded by the prince of Bevern, and part the late garrison of Schweidnitz, which had found means to escape from the Austrians, and accidentally joined their king upon this march*. With this force, though greatly inferior in number to that of the enemy, he resolved to attack the Austrians, who were intrenched at Lissa near Breslau.

On the fourth of December he seized upon their ovens at Neumarck, and upon a considerable magazine, guarded by two regiments of Croats, who re- marches in person against the Austrians, who were intrenched at Lissa;

* Whilst the Austrians were conducting them to prison, on their route they chanced to hear of the victory their master had gained at Rosbach. Animated by these tidings, they unanimously rose upon the escort that guarded them, which, happening not to be very strong, they entirely dispersed. Thus freed, they marched on, not very certain of their way, in hopes to rejoin some corps of the Prussian troops, their countrymen. The same fortune which freed them, led them directly to the army commanded

by the king himself, which was hastening to their relief, as well as to that of the prince of Bevern. This unexpected meeting was equally pleasing to both, the prisoners not having heard any thing of his majesty's march; and at the same time this lucky incident, whilst it added a considerable strength to the army, added likewise to its confidence; for the slightest occurrence is construed into an omen, by an army at the eve of an engagement.

Ann. 1757. tired to a rising ground, where his majesty ordered his hussars to surround them, and sent a trumpet to summon them to surrender themselves prisoners of war. Upon their refusal, the hussars of Zithen fell upon them sabre in hand; and some hundreds of them having been cut in pieces, the rest threw down their arms, begging for quarter on their knees. After this seizure, and after having distributed to his army the bread prepared for his enemies, he began again the next morning his march towards Lissa.

General Zithen, who led the vanguard of light horse, about seven in the morning, fell in with a body of Austrian hussars, and three regiments of Saxon dragoons, which were the very best cavalry the enemy had left after the battle of the twenty-second. They had been detached by the Austrians in order to retard the king's march, and to conceal their own, till their batteries should be completed; for, as they held the small number of the Prussians in contempt, their intention was to have met the king two German miles from their intrenchments. The Austrian cavalry having been vigorously repulsed to a considerable distance, general Zithen perceived that their whole army was forming. He immediately acquainted the king with what he had discovered; and his majesty, after having himself observed the disposition of the enemy, made his own with that sagacity and dispatch for which he has always been remarkable.

gains a great
victory over
them;

The action began by attacking a battery of forty pieces of large cannon, which covered the right wing of the enemy. The two battalions of guards, with the regiments of the margrave Charles and of Itzenplitz, marched up, amidst a most terrible fire, to the very mouths of the cannon, with their bayonets screwed. In this attack the Prussians sustained their greatest loss, though the battery was carried as soon almost as they could reach it: then the enemy's artillery, now turned against themselves, played furiously upon them with their own powder. From that instant the two wings and the center of the Prussians continued to drive the enemy before them, advancing all the time with that firm and regular pace for which they have always been renowned, without ever halting or giving way. The ground which the Austrians occupied was very advantageous, and every circumstance that could render it more so had been improved to the utmost by the diligence and skill of count Daun, who, remembering his former success, was emboldened, to enter the lists again with his royal antagonist. The Prussians, however, no way terrified by the enemy's situation, nor their numbers, went calmly and dreadfully forward. It was almost impossible, in the beginning, for the Prussian cavalry to act, on account of the impediments of fallen trees, which the enemy had cut down and laid in the field of battle, to retard their approach: but a judicious disposition, which the king made, overcame that disadvantage. When he first formed his army, he had placed four battalions behind the cavalry of his right wing, foreseeing that general Nadaſti, who was placed with a corps of reserve on the enemy's left, designed to take him in flank. It happened, as he had foreseen: this general's horse attacked the king's right wing with great fury: but he was received with so severe a fire from the four battalions, that he was obliged to retire in disorder. The enemy gave way on all sides; but at some distance, recovered themselves and rallied three times, animated by their officers, and by the superiority of their numbers. Every time they made a stand, the Prussians attacked

attacked them with redoubled vigour, and with success equal to their bravery. Ann. 1757. Towards night the enemy, still retreating, fell into disorder. Their two wings fled in confusion: one of them, closely pressed by the king, retired towards Breslau, and took shelter under the cannon of that city; the other, pursued by the greatest part of the light cavalry, took their flight towards Canth and Schweidnitz. Six thousand Austrians fell in this engagement; and the Prussians, who had only five hundred men killed, and two thousand three hundred wounded, made upwards of ten thousand of the enemy prisoners, among whom were two hundred and ninety-one officers. They also took an hundred and sixteen cannon, fifty-one colours and standards, and four thousand waggons of ammunition and baggage. The consequences that followed this victory declared its importance. Future ages will read with astonishment, that the same prince, who, but a few months before, seemed on the verge of inevitable ruin, merely by the dint of his own abilities, without the assistance of any friend whatever, with troops perpetually harrassed by long and painful marches, and by continual skirmishes and battles; not only retrieved his affairs, which almost every one, except himself, thought past redress; but, in the midst of winter, in countries where it was judged next to impossible for any troops to keep the field at that season, conquered the united force of France and the Empire at Rossbach on the fifth of November; and on the same day of the very next month, with a great part of the same army, was at Lissa, where he again triumphed over all the power of the house of Austria.

Pursuing his advantage, he immediately invested Breslau, and, within two days after this great victory, every thing was in readiness to besiege it in form. His troops, flushed with success, were at first for storming it; but the king, knowing the strength of the garrison, which consisted of upwards of thirteen thousand men, and considering both the fatigues which his own soldiers had lately undergone, and the fatal consequences that might ensue, should they fail of success in this attempt, ordered the approaches to be carried on in the usual form. His commands were obeyed; and Breslau surrendered to him on the twentieth of December in the morning. The garrison, of which ten thousand bore arms, and between three and four thousand lay sick or wounded, were made prisoners of war. Fourteen of these prisoners were officers of high rank. The military chest, a vast treasure, with eighty pieces of cannon, fell into the hands of the victors, who lost only about twenty men in their approaches. During the siege, a magazine of powder was set on fire by a bomb; which occasioned great confusion among the besieged, and damaged one of their bastions.

The strong fortress of Schweidnitz still remained in the enemy's possession, defended by a garrison so numerous, that it might be compared to a small army; and whilst that continued so, the king of Prussia's victories in Silesia were of no decisive effect. For this reason, though it was now the dead of winter, and the soldiers stood in need of repose, his majesty resolved, if possible, to become master of that place before the end of the year; but as a close siege was impracticable, a blockade was formed, as strictly as the rigour of the season would permit*. It was not, however, till the beginning of the ensuing campaign invests
that Schweidnitz;

P p 2

* Such was the rigour of the season, that some hundreds of the centinels dropped down dead on their several posts, unable to sustain the severity of the cold. The G—ns lie under

Ann. 1757. that this place was taken. The Prussians opened their trenches before it on the third of April, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-eight, and erected two large batteries, which kept a continual fire upon the town. The artillery of the besiegers consisted of three hundred pieces of cannon, of different dimensions, and eighty mortars; an amazing artillery, and such as we have never heard of in former campaigns. On the night of the fourteenth the Prussians takes it; carried one of the chief works by assault, and lodged themselves therein; the commandant capitulated the next day, with the garrison, which was now greatly reduced in number, being not half of what it amounted to at the beginning of the blockade.

and becomes
master of all
Silesia.

Thus all the parts of Silesia, which the king of Prussia had lost by one unfortunate blow, fell again into his possession; and his affairs, which but a few months before seemed irretrievable, were now re-established upon a firmer basis than ever. The Prussian parties not only re-possessed themselves of those parts of Silesia which belonged to their king, but penetrated into the Austrian division, reduced Jagerndorf, Troppau, Tretchen, and several other places, and left the Empress-queen scarce any footing in that country, in which, a few days before, she reckoned her dominion perfectly established.

Hostilities of
the Swedes
in Pomerania.

Their declaration.

The Swedes, after many debates between their king and senate, had at length resolved upon an open declaration against the king of Prussia, and, in consequence of that resolution, sent so many troops into Pomerania, that, by the end of August, their army in that country amounted to twenty-five thousand men. Their first act of hostility was the seizure of Anclam and Demmin, two towns that lay in the way to Stetin, against which their principal design was levelled. But before they proceeded further, general Hamilton, their commander, by way of justifying the conduct of his master, published a declaration, setting forth, "That the king of Sweden, as guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, could not help sending his troops into the upper part of the dutchy of Pomerania belonging to the king of Prussia; and that, therefore, all the officers appointed to receive the public revenue in that country, must pay what money they had in their hands to him, who was commissioned to receive it for his Swedish majesty: That, moreover, an exact account was required, within eight days, of the revenues of the country; but that no more than ordinary contributions would be demanded of the inhabitants, who might rest assured, that the Swedish troops should observe the strictest discipline."

After this declaration they attacked the little fortress of Penemunde, upon the river Pene, and on the twenty-third of September, after a siege of nine days, obliged the garrison, which consisted only of militia, to surrender themselves prisoners of war. This alternative the commanding officer chose, rather than engage not to serve for two years, observing, that such an engagement was inconsistent with his honour, whilst his prince had so much occasion for his service; and the Swedish general, touched with this noble way of thinking, was, on his part, so generous as to give him his liberty.

der the general reproach of paying very little regard to the lives of their soldiers; and indeed this practice of winter-campaigns in such a

cold country, bespeaks very little regard to the dictates of humanity.

On

On the other hand general Manteuffel, who commanded the Prussian forces then in Pomerania, amounting to twelve thousand men, with whom he was encamped before Stetin, to cover that place, published, in answer to this, a declaration, enjoining the inhabitants of Pomerania to remain faithful to the king of Prussia, their lawful sovereign, under pain of incurring his just indignation, and absolutely forbidding them to pay any regard to the Swedish manifesto. Ann. 1757.
That of the
Prussians.

In the mean time marechal Lehwald, immediately after the battle of Norrkitten, when the Russians began their retreat, detached prince George of Holstein-Gottorp, with a considerable body of forces, to the relief of Pomerania; and, shortly after, the Russian forces having totally evacuated every part of Prussia, except Memel, and most of them being actually gone into winter-quarters, he himself followed, with an additional reinforcement of sixteen thousand men. Upon his approach the Swedes, who were then encamped at Ferdinandschoff, and had begun to fill up the harbour of Swinnemunde, by way of previous preparation for the siege of Stetin, retired with such precipitation, that they did not allow themselves time to draw off a little garrison they had at Wellin, consisting of two hundred and ten men, who were made prisoners of war. Demmin was cannonaded by the Prussians on the twenty-ninth of December; and the Swedes having lost one officer and forty men, desired to capitulate. As, in order to ease the troops, it was not thought proper to continue the siege in so sharp a season, their request was granted, and they had leave to retire with two pieces of cannon. The Prussians took possession of the town on the second day of January, after the Swedes had, on the thirtieth of December, likewise given up Anclam, where the conquerors took an hundred and fifty prisoners, and found a considerable magazine of provisions and ammunition. Marechal Lehwald then passed the Pene, entered Swedish Pomerania, and reduced Gutzkow, Loitz, Tripsus, and Nebringen. At the same time lieutenant-general Schorlemmer passed with his corps from the isle of Wollin into the isle of Usedom, and from thence to Wolgast, the Swedes having abandoned this town, as well as Schwinemunde, and the fort of Penemunde. The prince of Holstein advanced as far as Grimm and Grieffswalde, and the Swedes, losing one town after another, till they had nothing left in Pomerania but the port of Stralsund, continued retreating till they had reached this last place. The French party in Sweden, to comfort the people, called this retreat, or rather flight, going into winter-quarters. The Prussian hussars were not idle wherever they penetrated; for, besides plundering and pillaging, they raised a contribution of an hundred and sixty thousand crowns in Swedish Pomerania. The Mecklenburghers, who had joined the Swedes with six thousand of their troops, now found cause to repent of their forwardness, being left quite exposed to the resentment of the victors, who chastised them with the most severe exactions. The army of the Swedes, though they did not fight a battle, was by sickness, desertion, and other accidents, reduced to half the number it consisted of when they took the field. Marechal
Lehwald
forces the
Swedes to
retire.

The landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, soon after his territories were invaded by the French, in consequence of their advantage in the affair of Hastenbeck, had applied to the king of Sweden, as one of the guarantees of the treaty of Westphalia, desiring him to employ his good offices with the court of France, to obtain Answer of the
Swedes to the
landgrave of
Hesse-Cassel.

Ann. 1757. obtain a more favourable treatment for his dominions: but his Swedish majesty, by the advice of the senate, thought proper to refuse complying with this request, alledging, that as the crown of Sweden was one of the principal guarantees of the treaty of Westphalia, it would be highly improper to take such a step, in favour of a prince who had not only broke the laws and constitutions of the empire, in refusing to furnish his contingent, but had even assisted, with his troops, a power known to be its declared enemy. The Aulic council too, seeing, or pretending to see the behaviour of the landgrave in the same light, issued a decree against his serene highness towards the end of this year.

Decree of the
Aulic council
against him.

Memorial
presented to
the Dutch by
colonel Yorke
in relation to
Ostend and
Nieuport.

The court of Great Britain, justly displeased with the Dutch on account of the extreme facility with which they had granted the French a free passage through Namur and Maestricht for their provisions, ammunition, and artillery, in the beginning of this campaign, had very properly remonstrated against that step, before it was absolutely resolved on, or at least declared to be so: but in vain; a pusillanimous answer being all the satisfaction that was obtained. The tameness and indifference with which the States General had since seen Ostend and Nieuport put into the hands of the French, drew upon their High Mightinesses a farther remonstrance, which was delivered to them on the twenty-eighth of November of this year, by colonel Yorke, his Britannic majesty's plenipotentiary at the Hague, in the following terms, well calculated to awaken in them a due sense of their own danger, as well as to evince the injustice of the proceedings of the house of Austria.

‘ Considering the critical situation which Europe has been in during the course of this year, in consequence of measures concerted to embroil all Europe, the king of Great Britain was willing to flatter himself, that the courts of Vienna and Versailles, out of regard to the circumspect conduct observed by your High Mightinesses, would have at least informed you of the changes they have thought proper to make in the Austrian Netherlands.

‘ It was with the utmost surprize the king heard, that, without any previous consent of yours, and almost without giving you any notice, the court of Vienna had thought proper to put the towns of Ostend and Nieuport into the hands of the French troops, and to withdraw her own, as well as her artillery and stores, whilst France continues to send thither a formidable quantity of both.

‘ The conduct of the court of Vienna towards his majesty, is indeed so unmerited, and so extraordinary, that it is difficult to find words to express it: but whatever fallacious pretexts she may have made use of to palliate her behaviour towards England, it doth not appear that they can be extended so far as to excuse the infringement, in concert with France, of the most solemn treaties between her and your High Mightinesses.

‘ The king never doubted that your High Mightinesses would have made proper representations to the two courts, newly allied, to demonstrate the injustice of such a proceeding, and the danger that might afterwards result from it.

‘ Your High Mightinesses will have perceived, that your silence on the first step, encouraged the two courts, newly allied, to attempt others; and who can say where they will stop? The pretext at first was, the need which the Empress-queen

queen stood in of the troops for the war kindled in the empire, and the necessity of providing for the safety of those important places, and afterwards of their imaginary danger from England. Ann. 1757.

‘ But, High and Mighty Lords, it is but too evident that the two powers, who have taken these measures in concert, have other projects in view, and have made new regulations with regard to that country, which cannot but alarm the neighbouring states.

‘ The late demand made to your High Mightinesses, of a passage for a large train of warlike implements through some of the barrier towns, in order to be sent to Ostend and Nieuport, could not fail to awaken the King’s attention. The sincere friendship, and parity of interests, of Great Britain and Holland, require that they should no longer keep silence, lest, in the issue, it should be considered as a tacit consent, and as a relinquishment of all our rights.

‘ The King commands me, therefore, to recall to your High Mightinesses the two-fold right you have acquired to keep the Austrian Netherlands under the government of the house of Austria; and that no other has a title to make the least alteration therein, without the consent of your High Mightinesses; unless the new allies have resolved to set aside all prior treaties, and to dispose at pleasure of every thing that may suit their private interest.

‘ In the treaty between your High Mightinesses and the crown of France, signed at Utrecht on the eleventh of April, one thousand seven hundred and thirteen, in the fifteenth article, are these words: “ It is also agreed, that no province, fort, town, or city, of the said Netherlands, or of those which are given up by his Catholic majesty, shall ever be ceded, transferred, or given, or shall ever devolve to the crown of France, or any prince or princess of the house or line of France, either by virtue of any gift, exchange, marriage-contract, succession by will, or by any other title whatever, to the power and authority of the most Christian king, or of any prince or princess of the house or line of France.”

‘ In the barrier-treaty these very stipulations are repeated in the first article: “ His Imperial and Catholic majesty promises and engages, that no province, city, town, fortress, or territory of the said country, shall be ceded, transferred, given, or devolve to the crown of France, or to any other but the successor of the German dominions of the house of Austria, either by donation, sale, exchange, marriage-contract, heritage, testamentary succession, nor under any other pretext whatsoever; so that no province, town, fortress, or territory of the said Netherlands shall ever be subject to any other prince, but to the successor of the states of the house of Austria alone, excepting what has been yielded by the present treaty to the said lords the States General.”

‘ A bare reading of these two articles is sufficient to evince all that I have just represented to your High Mightinesses: and whatever pretext the courts of Vienna and Versailles may alledge, to cover the infraction of these treaties, the thing remains nevertheless evident, whilst these two courts are unable to prove, that the towns of Ostend and Nieuport are not actually in the power of France. If their designs are just, or agreeable to those treaties, they will doubtless not scruple, in the least, to make your High Mightinesses easy on that head, by openly explaining themselves to a quiet and pacific neighbour, and

Ann. 1757. and by giving you indisputable proofs of their intentions to fulfil the stipulations of the said two treaties, with regard to the Netherlands.

‘The King hath so much confidence in the good sense, prudence, and friendship of your High Mightinesses, that he makes not the least doubt of your taking the most efficacious measures to clear up an affair of such importance; and of your being pleased, in concert with his majesty, to watch over the fate of a country, whose situation and independence have, for more than a century, been regarded as one of the principal supports of your liberty and commerce.’

It does not appear, that this remonstrance had the desired effect upon the States General, who were apprehensive of embroiling themselves with an enemy so remarkably alert in taking all advantages. The truth is, they were not only unprepared for a rupture with France, but extremely unwilling to forego the commercial profits which they derived from their neutrality.

His Prussian majesty's letter to the king of Great Britain, and the declaration of his Britannic majesty.

The king of Prussia, about this period, began to harbour a suspicion that certain other powers longed eagerly to enjoy the same respite from the dangers and inconveniences of war, and that he ran the risque of being abandoned by his sole patron and ally, who seemed greatly alarmed at his defeat in Bohemia, and desirous of detaching himself from a connexion which might be productive of the most disagreeable consequences to his continental interest. Stimulated by this opinion, his Prussian majesty is said to have written an exhortatory * letter to the king of Great Britain, in which he very plainly taxes that monarch with having instigated him to commence hostilities; and insists upon his remembering the engagements by which he was so solemnly bound. From the strain of this letter, and the Prussian's declaration to the British minister when he first set out for Saxony, importing, that he was going to fight the king of England's battles; a notion was generally conceived, that those two powers had agreed to certain private pacts, or conventions, the particulars of which have not yet transpired. Certain it is, a declaration was delivered to the Prussian resident at London, which appears to have been calculated as an answer to the letter. In that paper the king of Great Britain declared, That the overtures made by his majesty's electoral ministers in Germany, touching the checks received on the continent, should have no influence on his majesty as king: that he saw, in the same light as before, the pernicious effects of the union between the courts of Vienna and Versailles, threatening a subversion of the whole system of public liberty, and of the independence of

* The letter, which was written in French, we have translated for the reader's satisfaction.

“I am informed, that the design of a treaty of neutrality for the electorate of Hesse is not yet laid aside. Is it possible that your majesty can have so little fortitude and constancy, as to be dispirited by a small reverse of fortune? Are affairs so ruinous, that they cannot be repaired? I hope your majesty will consider the step you have made me hazard, and remember that you are the sole

cause of these misfortunes that now impend over my head. I should never have abandoned the alliance of France, but for your flattering assurances. I do not now repent of the treaty I have concluded with your majesty; but I expect you will not ingloriously leave me at the mercy of my enemies, after having brought upon me all the forces of Europe. I depend upon your adhering to your repeated engagements of the twenty-sixth of last month, and that you will listen to no treaty in which I am not comprehended.”

the

the European powers: that he considered, as a fatal consequence of this dangerous connection, the cession made by the court of Vienna of the ports in the Netherlands to France, in such a critical situation, and contrary to the faith of the most solemn treaties: that, whatever might be the success of his arms, his majesty was determined to act in constant concert with the king of Prussia, in employing the most efficacious means to frustrate the unjust and oppressive designs of their common enemies. He concluded with assuring the king of Prussia, that the British crown would continue to fulfil, with the greatest punctuality, its engagements with his Prussian majesty, and to support him with firmness and vigour.

Such a representation could not fail of being agreeable to a prince, who, at this juncture, stood in need of an extraordinary cordial. He knew he could securely depend not only on the good faith of an English ministry, but also on the good plight of the British nation, which, like an indulgent nurse, hath always presented the nipple to her meagre German allies. Those, however, who pretended to consider and canvass events, without prejudice and prepossession, could not help owning their surprize, at hearing an alliance stigmatized as pernicious to the system of public liberty, and subversive of the independence of the European powers, as they remembered that this alliance was the effect of necessity, to which the house of Austria was reduced, for its own preservation; reduced, as its friends and partisans affirm, by those very potentates that now reproached her with these connections.

His B—— m—— was resolved, that the king of Prussia should have no cause to complain of his indifference, whatever reasons he had to exclaim against the convention of Closter-Seven, which he did not scruple to condemn as a very scandalous capitulation, as much as he disapproved of the conduct, in consequence of which near forty thousand men were so shamefully disarmed, and lost to his cause.

Those stipulations also met with a very unfavourable reception in England, where the motions of the allied army, in their retreat before the enemy, were very freely censured, and some great names exposed to the ridicule and contempt of the public. This event, so singular in itself, and so important in its consequences, attracted the attention of the privy council, where it is said to have been canvassed with great warmth, and animosity of altercation. The g——I complained, that he was restricted by peremptory orders from the regency of H——; and they were reported to have used recriminations in their defence. In all probability, every circumstance of the dispute was not explained to the satisfaction of all parties, inasmuch as that great commander quitted the harvest of military glory, and, like another Cincinnatus, retired to his plough; from whence he may be one day recalled to the directorship in war, when his country requires the exertion of his extraordinary talents.

The convention of Closter-Seven was equally disagreeable to the courts of London and Versailles. The former saw the electorate of Hanover left, by this capitulation, at the mercy of the enemy, who had taken possession of the whole country, seized the revenues, exacted contributions, and changed the whole form of government, in the name of his most Christian majesty: while the French army, which had been employed in opposing the Hanoverians, was now at liberty to throw their additional force into the scale against

Disputes concerning the convention of Closter-Seven.

Disapproved by both the courts of London and Versailles.

Ann. 1757. the king of Prussia, who, at that period, seemed to totter on the verge of destruction. On the other hand, the French ministry thought their general had granted too favourable terms to a body of forces, whom he had cooped up in such a manner, that, in a little time, they must have surrendered at discretion. They therefore determined, either to provoke the Hanoverians by ill-usage to an infraction of the treaty, or, should that be found impracticable, renounce it as an imperfect convention, established without proper authority. Both expedients were used without reserve. They were no sooner informed of the capitulation, than they refused to acknowledge its validity, except on condition, that the Hanoverian troops should formally engage to desist from all service against France and her allies during the present war, and be disarmed on their return to their own country. At the same time her general, who commanded in the electorate, exhausted the country by levying exorbitant contributions, and connived at such outrages as degraded his own dignity, and reflected disgrace on the character of his nation. The court of London, to make a merit of necessity, affected to consider the conventional act as a provisional armistice, to pave the way for a negotiation that might terminate in a general peace, and proposals were offered for that purpose: but the French ministry kept aloof, and seemed resolved that the electorate of Hanover should be annexed to their king's dominions. At least, they were bent upon keeping it as a precious depositum, which, in the plan of a general pacification, they imagined, would counterballance any advantage that Great Britain might obtain in other parts of the world. Had they been allowed to keep this deposit, the kingdom of Great Britain would have saved above twenty millions of money, together with the lives of her best soldiers; and Westphalia, which is now the scene of famine and desolation, would have continued to enjoy all the blessings of security and peace. But the king of England's tenderness for Hanover, was one of the chief sources of the misfortunes which have befallen that electorate. He could not bear the thoughts of seeing it, even for a season, in the hands of the enemy; and his own sentiments in this particular, were reinforced by the pressing remonstrances of the P—n monarch, whom, at this juncture, he thought it dangerous to disoblige.

The elector
of H—r's
motives for
taking up
arms.

Actuated by these motives, he was pleased to see the articles of the convention so palpably contravened, because the violation unbound his hands, and enabled him, consistently with good faith, to take effectual steps for the assistance of his ally, and the recovery of his own dominions. He therefore, in quality of elector of Brunswic-Lunenburgh, published a declaration, observing, That his royal highness the duke of Cumberland had, on his part, honestly fulfilled all the conditions of the convention; but the duke de Richelieu demanded, that the troops should enter into an engagement specified above, and lay down their arms; although it was expressly stipulated in the convention, that they should not be regarded as prisoners of war, under which quality alone they could be disarmed: that the French court pretended to treat the convention as a military regulation only; and, indeed, it was originally nothing more: but as they had expressly disowned its validity, and a negotiation had been actually begun for disarming the auxiliaries, upon certain conditions, though the French general would never answer categorically, but waited always for fresh instructions from Versailles, the nature of that act was totally changed; and what

what was at first an agreement between general and general, was now become a matter of state between the two courts of London and Versailles: that, however hard the conditions of the convention appeared to be for the troops of Hanover, his Britannic majesty would have acquiesced in them, had not the French glaringly discovered their design of totally ruining his army, and his dominions; and, by the most outrageous conduct, freed his Britannic majesty from every obligation, under which he had been laid by the convention: that in the midst of the armistice, the most open hostilities had been committed: the castle of Schartzfels had been forcibly seized and pillaged, and the garrison made prisoners of war: the prisoners made by the French before the convention, had not been restored according to an express article stipulated between the generals, though it had been fulfilled on the part of the electorate, by the immediate release of the French prisoners; the bailies of those districts, from which the French troops were excluded by mutual agreement, had been summoned, on pain of military execution, to appear before the French commissary, and compelled to deliver into his hands the public revenue: the French had appropriated to themselves part of those magazines which, by express agreement, were destined for the use of the electoral troops; and they had seized the houses, revenue, and corn, belonging to the king of England in the city of Bremen, in violation of their engagement to consider that city as a place absolutely free and neutral. He took notice that they had proceeded to menaces unheard of among civilized people, of burning, sacking, and destroying every thing that fell in their way, should the least hesitation be made in executing the convention according to their interpretation.

Such were the professed considerations that determined his Britannic majesty to renounce the agreement which they had violated, and have recourse to arms for the relief of his subjects and allies. It was in consequence of this determination, that he conferred the command of his electoral army on prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, brother to the duke of that name, who had distinguished himself in the Prussian army by his great military talents, and was, by blood and inclination, as well as interest, supposed warmly attached to his Britannic majesty. The truth is, the king of Prussia recommended him to this command, because he knew he could depend upon his concurring with all his measures, in conducting the operations of the British army.

The duke de Richelieu was no sooner informed of these particulars, than he sent a letter to prince Ferdinand, specifying, that although for some days he had perceived the Hanoverian troops in motion, in order to form themselves into a body, he could not imagine the object of these movements was to infringe the convention of neutrality, which had been established between the duke of Cumberland and himself, as French general; that he was blinded so far by his confidence in the good faith of the elector of Hanover, who had signed that convention, as to believe the troops were assembled for no other purpose than to be distributed into winter-quarters, which had been assigned them by the agreement; but his eyes were at last opened, by repeated advices which he had received from all quarters, importing, that the Hanoverians intended to infringe those articles which ought to be sacred and inviolable: he affirmed, the king his master was still willing to give fresh proofs of his

The duke de Richelieu expects with prince Ferdinand of Brunswic.

Ann. 1757. moderation, and his desire to spare the effusion of human blood: with that view he declared to his serene highness, in the name of his most Christian majesty, that he persisted in his resolution of fulfilling exactly all the points of the convention, provided they should be equally observed by the Hanoverian army; but he could not help apprising his serene highness, that if this army should take any equivocal step, and still more, should it commit any act of hostility, he would then push matters to the last extremity, looking upon himself as authorized so to do by the rules of war: that he would set fire to all the palaces, houses, and gardens; sack all the towns and villages, without sparing the most inconsiderable cottage, and subject the country to all the horrors of war and devastation. He conjured his serene highness to reflect on these particulars, and begged he would not lay him under the necessity of taking steps so contrary to his own personal character, as well as to the natural humanity of the French nation.

To this letter, which was seconded by the count de Lynar, the Danish ambassador, who had meditated the convention, prince Ferdinand returned a very laconic answer, intimating, that he would give the duke de Richelieu his answer in person, at the head of his army. At this particular juncture, the French general was disposed to abide by the original articles of the convention, rather than draw upon himself the hostilities of an army which he knew to be brave, resolute, and well appointed, and which he saw at present animated with an eager desire of wiping out the disgrace they had sustained by the capitulation, as well as of relieving their country from the grievous oppression under which it groaned.

Progress of
the Hanove-
rian army.

About the latter end of November the Hanoverian army was wholly assembled at Stade, under the auspices of prince Ferdinand, who resolved, without delay, to drive the French from the electorate, whither they now began their march. Part of the enemy's rear, consisting of two thousand men, was in their march back to Zell, attacked in the bailiwick of Ebstorff, and entirely defeated by general Schuylenbourg; and, in a few days after this action, another happened upon the river Aller, between two considerable bodies of each army, in which the Hanoverians, commanded by general Zastrow, remained masters of the field. These petty advantages served to encourage the allies, and put them in possession of Lunenburg, Zell, and part of the Brunswic dominions, which the enemy were obliged to abandon. The operations of prince Ferdinand, however, were retarded by the resolution and obstinate perseverance of the French officer who commanded the garrison of Harbourg. When the Hanoverian troops made themselves masters of the town, he retired into the castle, which he held out against a considerable detachment of the allied army, by whom it was invested; at length, however, the fortifications being intirely demolished, he surrendered upon capitulation. On the sixth day of December prince Ferdinand began his march toward Zell, where the French army had taken post, under the command of the duke de Richelieu, who, at the approach of the Hanoverians, called in his advanced parties, abandoned several magazines, burned all the farm-houses and buildings belonging to the sheep-walks of his Britannic majesty, without paying the least regard to the representations made by prince Ferdinand on this subject; reduced the suburbs of Zell to ashes, after having allowed his men to plunder the

the houses, and even set fire to the Orphan-hospital, in which a great number of helpless children are said to have perished. One cannot, without horror, reflect upon such brutal acts of inhumanity. The French troops have, on divers occasions, and in different parts of the empire, acted tragedies of the same nature, which are not easily reconcileable to the character of a nation famed for sentiment and civility. Ann. 1757.

The Hanoverians having advanced within a league of Zell, the two armies began to cannonade each other; the French troops posted on the right of the Aller, burned their magazines and retired into the town, where they were so strongly intrenched, that prince Ferdinand could not attempt the river, the passes of which were strongly guarded by the enemy. At the same time his troops were exposed to great hardships from the severity of the weather; he therefore retreated to Ultzen and Lunenburg, where his army was put into winter-quarters, and executed several small enterprizes by detachment, while the French general fixed his head-quarters in the city of Hanover, his cantonments extending as far as Zell, in the neighbourhood of which many sharp skirmishes were fought by the out-parties with various success.

Their Imperial majesties were no sooner apprized of these transactions, which they considered as infractions of the convention, than they sent an intimation to the Baron de Steinberg, minister to the king of Great Britain as elector of Hanover, that he should appear no more at court, or confer with their ministers; and that his residing at Vienna, as he might easily conceive, could not be very agreeable: in consequence of which message he retired, after having obtained the necessary passports for his departure. The chagrin occasioned at the court of Vienna by the Hanoverian army's having recourse to their arms again, was, in some measure, alleviated by the certain tidings received from Petersburg, that the Czarina had signed her accession, in form, to the treaty between the courts of Vienna, Versailles and Stockholm. The Hanoverian minister dismissed from Vienna.

In closing our account of this year's transactions on the Continent, we may observe, that on the sixteenth day of November, the queen of Poland died at Berlin of an apoplexy, supposed to be occasioned by the shock she received on hearing that the French were totally defeated at Rosbach. She was a lady of exemplary virtue and piety, whose constitution had been broke by grief and anxiety conceived from the distress of her own family, as well as from the misery to which she saw her people exposed. Death of the queen of Poland.

With respect to the European powers that were not actually engaged as principals in the war, they seemed industriously to avoid every step that might be construed a deviation from the most scrupulous neutrality. The States-General proceeded with great circumspection, in the middle course between two powerful neighbours, equally jealous and formidable; and the king of Spain was gratified for his forbearance with a convention, settled between him and the belligerent powers, implying, that his subjects should pursue their commerce at sea without molestation, provided they should not transport those articles of merchandize which were deemed contraband by all nations.

The operations at sea, during the course of this year, either in Europe or America, were far from being decisive or important. The commerce of Great Britain sustained considerable damage from the activity and success of French privateers, of which a great number had been equipped in the islands of Martinique Transactions at sea.

Ann. 1757. tinique and Guadalupe. The Greenwich ship of war, mounted with fifty guns, and a frigate of twenty, fell into the hands of the enemy, together with a very considerable number of trading vessels.

On the other hand, the English cruisers and privateers acquitted themselves with equal vigilance and valour. The Duc d'Acquitaine, a large ship of fifty guns, was taken in the month of June by two British ships of war, after a severe engagement; and about the same time, the Aquilon, of nearly the same force, was driven on shore and destroyed near Brest by the Antelope, one of the British cruisers. A French frigate of twenty-six guns, called the Emeraude, was taken in the channel, after a warm engagement, by an English ship of inferior force, under the command of captain Gilchrist, a gallant and alert officer, who, in the sequel, signalized himself on divers occasions, by very extraordinary acts of valour. All the sea-officers seemed to be animated with a noble emulation, to distinguish themselves in the service of their country; and the spirit descended even to the captains of privateers, who, instead of imitating the former commanders of that class, in avoiding ships of force, and centering their whole attention in advantageous prizes, now encountered the armed ships of the enemy, and fought with the most obstinate valour in the pursuit of national glory.

Fate of captain Death.

Perhaps history cannot afford a more remarkable instance of desperate courage, than that which was exerted in December of the preceding year, by the officers and crew of an English privateer, called the Terrible, under the command of captain William Death, equipped with twenty-six carriage guns, and manned with two hundred sailors. On the twenty-third day of the month he engaged, and made prize of, a large French ship from St. Domingo, after an obstinate battle, in which he lost his own brother and sixteen seamen: then he secured with forty men his prize, which contained a valuable cargo, and directed his course to England; but in a few days he had the misfortune to fall in with the Vengeance, a privateer of St. Malo, carrying thirty-six large cannon, with a complement of three hundred and sixty men. Their first step was to attack the prize, which was easily retaken; then the two ships bore down upon the Terrible, whose main-mast was shot away by the first broadside. Notwithstanding this disaster, the Terrible maintained such a furious engagement against both as can hardly be paralleled in the annals of Britain. The French commander and his second were killed, with two thirds of his company; but the gallant captain Death, with the greater part of his officers, and almost his whole crew, having met with the same fate, his ship was boarded by the enemy, who found no more than twenty six persons alive, sixteen of whom were mutilated by the loss of leg or arm, and the other ten grievously wounded. The ship itself was so shattered that it could scarce be kept above water, and the whole exhibited a scene of blood, horror, and desolation. The victor itself lay like a wreck on the surface; and in this condition made shift, with great difficulty, to tow the Terrible into St. Malo, where she was not beheld without astonishment and terror. This adventure was no sooner known in England, than a liberal subscription was raised for the support of Death's * widow, and that part of the crew which survived the engagement.

* There was a strange combination of names belonging to this privateer, the Terrible equipped at Execution-Dock, commanded by captain Death, whose lieutenant was called Devil, and who had one Ghost for his surgeon.

In this, and every sea-encounter that happened within the present year, Ann. 1757. the superiority in skill and resolution, was ascertained to the British mariners: for even when they fought against great odds, their courage was generally crowned with success. In the month of November, captain Lockhart, a young gentleman, who had already rendered himself a terror to the enemy, as commander of a small frigate, now added considerably to his reputation, by reducing the *Melampe*, a French privateer of Bayonne, greatly superior to his own ship, in number of men and weight of metal. This exploit was seconded by another of the same nature, in his conquest of another French adventurer, called the *Countess of Gramont*; and a third large privateer of Bayonne was taken by captain Saumarez, commander of the *Antelope*. In a word, the narrow seas were so well guarded, that in a little time scarce a French ship durst appear in the English channel, which the British traders navigated without molestation.

On the first day of December the king of Great Britain opened the session of His majesty's parliament with a speech from the throne, which seemed calculated to prepare speech at the the nation for the expence of maintaining a new war on the continent of opening of Europe. His majesty graciously declared, That it would have given him a the session of most sensible pleasure to acquaint them, at the opening of the session, that his parliament. success in carrying on the war had been equal to the justice of his cause, and the extent and vigour of the measures formed for that purpose. He expressed the firmest confidence, that the spirit and bravery of the nation, so renowned in all times, which had formerly surmounted so many difficulties, were not to be abated by a few disappointments, which, he trusted, might be retrieved by the blessing of God, and the zeal and ardour of his parliament for his majesty's honour and the advantage of their country. He said it was his determined resolution to apply his utmost efforts for the security of his kingdoms, and for the recovery and protection of the possessions and rights of his crown and subjects in America, and elsewhere, as well by the strongest exertion of his naval force, as by all other methods. He signified, that another great object, which he had at heart, was the preservation of the protestant religion, and the liberties of Europe; and, in that view, to encourage and adhere to his allies. For this cause, he assured them, he would decline no inconveniencies; and, in this cause, he earnestly solicited their hearty concurrence and vigorous assistance. He observed, that the late signal success in Germany had given a happy turn to affairs, which it was incumbent on them to improve; and that, in such a critical conjuncture, the eyes of all Europe were upon them. He particularly recommended to them, that his good brother and ally the king of Prussia might be supported in such a manner, as his magnanimity and active zeal for the common cause appeared to deserve. To the commons he expressed his concern that the large supplies they had already granted did not produce all the good fruits they had reason to expect; but he had so great a reliance on their wisdom, as not to doubt of their perseverance. He only desired such supplies as should be necessary for the public service; and told them they might depend upon it, that the best and most faithful œconomy should be used. He took notice of that spirit of disorder which had shewn itself among the common people, in some parts of the kingdom: he laid injunctions upon them to use their endeavours for discouraging and suppressing such abuses, and for maintaining

Ann. 1757. taining the laws and lawful authority. He concluded with observing, that nothing would so effectually conduce to the defence of all that was dear to the nation, as well as to the reducing their enemies to reason, as union and harmony among themselves.

Remarks
on that
harangue.

The time was when every paragraph of this harangue, which the reader will perceive is not remarkable for its elegance and propriety, would have been canvassed and impugned by the country party in the house of commons. They would have imputed the bad success of the war to the indiscretion of the ministry, in taking preposterous measures, and appointing commanders unequal to the service. They would have inquired in what manner the protestant religion was endangered; and, if it was, how it could be preserved or promoted by adhering to allies, who, without provocation, had well nigh ruined the first and principal protestant country of the Empire. They would have started doubts with respect to the late signal success in Germany; and hinted, that it would only serve to protract the burden of continental war. They would have owned, that the eyes of all Europe were upon them; and drawn this consequence, that it therefore behoved them to act with the more delicacy and caution, in discharge of the sacred trust reposed in them by their constituents: a trust which their consciences would not allow to be faithfully discharged, should they rush precipitately into the destructive measures of a rash and prodigal ministry, squander away the wealth of the nation, and add to the grievous incumbrances under which it groaned, in support of connexions and alliances that were equally foreign to her consideration, and pernicious to her interest. They would have investigated that cause which was so warmly recommended for support, and pretended to discover that it was a cause in which Great Britain ought to have had no concern, because it produced a certainty of loss, without the least prospect of advantage. They would have varied essentially in their opinions of the necessary supplies, from the sentiments of those who prepared the estimates, and even declared some doubts about the oeconomy to be used in managing the national expence: finally, they would have represented the impossibility of union between the two parties, one of which seemed bent upon reducing the other to beggary and contempt. Such was the strain that used to flow from an opposition, said to consist of disloyalty and disappointed ambition. But that malignant spirit was now happily extinguished. The voice of the f——n was adored as the oracle of a divinity; and those happy days were now approaching, that saw the commons of England pour their treasures, in support of a German prince, with such a generous hand, that posterity will be amazed at their liberality.

To the speech of his majesty the house of lords returned an address, in such terms of complacency as had long distinguished that illustrious assembly. The commons expressed their approbation and confidence with equal ardour; and not one objection was made to the form or nature of the address, though one gentleman, equally independent in his mind and fortune, took exceptions to some of the measures which had been lately pursued.

Supplies
granted by
the commons.

Their complaisance was more substantially specified in the resolutions of the house, as soon as the two great committees of supply were appointed. They granted for the sea-service of the ensuing year sixty thousand men, including fourteen thousand eight hundred and forty-five marines; and the standing army,

army, comprehending four thousand invalids, was fixed at fifty-three thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven effective men, commission and non-commission officers included. Ann. 1758.

For the maintenance of these forces, by sea and land, the charge of guards and garrisons at home and abroad, the expence of the ordnance, and in order to make good the sum which had been issued by his majesty's orders, in pursuance of the address from the commons, they now allotted four millions twenty-two thousand eight hundred and seven pounds seven shillings and three pence. They unanimously granted, as a present supply in the then critical exigency, towards enabling his majesty to maintain and keep together the army formed last year in his electoral dominions, and then again put in motion, and actually employed against the common enemy, in concert with the king of Prussia, the sum of one hundred thousand pounds: for the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to the sea-officers, they allowed two hundred twenty-four thousand four hundred twenty-one pounds five shillings and eight pence: towards the building and support of the three hospitals for seamen at Gosport, Plymouth, and Greenwich, thirty thousand pounds: for the reduced officers of the land-forces and marines, pensions to the widows of officers, and other such military contingencies, forty thousand nine hundred and twenty-six pounds seventeen shillings and eleven pence: towards building, rebuilding, and repairs of his majesty's ships for the ensuing year, the sum of two hundred thousand pounds: for defraying the charge of two thousand one hundred and twenty horse, and nine thousand nine hundred infantry, together with the general and staff officers, the officers of the hospital and the train of artillery, being the troops of the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel in the pay of Great Britain for sixty days, together with the subsidy for the said time, pursuant to treaty, they assigned thirty-eight thousand three hundred and sixty pounds nineteen shillings and ten pence three farthings. To the foundling hospital they gave forty thousand pounds, for the maintenance and education of deserted young children, as well as for the reception of all such as should be presented under a certain age, to be limited by the governors and guardians of that charity. Three hundred thousand pounds were given towards discharging the debt of the navy; and two hundred eighty-four thousand eight hundred and two pounds for making up the deficiency of the grants for the service of the preceding year. The landgrave of Hesse-Cassel was, moreover, gratified with the further sum of two hundred and three thousand five hundred and thirty-six pounds four shillings and nine pence one farthing, for the maintenance of his forces, and the remainder of his subsidy. They granted six hundred and seventy thousand pounds for enabling his majesty to make good his engagements with the king of Prussia, pursuant to a convention lately concluded with that potentate. For defraying the charge of thirty-eight thousand men of the troops of Hanover, Wolfenbuttle, Saxe-Gotha, and the count of Buckbourg, together with that of general and staff-officers, actually employed against the common enemy, in concert with the king of Prussia, from the twenty-eighth day of November in the last, to the twenty-fourth of December in the present year inclusive, to be issued in advance every two months, they allotted the sum of four hundred and sixty-three thousand eighty-four pounds six shillings and ten pence; and furthermore they granted three hundred eighty-six thousand nine hundred and fifteen

Ann. 1758. fifteen pounds thirteen shillings and two-pence, to defray the charges of forage, bread-waggon, train of artillery, provisions, wood, straw, and all other extraordinary expences, contingencies, and losses whatsoever, incurred, or to be incurred, on account of his majesty's army, consisting of thirty-eight thousand men, actually employed against the common enemy, in concert with the king of Prussia, from November last to next December inclusive. For the extraordinary expences of the land-forces, and other services, incurred in the course of the last year, and not provided for by parliament, they allowed one hundred forty-five thousand four hundred fifty-four pounds fifteen shillings and one farthing. They provided eight hundred thousand pounds to enable his majesty to defray the like sum raised in pursuance of an act made in the last session of parliament, and charged upon the first aids and supplies to be granted in the current session. Twenty-six thousand pounds were bestowed on the out-pensioners of Chelsea-hospital; above twenty thousand for the expence of maintaining the colonies of Nova Scotia and Georgia; for reimbursing to the province of Massachuset's Bay, and the colony of Connecticut, their expence in furnishing provisions and stores to the troops raised by them, for his majesty's service, in the campaign of the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, the sum of forty-one thousand one hundred seventeen pounds seventeen shillings and sixpence half-penny: to be applied towards the rebuilding of London-bridge, carrying on the works for fortifying and securing the harbour of Milford, and repairing the parish-church of St. Margaret in Westminster, they allotted twenty-nine thousand pounds. The East India company were indulged with twenty thousand pounds upon account, towards enabling them to defray the expence of a military force in their settlements, to be maintained by them in lieu of the battalion of his majesty's forces withdrawn from those settlements: the sum of ten thousand pounds was given, as usual, for maintaining and supporting the British forts and settlements on the coast of Africa; and eleven thousand four hundred and fifty, were granted as an augmentation to the salaries of the judges in the superior courts of judicature. They likewise provided one hundred thousand pounds for defraying the charge of pay and cloathing to the militia; and advanced eight hundred thousand pounds, to enable his majesty to defray any extraordinary expences of the war, incurred or to be incurred for the service of the current year; and to take all such measures as might be necessary to disappoint, or defeat, any enterprizes or designs of his enemies, as the exigency of his affairs might require. The whole supplies of this session amounted to the enormous sum of ten millions, four hundred eighty-six thousand four hundred fifty-seven pounds and one penny.

Observations
on these
grants.

Nothing could so plainly demonstrate the implicit confidence which the parliament, at this juncture, reposed in the sovereign and the ministry, as their conduct in granting such liberal supplies, great part of which were bestowed in favour of our German allies, whom the British nation thus generously payed for fighting their own battles. Besides the sum of one million eight hundred sixty-one thousand, eight hundred ninety-seven pounds, four shillings and eight pence, expressly assigned for the support of these continental connexions, a sum considerably exceeding the whole of the revenue raised in the reign of the second Charles, and what part of the sum granted to the king for extraordinary

dinary expences, might be applied to the same use, the article might not im- Ann. 1758.
properly be swelled with the vast expence incurred by expeditions to the coast of France, the chief, if not sole design of which seemed to be a diversion in favour of the nation's allies in Germany, by preventing France from sending such numerous armies into that country, as it could have spared, had not its sea-coasts required a considerable body of forces for its defence against the attempts of the English. Indeed the partisans of the m—y were at great pains to suggest and inculcate a belief, that the war in Germany was chiefly supported as a necessary diversion in favour of Great Britain and her plantations, which would have been exposed to insult and invasion, had not the enemy's forces been otherwise employed. But the absurdity of this notion will at once appear to those who consider, that by this time Great Britain was sole mistress of the sea; that the navy of France was almost ruined, and her commerce on the ocean quite extinguished; that she could not, with the least prospect of success, hazard any expedition of consequence against Great Britain, or any part of her dominions, while the ocean was covered with such powerful navies belonging to that nation; and that if one third part of the money annually ingulphed in the German vortex, had been employed in augmenting the naval forces of England, and those forces properly exerted, not a single cruizer would have been able to stir from the harbours of France; all her colonies in the West Indies would have fallen an easy prey to the arms of Great Britain; and thus cut off from the resources of commerce, she must have been content to embrace such terms of peace as the victor should have thought proper to prescribe.

The funds established by the committee of ways and means, in order to re- Funds for
alize those articles of supply, consisted of the malt-tax, the land-tax at four raising the
shillings in the pound, sums remaining in the exchequer produced from the supplies.
sinking fund, four millions five hundred thousand pounds to be raised by annuities, at three pounds ten shillings per cent. per ann. and five hundred thousand pounds by a lottery, attended with annuities redeemable by parliament, after the rate of three pounds per cent. per ann. these several annuities to be transferable at the bank of England, and charged upon a fund to be established in this session of parliament for payment thereof, and for which the sinking fund should be a collateral security*; one million six hundred and six thousand

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* It was enacted, That every person subscribing for five hundred pounds, should be intitled to four hundred and fifty in annuities, and fifty pounds in lottery tickets, and so in proportion for a greater or lesser sum; that the lottery should consist of tickets of the value of ten pounds each, in a proportion not exceeding eight blanks to a prize; the blanks to be of the value of six pounds each; the blanks and prizes to bear an interest after the rate of three pounds per cent. to commence from the first day of January, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine; and that the sum of four millions five hundred thousand pounds, to be raised by annuities, should bear an interest

after the rate of three pounds ten shillings per cent. from the fifth day of July in the present year, which annuities should stand reduced to three pounds per cent. after the expiration of twenty-four years, and afterwards be redeemable in the whole, or in part, by sums not less than five hundred thousand pounds at one time, six months notice having been first given of such payments respectively; that any subscriber might, on or before the twenty-ninth day of April, make a deposit of ten pounds per cent. on such sum as he should choose to subscribe towards raising these five millions, with the cashiers of the bank, as a security for his future payments on the days appointed for that

Ann. 1758. land and seventy-six pounds, five shillings, one penny one farthing, issued and applied out of such monies as should, or might arise from the surplusses, excesses, and other revenues composing the sinking fund; a tax of one shilling in the pound to be annually paid from all salaries, fees, and perquisites of offices and employments in Great Britain, and from all pensions and other gratuities payable out of any revenues belonging to his majesty in Great Britain, exceeding the yearly value of one hundred pounds; an imposition of one shilling annually upon every dwelling-house inhabited within the kingdom of Great Britain, over and above all other duties already chargeable upon them, to commence from the fifth day of April; an additional tax of six pence yearly for every window or light in every dwelling-house inhabited in Britain, which shall contain fifteen windows or upwards; a continuation of certain acts near expiring, with respect to the duties payable on foreign sail-cloth imported into Great Britain; the exportation of British gun-powder; the securing and encouraging the trade of his majesty's sugar colonies in America, and the empowering the importers and proprietors of spirits from the British sugar plantations to land them before payment of the duties of excise, and to lodge them in ware-houses at their own expence; an annual tax of forty shillings for a licence to be taken out by every person trading in, selling or vending gold or silver plate, in lieu of the duty of six-pence per ounce on all silver plate, made or wrought, or which ought to be touched, assayed, or marked in this kingdom, which duty now ceased and determined; a cessation of all draw backs payable on the exportation of silver plate; a law prohibiting all persons from selling, by retail, any sweets or made wines, without having first procured a licence for that purpose; and a loan by exchequer bills, for eight hundred thousand pounds, to be charged on the first aids to be granted in the next session of parliament. These provisions amounted to the sum of eleven millions seventy-nine thousand seven hundred and twenty-two pounds, six shillings and ten pence, exceeding the grants in the sum of five hundred ninety-three thousand two hundred and sixty-five pounds, six shillings and nine pence; so that the nation had reason to hope, that this surplus of above half a million would prevent any demand for deficiencies in the next session.

By these copious grants of an h—se of c——, whose complaisance knew no bounds, the national debt was, at this juncture, swelled to the astonishing sum of eighty-seven millions three hundred sixty-seven thousand two hundred and ten pounds, nineteen shillings and ten pence farthing; a load that would have crushed the national credit of any other state in christendom.

Message from
the k—— to
the house of
commons.

The liberality of the p——t was like the rock in the wilderness, which flowed with the welcome stream when touched by the rod of Moses. The present supply which the commons granted for the subsistence of the Hanoverian army, was, in pursuance of a message from his majesty, communicated to the

that purpose: that the several sums so received by the cashiers, should be paid into the receipt of the exchequer, to be applied from time to time to such services as should then have been voted by the house of commons in this session of parliament, and not otherwise: that any subscriber paying the whole or any part of his subscription previous to the days appointed for

the respective payments, should be allowed a discount, at the rate of three per cent. from the days of such respective payments to the respective times, on which such payments were directed to be made; and that all persons who should make their full payments on the said lottery, should receive their tickets as soon as they could be conveniently made out.

house

house by Mr. secretary Pitt, signifying, That the king had ordered his electoral army to be put again in motion, that it might act with vigour against the common enemy, in concert with his good brother and ally the king of Prussia; that the exhausted and ruined state of the electorate, having rendered it incapable of maintaining that army, until the further necessary charge thereof, as well as the more particular measures then concerting for the effectual support of his Prussian majesty, could be laid before the house, the king relying on the constant zeal of his faithful commons, for the support of the protestant religion, and of the liberties of Europe against the dangerous designs of France and her confederates, found himself, in the mean time, under the absolute necessity of recommending to the house the speedy consideration of such a present supply, as might enable his majesty, in this critical conjuncture, to subsist and keep together the said army. Ann. 1758.

This address was no sooner recited by the speaker, than it was unanimously referred to the committee of supply, who gratified his majesty's wish with an immediate resolution; and, considering their generous disposition, doubtless the same compliance would have appeared, even though no mention had been made of the protestant religion, which, to men of ordinary penetration, appeared to have no natural concern in the present dispute between the belligerent powers, although former ministers had often violently introduced it into messages and speeches from the throne, in order to dazzle the eyes of the populace, even while they insulted the understanding of those who were capable of exercising their own reason.

This pretext was worn so threadbare, that, among the sensible part of mankind, it could no longer be used without incurring contempt and ridicule. In order to persuade mankind that the protestant religion was in danger, it would have been necessary to specify the designs that were formed against it, as well as the nature of the conspiracy, and to descend to particulars, properly authenticated. In that case, great part of Europe would have been justly alarmed. The States General of the United Provinces, who have made such glorious and indefatigable efforts in support of the protestant religion, would surely have lent an helping hand towards its preservation. The Danes would not have stood tamely neutral, and seen the religion they profess exposed to the rage of such a powerful confederacy. It is not to be imagined that the Swedes, who have so zealously maintained the purity of the Protestant faith, would now join an association whose aim was the ruin of that religion. It is not credible, that even the Hungarians, who profess the same faith, and other protestant states of the Empire, would enter so heartily into the interests of those who were bent upon its destruction; or that the Russians would contribute to the aggrandizement of the catholic faith and discipline, so opposite to that of the Greek church, which they espouse. As, therefore, no particular of such a design was explained, no act of oppression towards any protestant state or society pointed out, except those that were exercised by the protestants themselves; and as the court of Vienna repeatedly disavowed any such design, in the most solemn manner, the unprejudiced part of mankind will be apt to conclude, that the cry of religion was used, as in former times, to arouse, alarm, and inflame: nor did the artifice prove altogether unsuccessful. Notwithstanding the general luke-warmth of the age in matters of religion, it produced considerable effect.

Ann. 1758. effect among the fanatic sectaries that swarm through the kingdom of England. The leaders of those blind enthusiasts, either actuated by the spirit of delusion, or desirous of recommending themselves to the protection of the higher powers, immediately seized the hint, expatiating vehemently on the danger that impended over God's people; and exerting all their faculties to impress the belief of a religious war, which never fails to exasperate and impel the minds of men to such deeds of cruelty and revenge as must discredit all religion, and even disgrace humanity.

Confidence
reposed in his
m—y with
respect to the
salaries of the
judges.

The signal trust and confidence which the parliament of England reposed in the king, at this juncture, was in nothing more conspicuous than in leaving to the crown the unlimited application of the sum granted for augmenting the salaries of the judges. In the reign of king William, when the act of settlement was passed, the parliament, jealous of the influence which the crown might acquire over the judges, provided, by an express clause of that act, that the commissions of the judges should subsist, *quam diu se bene gesserint*, and that their salaries should be established: but now we find a sum of money granted for the augmentation of their salaries, and the crown vested with a discretionary power to proportion and apply this augmentation: a stretch of complaisance, which, how safe soever it may appear during the reign of a prince famed for integrity and moderation, will perhaps one day be considered as a very dangerous accession to the prerogative.

Second treaty
or convention
with the king
of Prussia.

So fully persuaded were the m—y that the commons would chearfully enable them to pay what subsidies they might promise to their German allies, that on the eleventh of April they concluded a new treaty or convention with his Prussian majesty, which, that it might have the firmer consistence, and the greater authority, was, on the part of Great Britain, transacted and signed by almost all the privy counsellors who had any share in the administration*. This treaty, which was signed at Westminster, imported, That the contracting powers having mutually resolved to continue their efforts for their reciprocal defence and security, for the recovery of their possessions, the protection of their allies, and the support of the liberties of the Germanic body; his Britannic majesty had, from these considerations, determined to grant to his Prussian majesty an immediate succour in money, as being the most ready and the most efficacious; and their majesties having judged it proper that thereupon a convention should be made, for declaring and fixing their intentions upon this head, they had nominated and authorized their respective ministers, who, after having communicated their full powers to one another, agreed to the following stipulations. The king of Great Britain engaged to pay in the city of London, to such person as should be authorized to receive it by his Prussian majesty, the sum of four millions of German crowns, amounting to six hundred and seventy thousand pounds sterling, to be payed at once, and in one whole sum, immediately after the exchange of ratifications, upon be-

* These were, Sir Robert Henly, lord keeper of the great seal; John earl Granville, president of the council; Thomas Holles duke of Newcastle, first commissioner of the treasury; Robert earl of Holderness, one of the principal secretaries of state; Philip earl of Hardwicke; and William Pitt, Esq; another of the princi-

pal secretaries of state. In the name and on the part of his Prussian majesty, the Sieurs Dado Henry, baron of Knyphausen, his privy counsellor of ambassy, and minister plenipotentiary at the court of London; and Lewis Michel, his resident and chargé d'affaires.

ing demanded by his Prussian majesty. This prince, on his part, obliged Ann. 1758. himself to apply that sum to the maintaining and augmenting his forces, which should act in the best manner for the good of the common cause, and for the purpose of reciprocal defence, and mutual security, proposed by their said majesties. Moreover, the high contracting parties engaged not to conclude any treaty of peace, truce, or neutrality, nor any other sort of convention or agreement, with the powers engaged in the present war, but in concert and by mutual agreement, wherein both should be nominally comprehended. Finally, it was stipulated, that this convention should be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged on both sides, within the term of six weeks, to be computed from the day of signing this present convention, or sooner, if possible.

At this juncture, in all probability, the m——y of England imagined, that the war might be terminated in one campaign, by a vigorous exertion of the united powers of the contracting parties, whose hands were strengthened accordingly; but these sanguine hopes were not accomplished; the war continued to rage, and Great Britain to redouble her efforts on the continent; and, should she adhere to the letter of this treaty, the war may be protracted in Germany until the people of England shall be tired of giving subsidies for its support.

All the resolutions to which the committee of ways and means agreed, were executed by bills, or clauses in bills, which afterwards received the royal sanction. The militia still continued to be an object of parliamentary care and attention: but the institution was not yet heartily embraced, because seemingly discountenanced by the remnant of the old ministry, which still maintained a capital place in the late coalition, and indeed almost wholly engrossed the distribution of pensions and places. The commons having presented an address to his majesty, with respect to the harbour of Milford-haven, a book of plans and estimates for fortifying that harbour was laid before the house, and a committee appointed to examine the particulars. They were of opinion, that the mouth of the harbour was too wide to admit of any fortification, or effectual defence; but that the passage called Nailand point, lying higher than Hubberstone-road, might be fortified, so as to afford safe riding and protection to the trade and navy of Great Britain: that, if it should be thought proper hereafter to establish a yard and dock for building and equipping fleets at Milford, no place could, from the situation, nature, soil, and a general concurrence of all necessary local circumstances, be more fitted for such a design: that if a proper use were made of this valuable though long-neglected harbour, the distressful delays, too often embarrassing and disappointing the nation in her naval operations, might be in a great measure happily removed, to the infinite relief and enlargement of the kingdom in the means of improving its naval force; the necessary progress and free execution of which was now so unhappily and frequently restrained and frustrated, by the want of an harbour like that of Milford-haven, framed by nature with such local advantages. This report appeared to be so well supported by evidence, that a bill was framed and passed into an act, for granting ten thousand pounds towards carrying on the works for fortifying and securing the harbour of Milford in the county of Pembroke.

Other:

Ann. 1758. Regulations with respect to corn. Other laws of national consequence were enacted, in the course of this session, with little or no opposition. On the very first day of their sitting, the commons received a petition of the mayor, magistrates, merchants, and inhabitants of Liverpool, complaining of the high price of wheat, and other grain; expressing their apprehension that it would continue to rise, unless the time for the importation of foreign corn, duty free, should be prolonged, or some other salutary measure taken by parliament, to prevent dealers from engrossing corn; submitting to the wisdom of the house, a total prohibition of distilling and exporting grain, while the high price should continue; praying they would take the premises into consideration, and grant a seasonable relief to the petitioners, by a continuance of a free importation, and taking such other effectual means to reduce the growing price of corn, as to them should seem necessary and expedient.

This being an urgent case, that equally interested the humanity of the legislature and the manufactures of the kingdom, it was deliberated upon, and discussed with remarkable dispatch. In a few days a bill was prepared, passed through both houses, and enacted into a law, continuing till the twenty-fourth day of December, in the present year, the three acts of last session; for prohibiting the exportation of corn; for prohibiting the distillation of spirits; and for allowing the importation of corn duty free. A second law was established, regulating the price and assize of bread, and subjecting to severe penalties those who should be concerned in its adulteration. In consequence of certain resolutions, taken in a committee of the whole house, a bill was presented for prohibiting the payment of the bounty upon the exportation of corn, unless sold at a lower price than is allowed in an act passed in the first year of the reign of William and Mary: but this bill, after having been read a second time, and committed, was neglected, and proved abortive. Certain it is, that as the preservation and extension of manufactures depend in a great measure upon the moderate price of bread, which enables the labourer to work for low wages, and his master to sell his commodity as cheap as it can be afforded by the merchants and manufacturers of other countries, it is a flagrant absurdity to grant a bounty on the exportation of corn, when the price is not as low at home as abroad; but it is still more absurd to grant such a large bounty as may enable the exporter to sell it for a smaller price to foreigners, and rivals in commerce, than the British manufacturer is obliged to pay for it at home: and this will always be the case, when the bounty exceeds the charge and risque of exportation.

Bill for the encouragement of seamen.

In consequence of a motion made by Mr. Greenville, a humane bill was prepared and brought in for the encouragement of seamen employed in the royal navy, establishing a regular method for the punctual, frequent, and certain payment of their wages; enabling them more easily and readily to remit money for the support of their wives and families, and preventing frauds and abuses attending such payments. This bill, having passed the lower house, engaged, in a very particular manner, the attention of the lords, who, by divers messages to the house of commons, desired the attendance of several members. These messages being taken into consideration, several precedents were recited; a debate arose about their formality, and the house unanimously resolved, that a message should be sent to the lords, acquainting them that the house of commons,

mons, not being sufficiently informed by their messages upon what grounds, Ann. 1758. or for what purposes, their lordships desired the house would give leave to such of their members, as were named in the said messages, to attend the house of lords, in order to be examined upon the second reading of the bill; the commons hoped their lordships would make them acquainted with their intention. The lords, in answer to this intimation, gave the commons to understand, that they desired the attendance of the members mentioned in their messages, that they might be examined as witnesses upon the second reading of the bill. This explanation being deemed satisfactory, the members attended the house of lords, where they were carefully and fully examined as persons conversant in sea-affairs, touching the inconveniencies which had formerly attended the sea-service, as well as the remedies now proposed: and the bill having passed through their house, though not without warm opposition, was enacted into a law, by his majesty's assent. How defective and imperfect soever this act may appear to those, who have accurately and maturely considered the subject, it certainly flowed from a principle of justice and humanity; and the salutary effects of it soon appeared in considerable sums of money which even the common seamen remitted to their poor families, in different parts of Great Britain and Ireland.

The militia-act, as it passed in the last session, being found upon trial defective, Mr. Townshend moved for leave to bring in a new bill to explain, amend, and enforce it: this was accordingly allowed, prepared, and passed into a law; though it does not seem altogether free from material objections, some of which are of an alarming nature. The power vested by law in the crown, over the militia, is even more independent than that which it exercises over the standing army: for this last expires at the end of the year, if not continued by a new act of parliament; whereas the militia is subjected to the power of the crown for the term of five years, during which it may be called out into actual service without consent of parliament, and consequently employed for sinister purposes. A commission-officer in the militia may be detained, as subject to the articles of war, until the crown shall allow the militia to return to their respective parishes; and thus engaged, he is liable to death as a mutineer, or deserter, should he refuse to appear in arms, and fight in support of the worst measures of the worst minister.

Several merchants, and manufacturers of silk, offered a petition, representing, that in consequence of the act passed in the last session, allowing the importation of fine organzine Italian thrown silk till the first day of December in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven, they had given orders to their correspondents abroad to send large quantities of such silk through Germany to Hamburgh and Holland, which in the common course of things might probably have arrived in London before the act expired, if their carriage had not been protracted by the great rains and inundations in Italy and Germany, in the months of August and September last, which rendered the roads for many weeks impassable: that from unlucky accidents on shore, and storms and contrary winds, after the silk was shipped, it could not possibly arrive within the time limited by the act; and unless it should be admitted to an entry, they, the petitioners, would be great sufferers, the manufactures

Ann. 1758. greatly prejudiced, and the good end and purpose of the act in a great measure frustrated: they, therefore, prayed leave to bring in a bill for allowing the introduction of all such fine Italian organzine silk, as should appear to have been shipped in Holland and Hamburgh for London, on or before the first day of December. The petition being referred to a committee, which reported that these allegations were true, the house complied with their request, and the bill having passed, was enacted into a law in the usual form. A speedy passage was likewise granted to the mutiny bill, and the other annual measure for regulating the marine forces, which contained nothing new or extraordinary.

Divers temporary laws perpetuated or continued.

A committee being appointed to enquire what laws were already expired, or near expiring, they performed this difficult task with indefatigable patience and perseverance; and in pursuance of their resolutions, three bills were prepared and passed into laws continuing some acts for a certain time, and rendering others perpetual*.

Bill for the repairing of London Bridge.

The lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common-council assembled, having drawn up a petition to the house of commons, alledging, that the toll upon loaded vessels, or other craft, passing through the arches of London-Bridge, granted by a former act, passed in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty, for improving, widening, and enlarging the passage both under and over the said bridge, was altogether precarious and insufficient to defray the expence, including that of a temporary wooden bridge already erected; and praying that a bill might be prepared for explaining and rendering that act effectual; a committee was appointed to examine the contents, and a bill brought in according to their request. This, however, was opposed by a petition from several persons, owners of barges and other craft navigating the river Thames, who affirmed, that if the bill should pass into a law as it then stood, it would be extremely injurious to the petitioners in particular, and to the public in general. These were heard by their

* Among those rendered perpetual, we find an act of the 13th and 14th of Charles II. for preventing theft and rapine. An act of the 9th of George I. for punishing persons going armed in disguise. A clause in an act of the 6th of George II. to prevent the breaking down the bank of any river; and another clause in the said act, to prevent the treacherous cutting of hop binds. Several clauses in an act of the 10th of George II. for punishing persons setting on fire any mine, &c. The temporary part of the act of 20th of George II. for taking away the hereditary jurisdictions of Scotland, relating to the power of appealing to circuit courts. Those continued were, I. An act of the 12th of George II. for granting liberty to carry sugars, &c. until the twenty-ninth day of September, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-four, and to the end of the next session of parliament. II. An act of the 5th of George II. to prevent frauds by bankrupts, &c. for the same period. III. An act of the

8th of George II. for encouraging the importation of naval stores, &c. for the same period. IV. An act of the 19th of George II. for preventing frauds in the admeasurement of coals, &c. until June 24, 1759; and to this was added, a perpetual clause for preventing the stealing or destroying of madder roots. V. An act of the 9th of George II. for encouraging the manufacture of British sail-cloth until the twenty-ninth of September, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-four. VI. An act of the 4th of George II. granting an allowance upon British-made gun-powder, for the same period. VII. An act of the 6th of George II. encouraging the trade of the sugar colonies, until the twenty-ninth of September, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-one. And VIII. so much of the act of the 15th and 16th of Geo. II. to empower the importers of rum, &c. as relates to landing it before the payment of duties, until the twenty-ninth of September, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-four.

council

counsel before the committee, but no report was yet given, when the temporary bridge was reduced to ashes. Then the mayor, aldermen, and commons of London, presented another petition, alledging, that in pursuance of the powers vested in them by act of parliament, they had already demolished a good number of the houses on London-Bridge, and directed the rest that were standing, to be taken down with all convenient expedition; that two of the arches might be laid into one for the improvement of the navigation; that they had, at a very great expence, erected a temporary wooden bridge to preserve a public passage to and from the city, until the great arch could be finished, which temporary bridge being consumed by fire, they must rebuild it with the greatest expedition, at a further considerable expence; that the sum necessary for carrying on and compleating this great and useful work, including the rebuilding of the said temporary bridge, was estimated at fourscore thousand pounds; and as the improving, widening, and enlarging London-Bridge, was calculated for the general good of the public, for the advancement of trade and commerce, for making the navigation upon the river Thames more safe and secure; they therefore prayed the house to take the premises into consideration. This petition being recommended by his majesty to the consideration of the house, was referred to the committee of supply, and produced the resolution of granting fifteen thousand pounds towards the rebuilding of London-Bridge. A bill was prepared under the title of, An act to improve, widen, and enlarge the passage over and through London-Bridge, enforcing the payment of the toll imposed upon loaded vessels, which had been found extremely burthensome to trade; but this incumbrance was prevented by another petition of several merchants, tradesmen, and other inhabitants of the borough of Southwark, taking notice of the fifteen thousand pounds granted towards the repair of London-Bridge, and, as they were informed, intended to make the said bridge free for all his majesty's subjects: they said they hoped to partake of this public bounty; but afterwards hearing that the bill then depending was confined to the tolls formerly granted for repairing the said bridge, they represented the hardships which they and all traders would continue to labour under; they alledged, that the surveyors and workmen then employed upon this work had discovered the true principles on which the bridge was built; that the foundation of the piers consisted of hard durable stone, well cemented together, and now as strong and firm as when first built; that when the bridge should be finished, great savings would be made in keeping it in repair, from the sums formerly expended on a mistaken opinion, that the foundation was of wood: that there were very considerable estates appointed solely for the repairs of the bridge, which, they apprehended, would be sufficient to maintain it without any toll; or if they would not be thought adequate to that purpose, they hoped the deficiency should not be made up by a toll upon trade and commerce, but rather by an imposition on coaches, chariots, chaises, and saddle horses. This remonstrance made no impression on the house. The bill being, on a motion made by Sir John P——s, read for the third time, passed through both houses, and obtained the royal assent.*

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* The next object that engrossed the attention of the commons, was a bill for allowing the importation of Irish tallow, suggested by a petition of several tallow chandlers of London and

Ann. 1758.

Act for encouraging the growth of madder.

The interest of the manufactures was also consulted in an act encouraging the growth of madder, a plant essentially necessary in dying and printing calicoes, which may be raised in England without the least inconvenience. It was judged, upon enquiry, that the most effectual means to encourage the growth of this commodity, would be to ascertain the tythe of it, and a bill was brought in for that purpose. The rate of the tythe was established at five shillings an acre; and it was enacted, that this law should continue in force for fourteen years, and to the end of the next session of parliament; but wherefore this encouragement was made temporary, it is not easy to determine.

Clause relating to the settlement of servants.

The laws relating to the poor, though equally numerous and oppressive to the subject, having been found defective, a new clause relating to the settlement of servants and apprentices, was now added to an act passed in the twentieth year of the present reign, intituled, "An act for the better adjusting and more easy recovery of the wages of certain servants, and of certain apprentices."

and Westminster, who represented that the scarcity of British-tallow, occasioned by a distemper among the horned cattle, the rot among the sheep, and the increased consumption of this commodity in the manufactory of hard soap, had raised the price of it so high as to make candles extremely dear: that the consequence of this dearth was, in the first instance, severely felt by the poor, very discouraging to every branch of trade and manufacture, and, by inducing great numbers to use oil instead of candles, would ultimately prove detrimental to his majesty's revenue, and injurious to the landed interest; they therefore submitted to the house, whether the free admission of Irish tallow, the duty on which amounted almost to a prohibition, would not, in all likelihood, reduce the present exorbitant price of candles, prevent monopolies in such an essential article of the necessaries of life, and at the same time secure the duties upon candles to the crown, with ease and advantage to the subject. The committee appointed to take this petition into consideration, reported their opinion, that the duties then payable on tallow imported from Ireland, should cease for a limited time. On this resolution a bill was founded, and approved by a petition of the merchants, tradesmen, and tallow-chandlers of Liverpool and parts adjacent. But another, couched in a very different strain, was presented by certain proprietors of lands, landholders, salesmen, and graziers of Buckinghamshire, alledging, that they had sustained great losses by the contagious distemper which raged a long time among their cattle, for which the advanced price of provisions had by no means been an adequate satisfaction: that as the distemper among the horned cattle had now entirely ceased, and the rot among the sheep was greatly abated, the petitioners were thoroughly convinced, from the daily decrease of the price of tallow, that the markets

would be sufficiently supplied without any importation: that should the bill pass into a law, the natives of Ireland would be enabled to undersell the English in their tallow, as they payed no land-tax, and held their farms at easy rates: consequently the rents in England must be proportionably abated; a circumstance that would affect the landed interest, and be detrimental to the revenue. On the other hand, petitions in favour of the bill were brought up from Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Nottingham, Tavistock, Norwich and Canterbury, Coventry, and Sudbury, some of the principal trading towns of England. The bill being discussed in a committee of the whole house, passed without much farther opposition, and was carried to the upper house, from whence it never returned. This miscarriage was the more extraordinary, as it appeared from authentic accounts left on the table in the house of commons, for the perusal of the members, that the reduction of the price of tallow would occasion a very considerable saving in the expence of the navy, especially in time of war, and also prove advantageous to navigation in general, as considerable quantities of tallow are used in building and repairing the ships and vessels belonging to the merchants: the truth is, all schemes of national advantage, that interfere with the private lucre of individuals, will ever be opposed by such as are actuated by a narrow sordid spirit of self-interest.

On the same coast another bill was wrecked, intended to permit the free importation of cattle from Ireland, for a time to be limited. A committee of the whole house of commons, after having deliberated upon the laws which prohibit the importation of cattle from Ireland, the duties upon skins and hides imported into Great-Britain, and perused a variety of accounts relating to this subject, resolved, that there should be a free importation of cattle from Ireland

tices." No country in the universe can produce so many laws made in behalf of the poor, as those that are daily accumulating in England: in no other country is there so much money raised for their support, by private charity, as well as public taxation; yet this, as much as any country, swarms with vagrant beggars, and teems with objects of misery and distress; a sure sign either of misconduct in the legislature, or of shameful relaxation in the executive part of the civil administration. Ann. 1758.

The scenes of corruption, perjury, riot, and intemperance, which every election for a member of parliament had lately produced, were now grown so infamously open and intolerable, and the right of voting was rendered so obscure and perplexed by the pretensions and proceedings of all the candidates for Oxfordshire in the last election, that the fundamentals of the constitution seemed to shake, and the very essence of parliaments to be in danger. Act ascertaining the qualification of voting,

Actuated by these apprehensions, Sir John Phillips, a gentleman of Wales, who had long distinguished himself in the opposition, by his courage and independent spirit, moved for leave to bring in a bill that should obviate any doubts which might arise concerning the electors of knights of the shire, to serve in parliament for England, and further regulate the proceedings of such elections. He was accordingly permitted to bring in such a bill, in conjunc-

Ireland into Great Britain, for a limited time; and the bill was prepared in pursuance of this resolution. At the same time another was brought in for suspending, for a limited time, the duties payable on the importation of raw hides and calve skins from Ireland. These bills were supported by petitions from the merchants of Liverpool, Barnstaple, Minehead, Chester, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Bristol, Haverfordwest, as well as by the tanners of the county of Salop, and of the town and county of Gloucester. Some of these represented, that the free importation of live cattle from Ireland would supply the pastures of England, so greatly thinned by the distemper; the price of tallow would be lowered; the estates much better able to bear and pay the taxes; the kingdom enabled to supply the navy with beef on reasonable terms; while the wicked practice of supplying the enemy with provision, and smuggling soap and candles from Ireland, would be in a great measure prevented. In opposition to all these remonstrances, there was but one solitary petition against the cattle bill, from the sheriff and grand jury, gentlemen, proprietors of land, landholders, and breeders of cattle, assembled at the great sessions holden for the county of Pembroke, alledging, that the free importation of cattle from Ireland would be attended with very affecting consequences to the general landed interest of the kingdom; and expressing their hope, that, as the nation was engaged in an expensive war, towards the support of which the landed interest bore so great a proportion, the present juncture would not be thought a

proper time to weaken that interest, by passing a bill of so fatal a tendency, the evils of which were so sensibly felt in a former reign, that no fewer than four very severe laws were passed for their prevention. Though this remonstrance produced no effect in the house of commons, it seems to have had some weight with the lords, among whom the bill was dropped.

The other house perceiving the disposition of their lordships, desisted from proceeding on the bill for discontinuing the duties payable on the importation of raw hides from Ireland, though no objection had been started against it from any part of the kingdom. Nevertheless, intent upon taking some measure of this kind for the relief of the poor, and the benefit of commerce, they examined the accounts, specifying the prices which had, for a series of years, been paid, in victualling the navy; and prepared a bill, permitting, for a limited time, the importation of salted beef, pork, and butter from Ireland. This, after having excited warm debates, and undergone divers amendments, made its progress through both houses to the throne, where it obtained the royal sanction; and surely no law could be more just, seasonable, or better calculated for the interest of the kingdom in general: it must naturally have put a stop to the pernicious practice of supplying the enemies of the nation with the means of life; and likewise prevented such an exorbitant increase in the price of provisions through the united kingdom of Great Britain, as might have proved fatal to those manufactures, on which the national wealth and commerce principally depend.

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tion with Mr. Townshend, Mr. Cornwall, the lords North and Carysfort; and in the usual course the bill being prepared, was enacted into a law under the title of, "An act for further explaining the laws touching the electors of knights of the shire to serve in parliament for that part of Great Britain called England." The preamble specified, That though, by an act passed in the eighteenth year of the present reign, it was provided, that no person might vote at the election of a knight or knights of a shire, within England and Wales, without having a freehold estate, in the county for which he votes, of the clear yearly value of forty shillings, over and above all rents and charges, payable out of or in respect to the same; nevertheless certain persons, who hold their estates by copy of court-roll, pretend to a right of voting, and have, at certain times, presumed to vote at such elections: this act therefore ordained, that from and after the twenty-ninth day of June, in the present year, no person, who holds his estate by copy of court-roll, should be intitled thereby to vote at the election of any knight or knights of a shire within England or Wales; but every such vote should be void, and the person so voting should forfeit fifty pounds to any candidate for whom such vote should not have been given, and who should first sue for the same, to be recovered with full costs, by action of debt, in any court of judicature*. So far the act, thus procured, may be attended with salutary consequences: but, in all probability, the intention of its first movers and patrons was not fully answered; inasmuch as no provision was made for putting a stop to that spirit of licence, drunkenness, and debauchery, which prevails at almost every election, and has a very pernicious effect upon the morals of the people.

Bill for the more effectually manning his majesty's navy.

Among the bills that miscarried in the course of this session, some turned on points of great consequence to the community. Lord Barrington, Mr. Thomas Gore, and Mr. Charles Townshend, were ordered by the house to prepare a bill for the speedy and effectual recruiting his majesty's land-forces and marines, which was no more than a transcript of the temporary act passed in the preceding session under the same title; but the majority were averse to its being continued for another year, as it was attended with some prejudice to the liberty of the subject. Objections of the same nature might have been as justly started against another bill, for the more effectually manning of his majesty's navy, for preventing desertion, and for the relief and encouragement of seamen belonging to ships and vessels in the service of the merchants. The purport of this project was to establish registers or muster-rolls of all seamen, fishermen, lightermen, and watermen; obliging ship-masters to leave subscribed lists of their respective crews at offices, maintained for that purpose, that a certain number of them might be chosen by lot for his majesty's service, in any case of emergency. This expedient, however, was rejected as an unneces-

* For the more easy recovery of this forfeit, it was enacted, That the plaintiff in such action might only set forth, in the declaration or bill, that the defendant was indebted to him in the sum of fifty pounds, alledging the offence for which the suit should be brought, and that the defendant had acted contrary to this act, without mentioning the writ of summons to parliament, or the return thereof; and, upon trial of any issue, the plaintiff

should not be obliged to prove the writ of summons to parliament, or the return thereof, or any warrant or authority to the sheriff upon any such writ: that every such action should be commenced within nine months after the fact committed; and that, if the plaintiff should discontinue his action, or be nonsuited, or have judgment given against him, the defendant should recover treble costs.

fary and ineffectual incumbrance on commerce, which would hamper navigation, and in a little time diminish the number of seamen, of consequence act diametrically opposite to the purpose for which it was contrived. Ann. 1758.

Numberless frauds having been committed, and incessant lawfuits produced, by private and clandestine conveyances, a motion was made, and leave given, to form a bill for the public registering of all deeds, conveyances, wills, and other incumbrances, that might affect any honours, manours, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, within the kingdom of England, wherein public registers were not already appointed by act of parliament: but this measure, so necessary to the ascertainment and possession of property, met with a violent opposition; and was finally dropped, as some people imagine, through the influence of those who, perhaps, had particular reasons for countenancing the present mysterious forms of conveyancing. Such a bill must also have been disagreeable and mortifying to the pride of those landholders whose estates were incumbered, because, in consequence of such a register, every mortgage, under which they laboured, would be exactly known. Motion for a law to establish public registers.

The next object to which the house converted its attention, was a bill explaining and amending a late act for establishing a fish-market in the city of Westminster, and preventing scandalous monopolies of a few engrossing fish-mongers, who imposed exorbitant prices on their fish, and in this particular branch of traffick gave law to above six hundred thousand of their fellow-citizens. Abundance of pains was taken to render this bill effectual, for putting an end to such flagrant imposition. Inquiries were made, petitions read, counsel heard, and alterations proposed: at length the bill, having passed through the lower house, was conveyed to the lords, among whom it was suffered to expire, on pretence that there was not time sufficient to deliberate maturely on the subject. Bill relating to fish-mongers.

The occasion that produced the next bill, which miscarried, we shall explain, as an incident equally extraordinary and interesting. By an act passed in the preceding session, for recruiting his majesty's land forces and marines, we have already observed, that the commissioners, thereby appointed, were vested with a power of judging ultimately whether the persons brought before them were such as ought, by the rules prescribed in the act, to be impressed into the service: for it was expressly provided, that no person, so impressed by those commissioners, should be taken out of his majesty's service by any process, other than for some criminal accusation. During the recess of parliament, a gentleman having been impressed before the commissioners, and confined in the Savoy, his friends made application for a habeas corpus; which produced some hesitation, and indeed an insurmountable difficulty: for, according to the writ of habeas corpus, passed in the reign of the second Charles, this privilege relates only to persons committed for criminal, or supposed criminal matters, and the gentleman did not stand in that predicament. Before the question could be determined he was discharged, in consequence of an application to the secretary at war; but the nature of the case plainly pointed out a defect in the act, seemingly of the most dangerous consequence to the liberty of the subject. In order to remedy this defect, a bill for giving a more speedy remedy to the subject, upon the writ of habeas corpus, was prepared, and presented to the house of commons, which formed itself into a committee, and made several Proceedings on the act of habeas corpus.

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veral amendments. It imported, that the several provisions made in the aforesaid act, passed in the reign of Charles II. for the awarding of writs of habeas corpus, in cases of commitment, or detainer, for any criminal or supposed criminal matter, should, in like manner, extend to all cases where any person, not being committed or detained for any criminal or supposed criminal matter, should be confined, or restrained of his or her liberty, under any colour or pretence whatsoever: that, upon oath made by such person so confined or restrained, or by any other on his or her behalf, of any actual confinement or restraint, and that such confinement or restraint, to the best of the knowledge and belief of the person so applying, was not by virtue of any commitment or detainer for any criminal or supposed criminal matter; an habeas corpus, directed to the person or persons so confining or restraining the party, as aforesaid, should be awarded and granted in the same manner as is directed, and under the same penalties as are provided by the said act, in the case of persons committed and detained for any criminal or supposed criminal matter: that the person or persons before whom the party so confined or restrained should be brought, by virtue of any habeas corpus granted in the vacation-time, under the authority of this act, might and should, within three days after the return made, proceed to examine into the facts contained in such return, and into the cause of such confinement and restraint; and thereupon either discharge, or bail, or remand the parties so brought, as the case should require, and as to justice should appertain. The rest of the bill related to the return of the writ in three days, and the penalties incurred by those who should neglect or refuse to make the due return, or to comply with any other cause of this regulation.

The commons seemed hearty in rearing up this additional buttress to the liberty of their fellow subjects, and passed the bill with the most laudable alacrity: but in the house of lords such a great number of objections was started, that it sunk at the second reading, and the judges were ordered to prepare a bill for the same purpose, to be laid before that house in the next session.

Scheme in
favour of the
foundling-
hospital.

His majesty having recommended the care of the foundling-hospital to the house of commons, which cheerfully granted forty thousand pounds for the support of that charity, the growing annual expence of it appeared worthy of further consideration; and leave was granted to bring in a bill for obliging all the parishes of England and Wales to keep registers of all their deaths, births, and marriages, that from these a fund might be raised towards the support of the said hospital. The bill was accordingly prepared by a committee appointed for the purpose; but, before the house could take the report into consideration, the parliament was prorogued. The nation was no great loser by this miscarriage; for the scheme of the bill was to lay a very grievous imposition, extending even to the remotest county, as well as to the lowest of the people, in favour of a partial charity, which, in all appearance, will overshoot the purpose for which it was established, promote idleness and profligacy, discourage matrimony, and prove an enormous burthen on the commonwealth.

Petition of
the owners
of the Anti-
gallican pri-
vateer.

The proprietors of the privateer called the Antigallican, which had taken a rich French ship homeward-bound from China, and carried her into Cadiz, where the Spanish government had wrested her by violence from the captors, and delivered

delivered her to the French owners, now presented a petition to the house of commons, complaining of this interposition as an act of partiality and injustice; representing the great expence at which the privateer had been equipped, the legality of the capture, the loss and hardships which they the petitioners had sustained, and imploring such relief as the house should think requisite. Ann. 1758.

Though these allegations were supported by a species of evidence that seemed strong and convincing, and it might be thought incumbent on the parliament to vindicate the honour of the nation, when thus insulted by a foreign power; the house, upon this occasion, treated the petition with the most mortifying neglect, either giving little credit to the assertions it contained, or unwilling to take any step which might at this juncture embroil the nation with the court of Spain on such a frivolous subject. True it is, the Spanish government alledged, in their own justification, that the prize was taken under the guns of Corunna, insomuch that the shot fired by the privateer entered that place, and damaged some houses: but this allegation was never properly sustained, and the prize was certainly condemned as legal by the court of admiralty at Gibraltar.

As we have already given a detail of the trial of Sir John Mordaunt, it will be unnecessary to recapitulate any circumstance of that affair, except such as relate to its connexion with the proceedings of parliament. In the beginning of this session, the lord Barrington, as secretary at war, informed the house, by his majesty's command, that lieutenant-general Sir John Mordaunt, a member of that house, was in arrest for disobedience of his majesty's orders, while employed on the late expedition to the coast of France. The commons immediately resolved, That an address should be presented to his majesty, returning him the thanks of this house for his gracious message of that day, in the communication he had been pleased to make of the reason for putting lieutenant-general Sir John Mordaunt in arrest. Address of the commons on the subject of Sir John Mordaunt.

Among the various objects of commerce that employed the attention of the house, one of the most considerable was the trade to the coast of Africa, for the protection of which an annual sum had been granted for some years, to be expended in the maintenance and repairs of castles and factories. While a committee was employed in perusing the accounts relating to the sum granted in the preceding session for this purpose, a petition from the committee of the African company, recommended in a message from his majesty, was presented to the house, soliciting further assistance for the ensuing year. In the mean time a remonstrance was offered by certain planters and merchants, interested in and trading to the British sugar-colonies in America, alledging, that the price of negroes was greatly advanced, since the forts and settlements on the coast of Africa had been under the direction of the committee of the company of merchants trading to that coast; a circumstance that greatly distressed and alarmed the petitioners, prevented the cultivation of the British colonies, and was a great detriment to the trade and navigation of the kingdom: that this misfortune, they believed, was in some measure owing to the ruinous state and condition of the forts and settlements: that, in their opinion, the most effectual method for maintaining the interest of that trade on a respectable footing, next to that of an incorporated joint-stock company, would be putting those forts and settlements under the sole direction of the

Ann. 1758. commissioners for trade and plantations: that the preservation or ruin of the American sugar-colonies went hand in hand with that of the slave trade to Africa: that, by an act passed in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty, for extending and improving this trade, the British subjects were debarred from lodging their slaves and merchandize in the forts and settlements on the coast: they therefore prayed, that this part of the act might be repealed: that all commanders of British and American vessels, free merchants, and all other his majesty's subjects, who were settled, or might at any time thereafter settle, in Africa, should have free liberty, from sun-rise to sun-set, to enter the forts and settlements, and to deposit their goods and merchandize in the ware-houses thereunto belonging; to secure their slaves, or other purchases, without paying any consideration for the same; but the slaves to be victualled at the proper cost and charges of their respective owners.

The house having taken this petition into consideration, inquired into the proceedings of the company, and revised the act for extending and improving the trade to Africa, resolved, That the committee of the African company had faithfully discharged the trust reposed in them; and granted ten thousand pounds for maintaining the British forts and settlements in that part of the world. Without all doubt, the committee had executed their trust with fidelity in expending the sum granted by parliament: but every person, acquainted with the great importance of the African trade, will reflect with astonishment, that although the forts and settlements, upon which that commerce intirely depends, cannot possibly be maintained in a posture of defence for the annual sum granted by parliament, and therefore are altogether untenable; and it is plain to demonstration, that the addition of five thousand pounds to the yearly allowance, would render it sufficient for the support of the castles, and the security of the traders; the whole commerce to the coast of Guinea, so beneficial to the British manufactures, and so essential to the very being of the sugar plantations in the West-Indies, hath been, for a series of years, exposed to the most imminent danger of total ruin, by withholding such a paultry sum; while millions are lavished away, without remorse, upon schemes of unavailing conquest, and objects that have scarce the slightest connexion with the interests of Great Britain. The enemy were perfectly well acquainted with the weakness of the British castles on the coast of Africa; and had they known as well how to execute with spirit, as to plan with sagacity, the attempt which, in the course of the preceding year, they made upon the principal British fort in Guinea, would have succeeded, and all the other settlements would have fallen into their hands without opposition*.

* Robert Hunter Morris represented, in a petition to the house, that as no salt was made in the British colonies in America, they were obliged to depend upon a precarious supply of that commodity from foreigners; he therefore offered to undertake the making of marine-salt at a moderate price in one of those colonies, at his own risque and charge, provided he could be secured in the enjoyment of the profits which the work might produce, for such a term of years as might seem to the house a proper and adequate compensation for so great an undertaking. The petition was ordered to lie

upon the table; afterwards read, and referred to a committee, which however made no report.—A circumstance not easily accounted for, unless we suppose the house of commons were of opinion, that such an enterprize might contribute towards rendering our colonies too independent of their mother-country. Equally unaccountable was the miscarriage of another bill, brought in for regulating the manner of licensing ale-houses, which was read for the first time; but when a motion was made for a second reading, the question was put, and it passed in the negative.

The

The longest and warmest debate which was maintained in the course of this Ann. 1758. session, arose from a motion for leave to bring in a bill for shortening the term Endeavours and duration of future parliaments; a measure truly patriotical, against which used to con- no substantial argument could be produced, although the motion was rejected tract the du- by the majority, on pretence, that, whilst the nation was engaged in such a ration of par- dangerous and expensive war, it would be improper to think of introducing liaments. such an alteration in the form of government. Reasons of equal strength and solidity will never be wanting to the patrons and ministers of C———n and V————. The alteration proposed was nothing less than removing and annulling an incroachment which had been made on the constitution: it might have been effected without the least pang or convulsion, to the general satisfaction of the nation: far from being unreasonable at this juncture, it would have enhanced the national reputation abroad, and rendered the war more formidable to the enemies of Great Britain, by convincing them that it was supported by a ministry and parliament, who stood upon such good terms with the people. Indeed a quick succession of parliaments might have disconcerted, and perhaps expelled that spirit of confidence and generosity, which now so remarkably espoused and gratified the s———'s predilection for the interest of H———.

Other committees were established to inquire into the expence incurred by Inquiry new lines and fortifications raised at Gibraltar; to examine the original stand- about ards of weights and measures used in England; consider the laws relating to weights and them, and report their observations, together with their opinion of the most measures. effectual means for ascertaining and enforcing uniform standards to be used for the future. The commons were perfectly satisfied with the new works which had been raised at Gibraltar; and with respect to the weights and measures, the committee agreed to certain resolutions; but no further progress was made in this inquiry, except an order for printing these resolutions, with the appendix: however, as the boxes containing the standards were ordered to be locked up by the clerk of the house, in all probability their intention was to proceed on this subject in some future session.

On the ninth day of June sundry bills received the royal assent by commission, Session clos- his majesty being indisposed; and on the twentieth day of the same month, ed. the lords commissioners closed the session with a speech to both houses, expressing his majesty's deep sense of their loyalty and good affection, demonstrated in their late proceedings; in their zeal for his honour and real interest in all parts; in their earnestness to surmount every difficulty; in their ardour to maintain the war with the utmost vigour: proofs which must convince mankind, that the ancient spirit of the British nation still subsisted in its full force. They were given to understand, that the king had taken all such measures as appeared the most conducive to the accomplishment of their public-spirited views and wishes: that with their assistance, crowned by the blessing of God upon the conduct and bravery of the combined army, his majesty had been enabled, not only to deliver his dominions in Germany from the oppressions and devastations of the French, but also to push his advantages on this side the Rhine; that he had cemented the union between him and his good brother the king of Prussia, by new engagements; that the British fleets and armies were now actually employed in such expeditions, as appeared likely to

Ann. 1758: annoy the enemy in the most sensible manner, to promote the welfare and prosperity of these kingdoms; in particular, to preserve the British rights and possessions in America, and to make France feel, in those parts, the real strength and importance of Great Britain. The commons were thanked for the ample supplies which they had so freely and unanimously given; and assured on the part of his majesty, that they should be managed with the most frugal œconomy. They were desired, in consequence of the king's earnest recommendation, to promote harmony and good agreement amongst his faithful subjects; to make the people acquainted with the rectitude and purity of his intentions and measures; and to exert themselves in maintaining the peace and good order of the country, by enforcing obedience to the laws and lawful authority.

Vigorous
preparations
for war.

Never, surely, had any sovereign more reason to be pleased with the conduct of his ministers, and the spirit of his people. The whole nation reposed the most unbounded confidence in the courage and discretion, as well as in the integrity of the minister, who seemed eager upon prosecuting the war with such vigour and activity, as appeared almost unexampled in the annals of Great Britain. New levies were made, new ships put in commission, fresh expeditions undertaken, and fresh conquests projected. Such was the credit of the administration, that people subscribed to the government loans with surprising eagerness. An unusual spirit of enterprise and resolution seemed to inspire all the individuals that constituted the army and navy; and the passion for military fame diffused itself through all ranks in the civil department of life, even to the very dregs of the populace: such a remarkable change from indolence to activity, from indifference to zeal, from timorous caution to fearless execution, was effected by the influence and example of an intelligent and intrepid m——r, who, chagrined at the inactivity and disgraces of the preceding campaign, had on a very solemn occasion, lately declared his belief, that there was a determined resolution, both in the naval and military c——rs, against any vigorous exertion of the national power in the service of their country. He affirmed, that though his majesty appeared ready to embrace every measure proposed by his ministers for the honour and interest of his British dominions, yet scarce a man could be found with whom the execution of any one plan, in which there was the least appearance of any danger, could with confidence be trusted. He particularized the inactivity of one general in North America, from whose abilities and personal bravery the nation had conceived great expectations: he complained, that this noble c——r had expressed the most contemptuous disregard for the civil power, from which he derived his authority, by neglecting to transmit, for a considerable length of time, any other advice of his proceedings but what appeared on a written scrap of paper: he observed that with a force by land and sea, greater than ever the nation had heretofore maintained, with a king and ministry ardently desirous of redeeming her glory, succouring her allies, and promoting her true interest, a shameful dislike to service every where prevailed, and few seemed affected with any other zeal than that of aspiring to the highest posts and grasping the largest salaries. The censure levelled at the c——r in America was founded on mistake: the inactivity of that noble l——d was not more disappointing to the ministry than disagreeable to his own inclination.

He

He used his utmost endeavours to answer the expectation of the public; but his hands were effectually tied by an absolute impossibility of success, and his conduct stood justified in the eyes of his sovereign. A particular and accurate detail of his proceedings he transmitted through a canal, which he imagined would have directly conveyed it to the foot of the throne; but the packet was said to have been purposely intercepted and suppressed. Perhaps he was not altogether excuseable for having corresponded so slightly with the secretary of state; but he was said to have gone abroad in full persuasion that the ministry would be changed, and therefore his assiduities were principally directed to the great personage, who, in that case, would have superintended and directed all the operations of the army. Ann. 1758.

All sorts of military preparations in founderies, docks, arsenals, raising and exercising troops, and victualling transports, were now carried on with such diligence and dispatch, as seemed to promise an exertion that would soon obliterate the disagreeable remembrance of past disgrace. The beginning of the year was, however, a little clouded by a general concern for the death of his majesty's third daughter the princess Caroline, a lady of the most exemplary virtue and amiable character, who died at the age of forty-five, sincerely regretted as a pattern of unaffected piety, and unbounded benevolence. Death of the princess Caroline.

The British cruisers kept the sea during all the severity of winter, in order to protect the commerce of the kingdom, and annoy that of the enemy. They exerted themselves with such activity, and their vigilance was attended with such success, that a great number of prizes was taken, and the trade of France almost totally extinguished. A very gallant exploit was achieved by one captain Bray, commander of the *Adventure*, a small armed vessel in the government's service: falling in with the *Machault*, a large privateer of Dunkirk, near Dungeness, he ran her aboard, fastened her boltsprit to his capstan, and after a warm engagement compelled her commander to submit. A French frigate of thirty-six guns was taken by captain Parker, in a new fir ship of inferior force. Divers privateers of the enemy were sunk, burned, or taken; and a great number of merchant-ships fell into the hands of the English. Success of the British cruisers.

Nor was the success of the British ships of war confined to the English channel. At this period the board of admiralty received information from admiral Cotes, in Jamaica, of an action which happened off the island of Hispaniola, in the month of October of the preceding year, between three English ships of war and a French squadron. Captain Forrest, an officer of distinguished merit in the service, had, in the ship *Augusta*, sailed from Port-Royal in Jamaica, accompanied by the *Dreadnought* and *Edinburgh*, under the command of the captains Suckling and Langdon. He was ordered to cruise off Cape Francois; and this service he literally performed in the face of the French squadron under Kerfin lately arrived at that place from the coast of Africa. This commander, piqued at seeing himself thus insulted by an inferior armament, resolved to come forth and give them battle; and that he might either take them, or at least drive them out of these seas, so as to afford a free passage to a great number of merchant-ships then lying at the Cape, bound for Europe, he took every precaution which he thought necessary. Sea engagement off Cape Francois in the West-Indies.

Ann. 1758 necessary to insure success. He reinforced his squadron with some store-ships, mounted with guns and armed for the occasion, and supplied the deficiency in his complements, by taking on board seamen from the merchant-ships, and soldiers from the garrison. Thus prepared, he weighed anchor and stood out to sea, having under his command four large ships of the line, and three stout frigates. They were no sooner perceived advancing, than captain Forrest held a short council with his two captains. "Gentlemen, (said he) you know our own strength, and see that of the enemy: shall we give them battle?" They replying in the affirmative, he added, "Then fight them we will; there is no time to be lost: return to your ships, and get them ready for engaging." After this laconic consultation among these three gallant officers, they bore down upon the French squadron without further hesitation, and between three and four in the afternoon the action began with great impetuosity. The enemy exerted themselves with uncommon spirit, conscious that their honour was peculiarly at stake, and that they fought in sight, as it were, of their own coast, which was lined with people expecting to see them return in triumph. But notwithstanding all their endeavours, their commodore, after having sustained a severe engagement that lasted two hours and a half, found his ship in such a shattered condition, that he made signal for one of his frigates to come and tow him out of the line. His example was followed by the rest of his squadron, which, by this assistance, with the favour of the land breeze and the approach of night, made shift to accomplish their escape from the three British ships, that were too much disabled in their masts and rigging to prosecute their victory. One of the French squadron was rendered altogether unserviceable for action: their loss in men amounted to three hundred killed, and as many wounded; whereas that of the English did not much exceed one third of this number. Nevertheless they were so much damaged, that, being unable to keep the sea, they returned to Jamaica; and the French commodore seized the opportunity of sailing with a great convoy for Europe.

Remarkable
success of
captain For-
rest.

The courage of captain Forrest was not more conspicuous in his engagement with the French squadron near Cape Francois, than his conduct and sagacity in a subsequent adventure near Port au Prince, a French harbour, situated at the bottom of a bay on the western part of Hispaniola, behind the small island of Gonave. After Mr. de Kerfin had taken his departure from Cape Francois for Europe, admiral Cotes, beating up to windward from Port Royal in Jamaica with three ships of the line, received intelligence that there was a French fleet at Port au Prince, ready to sail on their return to Europe: captain Forrest then presented the admiral with a plan for an attack on this place, and urged it earnestly. This however was declined, and captain Forrest directed to cruise off the island Gonave for two days only, the admiral enjoining him to return at the expiration of the time, and rejoin the squadron at Cape Nicholas. Accordingly captain Forrest, in the *Augusta*, proceeded up the bay, between the island Gonave and Hispaniola, with a view to execute a plan which he had himself projected. Next day in the afternoon, though he perceived two sloops, he forebore chasing, that he might not risque a discovery: for the same purpose he hoisted Dutch colours, and disguised his ship with tarpaulins. At five in the afternoon he discovered seven sail of ships steering

steering to the westward, and hauled from them to avoid suspicion; but at the approach of night gave chase with all the sail he could carry. About ten he perceived two sail, one of which fired a gun, and the other made the best of her way for Leoganne, another harbour in the bay. At this period captain Forrest reckoned eight sail to leeward, near another port called Petit Goave: coming up with the ship which had fired the gun, she submitted without opposition, after he had hailed and told her captain what he was, produced two of his largest cannon, and threatened to sink her if she should give the least alarm. He forthwith shifted the prisoners from this prize, and placed on board of her five and thirty of his own crew, with orders to stand for Petit Goave, and intercept any of the fleet that might attempt to reach that harbour. Then he made sail after the rest, and in the dawn of the morning, finding himself in the middle of their fleet, he began to fire at them all in their turns, as he could bring his guns to bear: they returned the fire for some time; at length the Marguerite, the Solide, and the Theodore struck their colours. These being secured, were afterwards used in taking the Maurice, Le Grand, and La Flore: the Brilliant also submitted; and the Mars made sail in hope of escaping; but the Augusta coming up with her about noon, she likewise fell into the hands of the victor. Thus by a well-conducted stratagem, a whole fleet of nine sail were taken by a single ship, in the neighbourhood of four or five harbours, in any one of which they would have found immediate shelter and security. The prizes, which happened to be richly laden, were safely conveyed to Jamaica, and there sold at public auction for the benefit of the captors, who may safely challenge history to produce such another instance of success.

The ministry having determined to make vigorous efforts against the enemy in North America, admiral Boscawen was vested with the command of the fleet destined for that service, and sailed from St. Helen's on the nineteenth day of February, when the Invincible of seventy-four guns, one of the best ships that constituted his squadron, ran aground and perished; but her men, stores, and artillery were saved.

Admiral Boscawen sails for North America.

In the course of the succeeding month, Sir Edward Hawke steered into the Bay of Biscay with another squadron, in order to intercept any supplies from France designed for Cape-Breton or Canada; and about the same time, the town of Embden, belonging to his Prussian majesty, which had fallen into the hands of the enemy, was suddenly retrieved by the conduct of commodore Holmes, stationed on that coast, who sent up two of his small ships to anchor in the river between Knok and the city. The garrison, amounting to three thousand seven hundred men, finding themselves thus cut off from all communication with the country below, abandoned the place with great precipitation; and some of their baggage being sent off by water, was taken by the boats which the commodore armed for that purpose.

Commodore Holmes compels the French to evacuate Embden.

It was in the same month that the admiralty received advice of another advantage by sea, which had been gained by admiral Osborne, while he cruised between Cape de Gatt and Carthage on the coast of Spain. On the twenty-eighth day of March he fell in with a French squadron commanded by the marquis de Quesne, consisting of four ships, namely, the Foudroyant of eighty guns, the Orphée of sixty four, the Oriflamme of fifty, and the Pleiade frigate of

Success of admiral Osborne.

Ann. 1758. of twenty-four, in their passage from Toulon to reinforce M. de la Clue, who had for some time been blocked up by admiral Osborne in the harbour of Carthagen. The enemy no sooner perceived the English squadron than they dispersed, and steered different courses: then Mr. Osborne detached divers ships in pursuit of each, while he himself, with the body of his fleet, stood off for the bay of Carthagen to watch the motions of the French squadron which there lay at anchor. About seven in the evening the *Orphée*, having on board five hundred men, struck to captain Storr in the *Revenge*, who lost the calf of one leg in the engagement, during which he was sustained by the ships *Berwick* and *Preston*. The *Monmouth* of sixty-four guns, commanded by captain Gardener, engaged the *Foudroyant*, one of the largest ships in the French navy, mounted with fourscore cannon, and containing eight hundred men, under the direction of the marquis du Quesne. The action was maintained with great fury on both sides, and the gallant captain Gardener lost his life: nevertheless the fight was continued with unabating vigour by his lieutenant Mr. Carkett, and the *Foudroyant* disabled in such a manner, that her commander struck as soon as the other English ships, the *Swiftsure* and the *Hampton-court*, appeared. This mortifying step, however, he did not take until he saw his ship lie like a wreck upon the water, and the decks covered with carnage. The *Oriflamme* was driven on shore under the castle of Aiglos, by the ships *Montague* and *Monarque*, commanded by the captains Rowley and Montague, who could not complete their destruction without violating the neutrality of Spain. As for the *Pleiade* frigate, she made her escape by being a prime sailer.

French fleet
driven on
shore in the
road of
Basque.

This was a severe stroke upon the enemy, who not only lost two of their capital ships, but saw them added to the navy of Great Britain; and the disaster was close followed by another, which they could not help feeling with equal sensibility of mortification and chagrin. In the beginning of April, Sir Edward Hawke, steering with his squadron into Basque-road, on the coast of Poictou, discovered, off the isle of Aix, a French fleet at anchor, consisting of five ships of the line, with six frigates, and forty transports, having on board three thousand troops, and a large quantity of stores and provision, intended as a supply for their settlements in North America. They no sooner saw the English admiral advancing, than they began to slip their cables and fly in the utmost confusion. Some of them escaped to sea, but the greater number ran into shoal water, where they could not be pursued; and next morning they appeared aground, lying on their broadsides. Sir Edward Hawke, who had rode all night at anchor a-breast of the isle of Aix, furnished the ships *Intrepid* and *Medway* with trusty pilots, and sent them farther in when the flood began to make, with orders to sound a head, that he might know whether there was any possibility of attacking the enemy; but the want of a sufficient depth of water rendered this scheme impracticable. In the mean time, the French threw over-board their cannon, stores, and ballast; and boats and launches from Rochfort, were employed in carrying out warps to drag their ships through the soft mud, as soon as they should be water-borne by the flowing tide. By these means their large ships of war, and many of their transports, escaped into the river Charente; but their loading was lost, and the end of their equipment totally defeated. Another convoy of merchant ships, under the protection of three frigates, Sir Edward Hawke, a few days before, had chased

chaced into the harbour of St. Martin's on the isle of Rhé, where they still remained, waiting an opportunity for hazarding a second departure: a third consisting of twelve sail, bound from Bourdeaux to Quebec, under convoy of a frigate and armed vessel, was encountered at sea by one British ship of the line and two fire-ships, which took the frigate and armed vessel, and two of the convoy afterwards met with the same fate; but this advantage was overbalanced by the loss of captain James Hume, commander of the Pluto fire-ship, a brave accomplished officer, who, in an unequal combat with the enemy, refused to quit the deck even when he was disabled, and fell gloriously covered with wounds, exhorting the people, with his latest breath, to continue the engagement while the ship could swim, and acquit themselves with honour in the service of their country.

On the twenty-ninth day of May the *Raisonnable*, a French ship of the line, mounted with sixty-four cannon, having on board six hundred and thirty men, commanded by the prince de Mombazon chevalier de Rohan, was, in her passage from Port l'Orient to Brest, attacked by captain Dennis in the *Dorsetshire* of seventy guns, and taken after an obstinate engagement, in which one hundred and sixty men of the prince's complement were killed or wounded, and he sustained great damage in his hull, sails, and rigging.

The *Raisonnable* taken by the *Dorsetshire*.

These successes were moreover chequered by the tidings of a lamentable disaster, that befel the ship *Prince George* of eighty guns, commanded by rear-admiral Broderick, in his passage to the Mediterranean. On the thirteenth day of April, between one and two in the afternoon, a dreadful fire broke out in the fore part of the ship, and raged with such fury, that notwithstanding all the efforts of the officers and men for several hours, the flames increased, and the ship being consumed to the water edge, the remnant sunk about six o'clock in the evening. The horror and consternation of such a scene are not easily described. When all endeavours proved fruitless, and no hope of preserving the ship remained, the barge was hoisted out for the preservation of the admiral, who entered it accordingly; but all distinction of persons being now abolished, the seamen rushed into it in such crowds, that in a few moments it overset. The admiral foreseeing that this would be the case, stripped off his cloaths, and committing himself to the mercy of the waves, was saved by the boat of a merchant ship, after he had sustained himself in the sea a full hour by swimming. Captain Payton, who was the second in command, remained upon the quarter-deck as long as it was possible to keep that station, and then descending by the stern ladder, had the good fortune to be taken into a boat belonging to the sloop *Alderney*. The hull of the ship, masts, and rigging, were now in a blaze, bursting tremendous in several parts through horrid clouds of smoak; nothing was heard but the crackling of the flames, mingled with the dismal cries of terror and distraction; nothing was seen but acts of phrenzy and desperation. The miserable wretches, affrighted at the horrors of such a conflagration, sought a fate less dreadful by plunging into the sea; and about three hundred men were preserved by the boats belonging to some ships that accompanied the admiral in his voyage, but five hundred perished in the ocean.

Admiral Broderick's ship burnt at sea.

The king of Great Britain being determined to renew his attempt upon the coast of France, ordered a very formidable armament to be equipped for that purpose.

Armament against the coast of France.

Ann. 1758. purpose. Two powerful squadrons by sea were destined for the services of this expedition: the first, consisting of eleven great ships, was commanded by lord Anson and Sir Edward Hawke: the other, composed of four ships of the line, seven frigates, six sloops, two fire-ships, two bombs, ten cutters, twenty tenders, ten store-ships, and one hundred transports, was put under the direction of commodore Howe, who had signalized himself by his gallantry and conduct in the course of the last fruitless expedition. The plan of a descent upon France having been adopted by the ministry, a body of troops, consisting of sixteen regiments, nine troops of light horse, and six thousand marines, was assembled for the execution of this design, and embarked under the command of the duke of Marlborough; a nobleman, who, though he did not inherit all the military genius of his grandfather, yet far excelled him in the amiable and social qualities of the heart: he was brave beyond all question, generous to profusion, and good-natured to excess. On this occasion, he was assisted by the counsels of lord George Sackville, second in command, son to the duke of Dorset; an officer of experience and reputation, who had, in the civil departments of government, exhibited proofs of extraordinary genius and uncommon application. The troops, having for some time been encamped upon the Isle of Wight, were embarked in the latter end of May, and the two fleets sailed in the beginning of June for the coast of Bretagne, leaving the people of England flushed with the gayest hopes of victory and conquest.

A descent at
Cancalle;
and the reim-
barkation of
the troops.

The two fleets parted at sea: lord Anson with his squadron proceeded to the bay of Biscay, in order to watch the motions of the enemy's ships, and harass their navigation; while commodore Howe with the land-forces steered directly towards St. Malo, a strong place of considerable commerce, situated on the coast of Bretagne, against which the purposed invasion seemed to be chiefly intended. The town, however, was found too well fortified, both by art and nature, to admit of any attempt by sea with any prospect of success; and therefore it was resolved to make a descent in the neighbourhood. After the fleet had been, by contrary winds, detained several days in sight of the French coast, it arrived in the bay of Cancalle, about two leagues to the eastward of St. Malo; and Mr. Howe having silenced a small battery, which the enemy had occasionally raised upon the beach, the troops were landed, without farther opposition, on the sixth day of June. The duke of Marlborough immediately began his march towards St. Servan, with a view to destroy such shipping and magazines as might be in any accessible parts of the river; and this scheme was executed with success. A great quantity of naval stores, two ships of war, several privateers, and about fourscore vessels of different sorts, were set on fire, and reduced to ashes, almost under the cannon of the place, which, however, they could not pretend to besiege in form. His grace, having received repeated advices that the enemy were busily employed in assembling forces to march against him, returned to Cancalle; where Mr. Howe had made such a masterly disposition of the boats and transports, that the reembarkation of the troops was performed with surprising ease and expedition. The forces, while they remained on shore, were restrained from all outrages by the most severe discipline; and the French houses, which their inhabitants had abandoned, were left untouched. Immediately after their landing, the duke of Marlborough, as commander in chief, published and distributed a manifesto, addressed to the people of Bretagne, giving them to understand, that his

his descent upon the coast was not effected with a design to make war on the inhabitants of the open country, except such as should be found in arms, or otherwise opposing the operations of his Britannic majesty: that all who were willing to remain in peaceable possession of their effects, might remain unmolested in their respective dwellings, and follow their usual occupations: that, besides the customs and taxes they used to pay to their own king, nothing should be required of them but what was absolutely necessary for the subsistence of the army; and that, for all provisions brought in, they should be payed in ready money. He concluded this notice with declaring, that if, notwithstanding these assurances of protection, they should carry off their effects and provisions, and abandon the places of their habitation, he would treat them as enemies, and destroy their houses with fire and sword. To the magistracy of St. Malo he likewise sent a letter, importing, that as all the inhabitants of the towns and villages between Dinant, Rennes, and Doll, now in his possession, had deserted their habitations, probably to avoid the payment of the usual contributions; and he being informed, that the magistrates had compelled the people of the country to retire into the town of St. Malo, he now gave them notice, that if they did not immediately send them back to their houses, and come themselves to his head-quarters, to settle the contributions, he should think himself obliged to proceed to military execution. These threats, however, were not put in force, although the magistrates of St. Malo did not think proper to comply with his injunction.

But it was found altogether impossible to prevent irregularities among troops that were naturally licentious. Some houses were pillaged, and not without acts of barbarity: but those offenders were brought to immediate justice; and it must be owned, as an incontestable proof of the general's humanity, that in destroying the magazines of the enemy at St. Servan, which may be termed the suburbs of St. Malo, he ordered one small store-house to be spared, because it could not be set on fire without endangering the whole district.

The British forces being reembarked, including about five hundred light horse, which had been disciplined and carried over with a view to scour the country, the fleet was detained by contrary winds in the bay of Cancele for several days; during which a design seems to have been formed for attacking Granville, which had been reconnoitred by some of the engineers: but, in consequence of their report, the scheme was laid aside, and the fleet stood out to sea, where it was exposed to some rough weather. In a few days, the wind blowing in a northern direction, they steered again towards the French coast, and ran in with the land near Havre de Grace, where the flat-bottomed boats, provided for landing, were hoisted out, and a second disembarkation expected. But the wind blowing violently towards the evening, the boats were re-shipped, and the fleet obliged to quit the land, in order to avoid the dangers of a lee-shore. Next day, the weather being more moderate, they returned to the same station, and orders were given to prepare for a descent; but the duke of Marlborough having taken a view of the coast in an open cutter, accompanied by commodore Howe, thought proper to wave the attempt.

Their next step was to bear away before the wind for Cherbourg, in the neighbourhood of which place the fleet came to anchor. Here some of the transports received the fire of six different batteries; and a considerable body

Ann. 1758. of troops appeared in arms, to dispute the landing: nevertheless the general resolved that the forts Querqueville, l'Hommet, and Gallet, should be attacked in the night by the first regiment of guards. The soldiers were actually distributed in the flat-bottomed boats, and every preparation made for this enterprize, when the wind began to blow with such violence, that the troops could not be landed without the most imminent danger and difficulty; nor properly sustained, in case of a repulse, even if the disembarkation could have been effected. This attempt therefore was laid aside; but at the same time a resolution taken to stand in towards the shore with the whole fleet, to cover a general landing. A disposition was made accordingly; but the storm increasing, the transports ran foul of each other; and the ships were exposed to all the perils of a lee-shore; for the gale blew directly upon the coast: besides, the provision began to fail, and the hay for the horses was almost consumed. These concurring reasons induced the commanders to postpone the disembarkation to a more favourable opportunity. The fleet stood out to sea, the tempest abated, they steered for the Isle of Wight, and next day anchored at St. Helen's.

The fleet returns to St. Helen's.

Remarks on the expedition.

Such was the issue of an enterprize atchieved with considerable success, if we consider the damage done to the enemy's shipping, and the other objects which the ministry had in view; namely, to secure the navigation of the channel, and make a diversion in favour of German allies, by alarming the French king, and obliging him to employ a great number of troops to defend his coast from insult and invasion: but whether such a mighty armament was necessary for the accomplishment of these petty aims, and whether the same armament might not have been employed in executing schemes of infinitely greater advantage to the nation, we shall leave to the judicious reader's own reflection.

Another planned.

The designs upon the coast of France, though interrupted by tempestuous weather, were not as yet laid aside for the whole season: but, in the mean time, the troops were disembarked on the Isle of Wight; and one brigade marched to the northward, to join a body of troops with which the government resolved to augment the army of the allies in Germany, commanded by prince Ferdinand of Brunswic. The duke of Marlborough and lord George Sackville being appointed to conduct this British corps upon the continent, the command of the marine expeditions devolved to lieutenant-general Bligh, an old experienced officer, who had served with reputation; and his royal highness prince Edward, afterwards created duke of York, entered as a volunteer with commodore Howe, in order to learn the rudiments of the sea-service.

The British troops land at Cherbourg.

The remainder of the troops being re embarked, and every thing prepared for the second expedition, the fleet sailed from St. Helen's on the first of August; and after a tedious passage from calms and contrary winds, anchored on the seventh in the bay of Cherbourg. By this time the enemy had intrenched themselves within a line, extending from the fort Ecoeurdeville, which stands about two miles to the westward of Cherbourg, along the coast for the space of four miles, fortified with several batteries at proper distances. Behind this retrenchment a body of horse and infantry appeared in red and blue uniform; but as they did not advance to the open beach, the less risque was run in landing the British forces. At first a bomb-ketch had been sent to anchor near the

the town, and throw some shells into the place, as a feint to amuse the enemy, Ann. 1758. and deceive them with regard to the place of disembarkation; while the general had determined to land about a league to the westward of Querqueville, the most western fort in the bay. The other bomb-ketches, being posted along shore, did considerable execution upon the intrenchments, not only by throwing shells in the usual way, but also by using ball-mortars, filled with great quantities of balls, which may be thrown to a great distance, and, by scattering as they fly, do abundance of mischief. While these ketches fired without ceasing, the grenadiers and guards were rowed regularly ashore in the flat-bottomed boats, and, landing without opposition, instantly formed on a small open portion of the beach, with a natural breast-work in their front, having on the other side a hollow way, and a village rising beyond it with a sudden ascent: on the left, the ground was intersected by hedges, and covered with orchards, and from this quarter the enemy advanced in order. The British troops immediately quitted the breast-work, in order to meet them half way, and a straggling fire began; but the French edging to the left, took possession of the hill, from whence they piqueered with the advanced posts of the English.

In the mean time the rest of the infantry were disembarked, and the enemy at night retired. As the light troops were not yet landed, general Bligh encamped that night at the village of Erville, on a piece of ground that did not extend above four hundred paces; so that the tents were pitched in a crowded and irregular manner. Next morning the general having received intelligence, that no parties of the enemy were seen moving on the hill, or in the plain, and that Fort Querqueville was entirely abandoned, made a disposition for marching in two columns to Cherbourg. An advanced party took immediate possession of Querqueville; and the lines and batteries along the shore were now deserted by the enemy.

The British forces marching behind St. Aulne, Ecoeurdeville, Hommet, and la Galet, found the town of Cherbourg likewise abandoned, and the gates being open, entered it without opposition. The citizens, encouraged by a manifesto containing a promise of protection, which had been published and distributed in order to quiet their apprehensions, received their new guests with a good grace, overwhelming them with civilities, for which they met with a very ungrateful return; for as the bulk of the army was not regularly encamped and superintended, the soldiers were at liberty to indulge themselves in riot and licentiousness. All night long they ravaged the adjacent country without restraint; and as no guards had been regularly placed in the streets and avenues of Cherbourg, to prevent disorders, the town itself was not exempted from pillage and brutality. These outrages, however, were no sooner known, than the general took immediate steps for putting a stop to them for the present, and preventing all irregularities for the future. Next morning the place being reconnoitred, he determined to destroy, without delay, all the forts and the basin; and the execution of this design was left to the engineers, assisted by the officers of the fleet and artillery. Great sums of money had been expended upon the harbour and basin of Cherbourg, which at one time was considered by the French court as an object of great importance, from its situation respecting the river Seine, as well as the opposite coast of England; but
as

Aug. 1758. as the works were left unfinished, in all appearance the plan had grown into disreputation. The enemy had raised several unconnected batteries along the bay, but the town itself was quite open and defenceless. While the engineers were employed in demolishing the works, the light horse scoured the country, and detachments were every day sent out towards Walloign, at the distance of four leagues from Cherbourg, where the enemy were encamped, and every hour received reinforcements. Several skirmishes were fought by the out parties of each army, in one of which Capt. Lindsay, a gallant young officer, who had been very instrumental in training the light horse, was mortally wounded. The harbour and basin of Cherbourg being destroyed, together with all the forts in the neighbourhood, and about twenty pieces of brass cannon secured on board the English ships; a contribution, amounting to about three thousand pounds sterling, was exacted upon the town; and a plan of reembarkation concerted, as it appeared from the reports of peasants and deserters, that the enemy were already increased to a formidable number. A slight intrenchment being raised, sufficient to defend the last division that should be reembarked, the stores and artillery were shipped, and the light horses conveyed on board their respective transports, by means of platforms laid in the flat-bottomed vessels. On the sixteenth day of August, at three o'clock in the morning, the forces marched from Cherbourg down to the beach, and reembarked at Fort Galet, without the least disturbance from the enemy.

Another
landing to the
westward of
St. Malo.

This service being happily performed, the fleet set sail for the coast of England, and anchored in the road of Weymouth, under the high land of Portland. In two days it weighed and stood again to the southward; but was obliged, by contrary winds, to return to the same riding. The second effort, however, was more effectual. The fleet with some difficulty, kept the sea, and steering to the French coast, came to anchor in the bay of St. Lunaire, two leagues to the westward of St. Malo, against which it was determined to make another attempt. The sloops and ketches being ranged along shore to cover the disembarkation, the troops landed on a fair open beach, and a detachment of grenadiers was sent to the harbour of St. Briac, above the town of St. Malo, where they destroyed about fifteen small vessels: but St. Malo itself being properly surveyed, appeared to be above insult, either from the land-forces or the shipping. The mouth of the river that forms its basin extends above two miles in breadth at its narrowest part, so as to be out of the reach of land-batteries, and the entrance is defended by such forts and batteries, as the ships of war could not pretend to silence, considering the difficult navigation of the channel: besides fifty pieces of large cannon planted on these forts and batteries, the enemy had mounted forty on the west side of the town; and the basin was, moreover, strengthened by seven frigates or armed vessels, whose guns might have been brought to bear upon any batteries that could be raised on shore, as well as upon ships entering by the usual channel. For these substantial reasons the design against St. Malo was dropped; but the general being unwilling to reembark without having taken some step for the further annoyance of the enemy, resolved to penetrate into the country, conducting his motions, however, so as to be near the fleet, which had, by this time, quitted the bay of St. Lunaire, where it could not ride with

with any safety, and anchored in the bay of St. Cas, about three leagues to the westward. Ann. 1758.

On Friday the eighth of September, general Bligh, with his little army, began his march for Guildo, at the distance of nine miles, which he reached in the evening: next day he crossed a little gut or inlet of the sea, at low water, and his troops being incommoded by the peasants, who fired at them from hedges and houses, he sent a priest with a message, intimating, that if they should not desist, he would reduce their houses to ashes. No regard being paid to this intimation, the houses were actually set on fire as soon as the troops had formed their camp about two miles on the other side of the inlet. Next morning he proceeded to the village of Matignon, where, after some smart skirmishing, the French piquets appeared, drawn up in order, to the number of two battalions; but having sustained a few shot from the English field pieces, and seeing the grenadiers advance, they suddenly dispersed. General Bligh continuing his route through the village, encamped in the open ground about three miles from the bay of St. Cas, which was this day reconnoitred for re-imbarkation: for he now received undoubted intelligence, that the duke d'Aiguillon had advanced from Brest to Lambale, within six miles of the English camp, at the head of twelve regular battalions, six squadrons, two regiments of militia, eight mortars, and ten pieces of cannon. The bay of St. Cas was covered by an intrenchment which the enemy had thrown up, to prevent or oppose any disembarkation; and on the outside of this work there was a range of sand-hills extending along shore, which could have served as a cover to the enemy, from whence they might have annoyed the troops in re-imbarking: for this reason a proposal was made to the general, that the forces should be reimbarked from a fair open beach on the left, between St. Cas and Guildo; but this advice was rejected, and, indeed, the subsequent operations of the army favoured strong of blind security and rash presumption.

The English troops penetrate into the country.

Had the troops decamped in the night without noise, in all probability they would have arrived at the beach before the French had received the least intelligence of their motion; and in that case, the whole army, consisting of about six thousand men, might have been reimbarked without the least interruption: but instead of this cautious manner of proceeding, the drums were beaten at two o'clock in the morning, as if with intention to give notice to the enemy, who forthwith repeated the same signal. The troops were in motion before three, and though the length of the march did not exceed three miles, the halts and interruptions were so numerous and frequent, that they did not arrive on the beach at St. Cas till nine. Then the embarkation was begun, and might have been happily finished, had the transports lain near the shore, and received the men as fast as the boats could have conveyed them on board without distinction; but many ships rode at a considerable distance, and every boat carried the men on board the respective transports to which they belonged; a punctilio of disposition, by which a great deal of time was unnecessarily consumed. The small ships and bomb-ketches were brought near the shore to cover the re-imbarkation; and a considerable number of sea-officers was stationed on the beach to superintend the boats crews, and regulate the service; but notwithstanding all their attention and authority, some of the boats were otherwise employed than in conveying the unhappy soldiers: had

They retire to the bay of St. Cas.

Ann. 1758. had all the cutters and smallcraft belonging to the fleet been properly occupied in this service, the disgrace and disaster of the day would scarce have happened.

A strong body of French advances against them.

The British forces had skirmished a little on the march, but no considerable body of the enemy appeared until the embarkation was begun; then they took possession of an eminence by a wind-mill, and forthwith opened a battery of ten cannon and eight mortars, from whence they fired with considerable effect upon the soldiers on the beach, and on the boats in their passage. They afterwards began to march down the hill, partly covered by a hollow-way on their left, with design to gain a wood, where they might form and extend themselves along the front of the English, and advance against them under shelter of the sand-hills; but in their descent they suffered extremely from the cannon and mortars of the shipping, which made great havock, and threw them into confusion. Their line of march down the hill was staggered, and for some time continued in suspense; then they turned off to one side, extended themselves along a hill to their left, and advanced in a hollow-way, from whence they suddenly rushed out to the attack. Though the greater part of the British troops were already embarked, the rear-guard, consisting of all the grenadiers, and half of the first regiment of guards, remained on the shore to the number of fifteen hundred, under the command of major-general Dury. This officer seeing the French advance, ordered his troops to form in grand divisions, and march from behind the bank that covered them, in order to charge the enemy before they could be formed on the plain. Had this step been taken, when it was first suggested to Mr. Dury, before the French were disengaged from the hollow-way, perhaps it might have so far succeeded as to disconcert and throw them into confusion: but by this time they had extended themselves into a very formidable front, and no hope remained of being able to withstand such a superior number. Instead of attempting to fight against such odds in an open field of battle, they might have retreated along the beach to a rock on the left, in which progress their right flank could have been secured by the intrenchment; and the enemy could not have pursued them along the shore, without being exposed to such a fire from the shipping, as in all probability they could not have sustained. This scheme was likewise proposed to Mr. Dury; but he seemed to be actuated by a spirit of infatuation.

They cut off the rear guard of the English.

The English line being drawn up in uneven ground, began the action with an irregular fire from right to left, which the enemy returned; but their usual fortitude and resolution seemed to forsake them on this occasion. They saw themselves in danger of being surrounded, and cut in pieces; their officers dropped on every side; and all hope of retreat was now intercepted. In this cruel dilemma their spirits failed; they were seized with a panic; they faltered, they broke, and in less than five minutes after the engagement began, they fled in the utmost confusion, pursued by the enemy, who no sooner saw them give way than they fell in among them with their bayonets fixed, and made a great carnage. General Dury being dangerously wounded, ran into the sea, where he perished; and this was the fate of a great number, officers as well as soldiers. Many swam towards the boats and vessels which were ordered to give them all manner of assistance; but by far the greater number were either butchered on the beach, or drowned in the water: a small body, however, instead of throwing themselves into the sea, retired to the rock on the

the left, where they made a stand, until they had exhausted their ammunition, and then surrendered at discretion. The havock was moreover increased by the shot and shells discharged from the battery which the enemy had raised on the hill. The slaughter would not have been so great, had not the French soldiers been exasperated by the fire from the frigates, which was still maintained even after the English troops were routed: but this was no sooner silenced by a signal from the commodore, than the enemy exhibited a noble example of moderation and humanity, in granting immediate quarter and protection to the vanquished. About one thousand chosen men of the English army were killed and taken prisoners on this occasion: nor was the advantage cheaply purchased by the French troops, among whom the shot and shells from the frigates and ketches had done great execution. The clemency of the victors was the more remarkable, as the British troops in this expedition had been shamefully guilty of marauding, pillaging, burning, and other excesses.

War is so dreadful in itself, and so severe in its consequences, that the exercise of generosity and compassion, by which its horrors are mitigated, ought ever to be applauded, encouraged, and imitated. We ought also to use our best endeavours to deserve this treatment at the hands of a civilized enemy. Let us be humane, in our turn, to those whom the fate of war hath subjected to our power: let us, in prosecuting our military operations, maintain the most rigid discipline among the troops, and religiously abstain from all acts of violence and oppression. Thus, a laudable emulation will undoubtedly ensue, and the powers at war, vie with each other in humanity and politeness. In other respects, the commander of an invading armament will always find his account in being well with the common people of the country in which the descent is made. By civil treatment and seasonable gratifications, they will be encouraged to bring into the camp regular supplies of provision and refreshment; they will mingle with the soldiers, and even form friendships among them; serve as guides, messengers, and interpreters; let out their cattle for hire as draught-horses; work in their own persons as day-labourers; discover proper fords, bridges, roads, passes, and defiles; and, if artfully managed, communicate many useful hints of intelligence.

If great care and circumspection be not exerted in maintaining discipline, and bridling the licentious disposition of the soldiers, such invasions will be productive of nothing but miscarriage and disgrace: for this, at best, is but a piratical way of carrying on the war; and the troops engaged in it are, in some measure, debauched by the nature of the service. They are crowded together in transports, where the minute particulars of military order cannot be observed, even though the good of the service greatly depends upon a due observance of these forms. The soldiers grow negligent, and inattentive to cleanness and the exterior ornaments of dress: they become slovenly, slothful, and altogether unfit for a return of duty: they are tumbled about occasionally in ships and boats, landed and re embarked in a tumultuous manner, under a divided and disorderly command: they are accustomed to retire at the first report of an approaching enemy, and to take shelter on another element; nay, their small pillaging parties are often obliged to fly before unarmed peasants. Their duty on such occasions is the most unmanly part of a soldier's office;

Ann. 1758. office; namely, to ruin, ravage and destroy. They soon yield to the temptation of pillage, and are habituated to rapine: they give a loose to intemperance, riot, and intoxication; commit a thousand excesses; and, when the enemy appears, run on board the ships with their booty. Thus the dignity of the service is debased: they lose all sense of honour, and of shame: they are no longer restricted by military laws, nor over-awed by the authority of officers:—in a word, they degenerate into a species of lawless buccaneers. From such a total relaxation of morals and discipline, what can ensue but riot, confusion, dishonour, and defeat? All the advantage that can be expected from these sudden starts of invasion, will scarce over-balance the evils we have mentioned, together with the extraordinary expence of equipping armaments of this nature. True it is, these descents oblige the French king to employ a considerable number of his troops for the defence of his maritime places: they serve to ruin the trade of his subjects, protect the navigation of Great Britain, and secure its coast from invasion: but these purposes might be as effectually answered, at a much smaller expence, by the shipping alone. Should it be judged expedient, however, to prosecute this desultory kind of war, the commanders employed in it, will do well to consider, that a descent ought never to be hazarded in an enemy's country, without having taken proper precautions to secure a retreat; that the severest discipline ought to be preserved, during all the operations of the campaign; that a general ought never to disembark but upon a well-concerted plan, nor commence his military transactions without some immediate point or object in view; that a reembarkation ought never to be attempted, except from a clear open beach, where the approaches of an enemy may be seen, and the troops covered by the fire of their shipping. Those who presumed to reflect upon the particulars of this last expedition, owned themselves at a loss to account for the conduct of the g——, in remaining on shore after the design upon St. Malo was laid aside; in penetrating so far into the country, without any visible object; neglecting the repeated intelligence which he received; communicating by beat of drum his midnight motions to an enemy of double his force; loitering near seven hours in a march of three miles; and, lastly, attempting the reembarkation of the troops at a place where no proper measures had been taken for their cover and defence. After the action of St. Cas, some civilities, by message, passed between the duke d'Aiguillon and the English commanders, who were favoured with a list of the prisoners, including four sea-captains; and assured, that the wounded should receive all possible comfort and assistance. These matters being adjusted, commodore Howe returned with the fleet to Spithead, and the soldiers were disembarked.

Exultation of
the French
people.

The success of the attempt upon Cherbourg had elevated the people to a degree of childish triumph; and the g—— thought proper to indulge this petulant spirit of exultation, by exposing twenty-one pieces of French cannon in Hyde-park, from whence they were drawn in procession to the Tower, amidst the acclamations of the populace. From this pinnacle of elation and pride they were precipitated to the abyss of despondence or dejection, by the account of the miscarriage at St. Cas, which buoyed up the spirits of the French in the same proportion. The people of that nation began to stand in
need

need of some such cordial after the losses they had sustained, and the ministry Ann. 1758. of Versailles did not fail to make the most of this advantage: they published a pompous narrative of the battle at St. Cas, and magnified into a mighty victory the puny check which they had given to the rear-guard of an inconsiderable detachment. The people received it with implicit belief, because it was agreeable to their passions, and congratulated themselves upon their success in hyperboles, dictated by that vivacity so peculiar to the French nation. Indeed, these are artifices which the ministers of every nation find it necessary to use at certain conjunctures, in governing the turbulent and capricious multitude.

After the misfortune at St. Cas, nothing further was attempted by that armament; nor was any enterprize of importance achieved by the British ships in Europe during the course of this summer. The cruisers, however, still continued active and alert. Captain Hervey, in the ship *Monmouth*, destroyed a French ship of forty guns in the island of Malta; an exploit of which the Maltese loudly complained, as a violation of their neutrality. About twenty sail of small French vessels were driven ashore on the rocks of Bretagne, by some cruisers belonging to the fleet commanded by lord Anson, after a smart engagement with two frigates, under whose convoy they sailed. In the month of November the *Belliqueux*, a French ship of war, mounted with sixty-four guns, having, by mistake, run up St. George's channel, and anchored in Lundy-road, captain Saumarez of the *Antelope*, then lying in King-road, immediately weighed and went in quest of her, according to the advice he had received. When he appeared, the French captain heaved up his anchor, and made a shew of preparing for an engagement; but soon hauled down his colours, and without firing a shot, surrendered, with a complement of four hundred and seventeen men, to a ship of inferior force, both in number of hands and weight of metal. Captures from the enemy.

By this time the English privateers swarmed to such a degree in the channel, that scarce a French vessel durst quit the harbour, and consequently there was little or no booty to be obtained. In this dearth of legal prizes, some of the adventurers were tempted to commit acts of piracy, and actually rifled the ships of neutral nations. A Dutch vessel, having on board the baggage and domestics belonging to the marquis de Pignatelli, ambassador from the court of Spain to the king of Denmark, was boarded three times successively by the crews of three different privateers, who forced the hatches, rummaged the hold, broke open and rifled the trunks and boxes of the ambassador, insulted and even cruelly bruised his officers, stripped his domestics, and carried off his effects, together with letters of credit and a bill of exchange. Complaints of these outrages being made to the court of London, the lords of the admiralty promised, in the *Gazette*, a reward of five hundred pounds, without deduction, to any person who should discover the offenders concerned in these acts of piracy. Some of them were detected accordingly, and brought to condign punishment. Piracies committed by the English privateers.

The Dutch had for some time carried on a very considerable traffic, not only in taking the fair advantages of their neutrality, but also in supplying the French with naval stores, and transporting the produce of the French sugar-colonies to Europe, as carriers hired by the proprietors. The English A great number of Dutch ships taken.

Ann. 1758. government, incensed at this unfair commerce, prosecuted with such flagrant partiality for their enemies, issued orders for the cruisers to arrest all ships of neutral powers that should have French property on board; and these orders were executed with rigour and severity. A great number of Dutch ships were taken, and condemned as legal prizes, both in England and Jamaica: sometimes the owners met with hard measure, and some crews were treated with insolence and barbarity. The subjects of the United Provinces raised a loud clamour against the English, for having by these captures violated the law of nations, and the particular treaty of commerce subsisting between Great Britain and the Republic. Remonstrances were made to the English ministry, who expostulated in their turn with the deputies of the States General; and the two nations were inflamed against each other with the most bitter animosity. The British resident at the Hague, in a conference with the States, represented, that the king his master could not hope to see peace speedily re-established, if the neutral princes should assume a right of carrying on the trade of his enemies: that he expected, from their known justice, and the alliance by which they were so nearly connected with his subjects, they would honestly abandon this fraudulent commerce, and agree, that naval stores should be comprehended in the class of contraband commodities. He answered some articles of the complaints they had made with an appearance of candour and moderation; declared his majesty's abhorrence of the violences which had been committed upon the subjects of the United Provinces; explained the steps which had been taken by the English government to bring the offenders to justice, as well as to prevent such outrages for the future; and assured them, that his Britannic majesty had nothing more at heart than to renew, and maintain, in full force, the mutual confidence and friendship by which the maritime powers of England and Holland had been so long united.

Clamour by
the merchants
of Holland.

These professions of esteem and affection were not sufficient to quiet the minds and appease the resentment of the Dutch merchants; and the French party, which was both numerous and powerful, employed all their art and influence to exasperate their passions, and widen the breach between the two nations. The court of Versailles did not fail to seize this opportunity of insinuation: while, on one hand, their ministers and emissaries in Holland exaggerated the indignities and injuries which the States had sustained, from the insolence and rapacity of the English; they, on the other hand, flattered and cajoled them with little advantages in trade, and formal professions of respect. Such was the memorial delivered by the count D'Affry, intimating that the Empress-queen being under an absolute necessity of employing all her forces to defend her hereditary dominions in Germany, she had been obliged to withdraw her troops from Ostend and Nieuport; and applied to the French king, as her ally nearest at hand, to garrison these two places, which, however, should be restored at the peace, or sooner, should her Imperial majesty think proper.

Famous petition to the
States.

The spirit of the Dutch merchants at this juncture, and their sentiments with respect to England, appeared with very high colouring in a memorial to the States General, subscribed by two hundred and sixty-nine traders, composed and presented with equal secrecy and circumspection. In this famous remonstrance they complained, that the violences and unjust depredations com-

committed by the English ships of war and privateers on the vessels and effects of them and their fellow subjects, were not only continued, but daily multiplied; and cruelty and excess carried to such a pitch of wanton barbarity, that the petitioners were forced to implore the assistance of their High Mightinesses to protect, in the most efficacious manner, the commerce and navigation, which were the two sinews of the republic. For this necessary purpose they offered to contribute each his contingent, and to arm at their own charge; and other propositions were made for an immediate augmentation of the marine. Ann. 1758.

While this party industriously exerted all their power and credit to effect a rupture with England, the Princess Gouvernante employed all her interest and address to divert them from this object, and alarm them with respect to the power and designs of France; against which she earnestly exhorted them to augment their military forces by land, that they might be prepared to defend themselves against all invasion. At the same time she spared no pains to adjust the differences between her husband's country and her father's kingdom; and, without doubt, her healing counsels were of great efficacy in preventing matters from coming to a very dangerous extremity.

The whole strength of Great Britain during this campaign, was not exhausted in petty descents upon the coast of France. The continent of America was the great theatre on which her chief vigour was displayed; nor did she fail to exert herself in successful efforts against the French settlements on the coast of Africa. Plan of an attempt against the French settlements on the coast of Africa. The whole gum trade from Cape Blanco to the river of Gambia, an extent of five hundred miles, had been engrossed by the French, who built Fort Louis within the mouth of the Senegal, extending their factories near three hundred leagues up that river, and on the same coast had fortified the island of Goree, in which they maintained a considerable garrison. The gum-senega, of which a great quantity is used by the manufacturers of England, being wholly in the hands of the enemy, the English dealers were obliged to buy it at second-hand from the Dutch, who purchased it of the French, and exacted an exorbitant price for that commodity. This consideration forwarded the plan for annexing the country to the possession of Great Britain. The project was first conceived by Mr. Thomas Cumming, a sensible quaker, who, as a private merchant, had made a voyage to Portenderrick, an adjoining part of the coast, and contracted a personal acquaintance with Amir the Moorish king of Legibelli*. He found this African prince extremely well disposed towards the subjects of Great Britain, whom he publicly preferred to all other Europeans, and so exasperated against the French, that he declared he should never be easy till they were exterminated from the river Senegal. At that very time he had commenced hostilities against them, and earnestly desired that the king of England would send out an armament to reduce Fort Louis and Goree, with some ships of force to protect the traders. In that case, he promised to join his Britannic majesty's forces, and grant an exclusive trade to his subjects. Mr. Cumming not only perceived the advantage that would result from such an exclusive privilege with

* The name the natives give to that part of South Barbary, known to merchants and navigators by that of The Gum Coast, and called in maps, The Sandy Desert of Sara, and sometimes Zara.

Ann. 1758. regard to the gum, but foresaw many other important consequences of an extensive trade in a country, which, over and above the gum-senega, contains many valuable articles, such as gold dust, elephants teeth, hides, cotton, bees-wax, slaves, ostrich feathers, indigo, ambergris, and civet. Elevated with the prospect of an acquisition so valuable to his country, this honest quaker was equally minute and indefatigable in his inquiries, touching the commerce of the coast, as well as the strength and situation of the French settlements on the river Senegal; and, at his return to England, actually formed the plan of an expedition for the conquest of Fort Louis. This was presented to the board of trade, by whom it was approved, after a severe examination: but it required the patriotic zeal and invincible perseverance of Cumming, to surmount a variety of obstacles before it was adopted by the ministry; and even then it was not executed in its full extent. He was abridged of one large ship; and in lieu of six hundred land-forces to be draughted from different regiments, which he in vain demanded, first from the d— of C——, and afterwards from lord L———r, the lords of the ad———y allotted two hundred marines only for this service.

Expedition
to Senegal.

After repeated solicitation he, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven, obtained an order, that the two annual ships bound to the coast of Guiney, should be joined by a sloop and two buffes, and make an attempt upon the French settlement in the river Senegal. These ships, however, were detained by contrary winds, until the season was too far advanced to admit a probability of success, and therefore the design was postponed. In the beginning of the present year, Mr. Cumming being reinforced with the interest of a considerable merchant in the city, to whom he had communicated the plan, renewed his application to the ministry, and they resolved to hazard the enterprise. A small squadron was equipped for this expedition, under the command of captain Marsh, having on board a body of marines, commanded by major Mason, with a detachment of artillery, ten pieces of cannon, eight mortars, and a considerable quantity of warlike stores and ammunition. Captain Walker was appointed engineer; and Mr. Cumming was concerned as a principal director and promoter of the expedition*. This little armament sailed in the beginning of March; and in their passage touched at the island Teneriff, where, while the ships supplied themselves with wine and water, Mr. Cumming proceeded in the Swan sloop to Portenderrick, being charged with a letter of credence to his old friend the king of that country, who had favoured him in his last visit with an exclusive trade on that coast, by a formal charter, written in the Arabic language; which charter is still in his possession. This prince was now up the country engaged in a war with his

* On this occasion Mr. Cumming may seem to have acted directly contrary to the tenets of his religious profession; but he ever declared to the ministry, that he was fully persuaded his schemes might be accomplished without the effusion of human blood; and that if he thought otherwise, he would by no means have concerned himself about them. He also desired, let the consequence be what it might, his bre-

thren should not be chargeable with what was his own single act.—If it was the first military scheme of any Quaker, let it be remembered it was also the first successful expedition of this war, and one of the first that was ever carried on according to the pacific system of the Quakers, without the loss of a drop of blood on either side.

neighbours, called the Diable-Moors*; and the queen-dowager, who remained at Portenderrick, gave Mr. Cumming to understand, that she could not at present spare any troops to join the English in their expedition against Senegal: but she assured him, that should the French be exterminated, she and her subjects would go thither and settle. In the mean time one of the chiefs, called Prince Amir, dispatched a messenger to the king with advice of their arrival and design. He declared that he would, with all possible diligence, assemble three hundred warriors to join the English troops; and that, in his opinion, the king would reinforce them with a detachment from his army.

By this time captain Marsh, with the rest of the armament, had arrived at Portenderrick, and fearing that the enemy might receive intimation of his design, resolved to proceed on the expedition without waiting for the promised auxiliaries. On the twenty-second day of April he weighed anchor; and next day at four o'clock, discovered the French flag flying upon Fort Louis, situated in the midst of a pretty considerable town, which exhibited a very agreeable appearance. The commodore having made prize of a Dutch ship richly laden with gum, which lay at anchor without the bar, came to anchor in Senegal-road, at the mouth of the river; and here he perceived several armed sloops which the enemy had detached to defend the passage of the bar, which is extremely dangerous. All the boats were employed in conveying the stores into the small craft, while three of the sloops continued exchanging fire over a narrow tongue of land with the vessels of the enemy, consisting of one brig and six armed sloops, mounted with great guns and swivels. At length the channel being discovered, and the wind, which generally blows down the river, chopping about, captain Millar, of the London buss, seized that opportunity; and passing the bar with a flowing sheet, dropped anchor on the inside, where he lay till night, exposed to the whole fire of the enemy. Next day he was joined by the other small vessels, and a regular engagement ensued. This was warmly maintained on both sides, until the buffes and one dogger running aground, immediately bulged, and were filled with water. Then the troops they contained took to their boats, and with some difficulty reached the shore, where they formed in a body, and were soon joined by their companions from the other vessels; so that now the whole amounted to three hundred and ninety marines, besides the detachment of artillery. As they laid their account with being attacked by the natives, who lined the shore at some distance, seeming determined to oppose the descent, they forthwith threw up an intrenchment, and began to disembark the stores, great part of which lay under water. While they were employed in raising this occasional defence, the negroes came in great numbers and submitted; and on the succeeding day they were reinforced by three hundred and fifty seamen, who passed the bar in sloops, with their ensigns and colours flying.

They had made no further progress in their operations, when two French deputies arrived at the intrenchment, with proposals for a capitulation from the governor of Fort Louis. After some hesitation captain Marsh and major Mason agreed, That all the white people belonging to the French company at Sene-

* This is the name by which the subjects of Legibelli distinguish those of Brackna, who inhabit the country farther up the river Senegal, and are in constant alliance with the French.

Ann. 1758. gal, should be safely conducted to France in an English vessel, without being deprived of their private effects, provided all the merchandize, and uncoined treasure, should be delivered up to the victors; and that all the forts, store-houses, vessels, arms, provisions, and every article belonging to the company in that river, should be put into the hands of the English immediately after the capitulation could be signed. They promised that the free natives living at Fort Louis, should remain in quiet possession of their effects, and in the free exercise of their religion; and that all negroes, mulattoes, and others, who could prove themselves free, should have it in their option either to remain in the place, or remove to any other part of the country *. The captains Campbell and Walker were immediately sent up the river with a flag of truce, to see the articles signed and executed; but they were so retarded by the rapidity of the stream, that they did not approach the fort till three in the morning. As soon as the day broke they hoisted their flag, and rowed up towards a battery on a point of the island, where they lay upon their oars very near a full hour, beating the chamade; but no notice was taken of their approach. This reserve appearing mysterious, they retired down the river to their intrenchment, where they understood that the negroes on the island were in arms, and had blocked up the French in Fort Louis, resolving to defend the place to the last extremity, unless they should be included in the capitulation. This intelligence was communicated in a second letter from the governor, who likewise informed the English commander, that unless the French director-general should be permitted to remain with the natives as a surety for that article of the capitulation in which they were concerned, they would allow themselves to be cut in pieces rather than submit.

The English
forces take
possession of
Senegal.

This request being granted, the English forces began their march to Fort Louis, accompanied by a number of long-boats, in which the artillery and stores had been embarked. The French seeing them advance, immediately struck their flag; and major Mason took possession of the castle, where he found ninety-two pieces of cannon, with treasure and merchandize to a considerable value. The corporation and burghers of the town of Senegal submitted, and swore allegiance to his Britannic majesty: the neighbouring princes, attended by numerous retinues, visited the commander, and concluded treaties with the English nation; and the king of Portenderrick, or Legibelli, sent an ambassador from his camp to major Mason, with presents, compliments of congratulation, and assurances of friendship. The number of free independent Negroes and Mulattoes settled at Senegal amounted to three thousand, and many of these enjoyed slaves and possessions of their own. The two French factories of Podore and Galam, the latter situated nine hundred miles farther up the river, were included in the capitulation; so that Great Britain, almost without striking a blow, found herself possessed of a conquest, from which, with proper management, she may derive inconceivable riches. This important acquisition being in a great measure, if not entirely, owing to the sagacity, zeal, and indefatigable efforts of Mr. Cumming, who not only formed the plan, and

* The victors, however, committed a very great mistake in allowing them to carry off their books and accompts, the perusal of which would have been of infinite service to the Eng-

lish merchants, by informing them of the commodities, their value, the proper seasons, and methods of prosecuting the trade.

solicited the armament, but also attended the execution of it in person, at the hazard of his life, and to the interruption of his private concerns; those who preside at the helm of affairs, with such reputation for candour and liberality, will no doubt consider it as a point of conscience, not only to indemnify him for the time he has lost, and the trouble he has taken, but even amply reward him, in proportion to the benefit which the nation will reap from his service.

Fort Louis being secured with an English garrison, and some armed vessels left to guard the passage of the bar, at the mouth of the river, the great ships proceeded to make an attempt upon the island of Goree, which lies at the distance of thirty leagues from Senegal. There the French company had considerable magazines and warehouses, and lodged the negro slaves until they could be shipped for the West Indies. If the additional force which Mr. Cumming proposed for the conquest of this island had been added to the armament, in all probability the island would have been reduced; and in that case, the nation would have saved the considerable expence of a subsequent expedition against it, under the conduct of commodore Keppel. At present, the ships, by which Goree was attacked, were found unequal to the attempt, and it miscarried accordingly; though the miscarriage was attended with little or no damage to the assailants.

Unsuccessful
attempt upon
Goree.

Scenes of still greater importance were acted in North America, where, exclusive of the fleet and marines, the government had assembled about fifty thousand men, including two and twenty thousand regular troops. The earl of Loudon having returned to England, the chief command in America devolved to major-general Abercrombie; but as the objects of operation were various, the forces were divided into three detached bodies, under as many different commanders. About twelve thousand were destined to undertake the siege of Louisbourg, on the island of Cape Breton. The general himself reserved near sixteen thousand for the reduction of Crown Point, a fort situated on the lake Champlain: eight thousand, under the conduct of brigadier-general Forbes, were allotted for the conquest of Fort du Quesne, which stood a great way to the southward, near the river Ohio; and a considerable garrison was left at Annapolis in Nova Scotia. The reduction of Louisbourg and the island of Cape Breton, being an object of immediate consideration, was undertaken with all possible dispatch. Major-general Amherst being joined by admiral Boscawen, with the fleet and forces from England, the whole armament, consisting of one hundred and fifty-seven sail, took their departure from the harbour of Halifax, in Nova Scotia, on the twenty-eighth of May; and on the second day of June part of the transports anchored in the bay of Gabarus, about seven miles to the westward of Louisbourg. The garrison of this place, commanded by the chevalier Drucour, consisted of two thousand five hundred regular troops, three hundred militia, formed of the burghers, and towards the end of the siege they were reinforced by three hundred and fifty Canadians, including threescore Indians. The harbour was secured by six * ships of the line, and five frigates, three of which the enemy sunk across the harbour's

Expedition to
Cape Breton.

* The Prudent, of seventy-four guns; the four guns each; the Apollo, of fifty guns; Entreprenant, of seventy-four guns; the Ca- the Chevre, Biche, Fidelle, Diana, and Eccho- pricieux, Celebre, and Bienfaisant, of sixty- frigates.

Ann. 1758. mouth, in order to render it inaccessible to the English shipping. The fortifications were in bad repair, many parts of them crumbling down the covered way, and several bastions exposed in such a manner as to be enfiladed by the besiegers, and no part of the town secure from the effects of cannonading and bombardment. The governor had taken all the precautions in his power to prevent a landing, by establishing a chain of posts, that extended two leagues and a half along the most accessible parts of the beach: intrenchments were thrown up, and batteries erected; but there were some intermediate places which could not be properly secured, and in one of these the English troops were disembarked.

The troops
are disembarked.

The disposition being made for landing, a detachment, in several sloops, under convoy, passed by the mouth of the harbour towards Lorembec, in order to draw the enemy's attention that way, while the landing should really be effected on the other side of the town. On the eighth day of June, the troops being assembled in the boats before day-break, in three divisions, several sloops and frigates, that were stationed along shore in the bay of Gabarus, began to scour the beach with their shot; and after the fire had continued about a quarter of an hour, the boats, containing the division on the left, were rowed towards the shore, under the command of brigadier-general Wolfe, an accomplished officer, who, in the sequel, displayed very extraordinary proofs of military genius. At the same time the other two divisions, on the right and in the centre, commanded by the brigadiers Whitmore and Laurence, made a shew of landing, in order to divide and distract the enemy. Notwithstanding an impetuous surf, by which many boats were overset, and a very severe fire of cannon and musketry from the enemies batteries, which did considerable execution, brigadier Wolfe pursued his point with admirable courage and deliberation. The soldiers leaped into the water with the most eager alacrity, and, gaining the shore, attacked the enemy in such a manner, that in a few minutes they abandoned their works and artillery, and fled in the utmost confusion. The other divisions landed also; but not without an obstinate opposition: and the stores, with the artillery, being brought on shore, the town of Louisbourg was formally invested. The difficulty of landing stores and implements in boisterous weather, and the nature of the ground, which, being marshy, was unfit for the conveyance of heavy cannon, retarded the operations of the siege. Mr. Amherst made his approaches with great circumspection, securing his camp with redoubts and epaulements from any attacks of Canadians, of which he imagined there was a considerable body behind him on the island, as well as from the fire of the French shipping in the harbour, which would otherwise have annoyed him extremely in his advances.

Progress of
the siege of
Louisbourg.

The governor of Louisbourg having destroyed the grand battery, which was detached from the body of the place, and recalled his out-posts, prepared for making a vigorous defence. A very severe fire, well directed, was maintained against the besiegers and their work, from the town, the island battery, and the ships in the harbour; and divers sallies were made, though without much effect. In the mean time brigadier Wolfe, with a strong detachment, had marched round the north-east part of the harbour, and taken possession of the Lighthouse-point, where he erected several batteries against the ships and the island fortification, which last was soon silenced. On the nineteenth day of

June the *Eccho*, a French frigate, was taken by the English cruisers, after Ann. 1758. having escaped from the harbour: from the officers on board of this ship the admiral learned that the *Bizarre*, another frigate, had sailed from thence on the day of the disembarkation; and the *Comete* had successfully followed her example. Besides the regular approaches to the town, conducted by the engineers under the immediate command and inspection of general Amherst, divers batteries were raised by the detached corps under brigadier Wolfe, who exerted himself with amazing activity, and grievously incommoded the enemy, both of the town and the shipping. On the twenty-first day of July the three great ships, the *Entreprenant*, *Capricieux*, and *Celebre*, were set on fire by the bomb-shells, and burned to ashes; so that none remained but the *Prudent* and *Bienfaisant*, which the admiral undertook to destroy. For this purpose, in the night between the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth days of the month, the boats of the squadron were in two divisions detached into the harbour, under the command of two young captains, Laforey and Balfour. They accordingly penetrated, in the dark, through a terrible fire of cannon and musquetry, and boarded the enemy sword in hand. The *Prudent*, being aground, was set on fire, and destroyed; but the *Bienfaisant* was towed out of the harbour in triumph.

In the prosecution of the siege the admiral and general co-operated with remarkable harmony; the former cheerfully assisting the latter with cannon, and other implements, with detachments of marines to maintain posts on shore, with parties of seamen to act as pioneers, and concur in working the guns and mortars. The fire of the town was managed with equal skill and activity, and kept up with great perseverance; until, at length, their shipping being all taken or destroyed, the * caserns ruined in the two principal bastions, forty out of fifty-two pieces of cannon dismounted, broke, or rendered unserviceable, and divers practicable breaches effected, the governor, in a letter to Mr. Amherst, proposed a capitulation on the same articles that were granted to the English at Portmahon. In answer to this proposal he was given to understand, that he and his garrison must surrender themselves prisoners of war, otherwise he might next morning expect a general assault by the shipping under admiral Boscawen. The chevalier Drucour, piqued at the severity of these terms, replied, that he would, rather than comply with them, stand an assault; but the commissary-general, and intendant of the colony, presented a petition from the traders and inhabitants of the place, in consequence of which he submitted. On the twenty-seventh day of July three companies of grenadiers, commanded by major Farquhar, took possession of the western gate; and brigadier Whitmore was detached into the town, to see the garrison lay down their arms and deliver up their colours on the esplanade, and to post the necessary guards on the stores, magazines, and ramparts.

Thus, at the expence of about four hundred men killed or wounded, the English obtained possession of the important island of Cape Breton, and the strong town of Louisbourg, in which the victors found two hundred and

* It may not be amiss to observe, that a cavalier, which admiral K— had built at an enormous expence to the nation, while Louisbourg remained in the hands of the English in the last war, was, in the course of this siege, entirely demolished by two or three shot from one of the British batteries; so admirably had this piece of fortification been contrived and executed, under the eye of that profound engineer.

Ann. 1758. twenty-one pieces of cannon, with eighteen mortars, and a considerable quantity of stores and ammunition. The merchants and inhabitants were sent to France in English bottoms; but the garrison, together with the sea-officers, marines, and mariners, amounting in all to five thousand six hundred and thirty-seven prisoners, were transported to England.

Rejoicings in
England.

The loss of Louisbourg was the more severely felt by the French king, as it had been attended with the destruction of so many considerable ships and frigates. The particulars of this transaction were immediately brought to England, in a vessel dispatched for that purpose, with captain Amherst, brother to the commander; who was also intrusted with eleven pair of colours taken at Louisbourg: these were, by his majesty's order, carried in pompous parade, escorted by detachments of horse and foot guards, with kettle-drums and trumpets, from the palace of Kensington to St. Paul's cathedral, where they were deposited as trophies, under a discharge of cannon, and other noisy expressions of triumph and exultation. Indeed, the public rejoicings for the conquest of Louisbourg were diffused through every part of the British dominions, and addresses of congratulation were presented to the king by a great number of flourishing towns and corporations.

Reduction of
St. John.

After the reduction of Cape Breton, some ships were detached with a body of troops, under the command of lieutenant colonel lord Rollo, to take possession of the island of St. John, which also lies in the gulph of St. Laurence, and, by its fertility in corn and cattle, had since the beginning of the war supplied Quebec with considerable quantities of provision. It was likewise the asylum to which the French neutrals of Annapolis fled for shelter, from the English government; and the retreat from whence they and the Indians used to make their sudden irruptions into Nova Scotia, where they perpetrated the most inhuman barbarities on the defenceless subjects of Great Britain. The number of inhabitants amounted to four thousand one hundred, who submitted, and brought in their arms: then lord Rollo took possession of the governor's quarters, where he found several scalps of Englishmen, whom the savages had assassinated, in consequence of the encouragement they received from their French patrons and allies, who gratify them with a certain premium for every scalp they produce. The island was stocked with above ten thousand head of black cattle, and some of the farmers raised each twelve hundred bushels of corn annually for the market of Quebec.

Expedition to
Ticonderoga.

The joy and satisfaction arising from the conquest of Louisbourg and St. John, was not a little checked by the disaster which befel the main body of the British forces in America, under the immediate conduct of general Abercrombie, who, as we have already observed, had proposed the reduction of the French forts on the lakes George and Champlain, as the chief objects of his enterprize; with a view to secure the frontier of the British colonies, and open a passage for the future conquest of Canada. In the beginning of July his forces, amounting to near seven thousand regular troops, and ten thousand provincials, embarked on the lake George, in the neighbourhood of Lake Champlain, on board of nine hundred batteaus, and one hundred and thirty-five whale boats, with provision, artillery, and ammunition; several pieces of cannon being mounted on rafts to cover the purposed landing, which was next day effected without opposition. The general's design was to invest Ticonderoga, a
fort

fort situated on a tongue of land, extending between Lake George and a narrow gut that communicates with the Lake Champlain. This fortification was, on three sides, surrounded with water, and in front nature had secured it with a morass. Ann. 1758.

The English troops being disembarked, were immediately formed into three columns, and began their march to the enemy's advanced post, consisting of one battalion, encamped behind a breast-work of logs, which they now abandoned with precipitation, after having set them on fire and burned their tents and implements. The British forces continued their march in the same order; but the route lying through a thick wood that did not admit of any regular progression, or passage, and the guides proving extremely ignorant, the troops were bewildered, and the columns broken by falling in one upon another. Lord Howe being advanced at the head of the right centre column, encountered a French detachment who had likewise lost their way in the retreat from the advanced post, and a warm skirmish ensuing, the enemy were routed with considerable loss, a good number were killed, and one hundred and forty-eight taken prisoners, including five officers. This petty advantage was dearly bought with the loss of lord Howe, who fell in the beginning of the action, unspeakably regretted as a young nobleman of the most promising talents, who had distinguished himself in a peculiar manner by his courage, activity, and rigid observation of military discipline, and had acquired the esteem and affection of the soldiery by his generosity, sweetness of manners, and engaging address. The general perceiving the troops were greatly fatigued and disordered from want of rest and refreshment, thought it adviseable to march back to the landing place, which they reached about eight in the morning. Then he detached lieutenant-colonel Bradstreet, with one regular regiment, six companies of the Royal Americans, with the batteau-men, and a body of rangers, to take possession of a saw-mill in the neighbourhood of Ticonderoga, which the enemy had abandoned. Skirmish.

This post being secured, the general advanced again towards Ticonderoga, where he understood from the prisoners the enemy had assembled eight battalions, with a body of Canadians and Indians, amounting in all to six thousand. These, they said, being encamped before the fort, were employed in making a formidable intrenchment, where they intended to wait for a reinforcement of three thousand men, who had been detached under the command of M. de Levi, to make a diversion on the side of the Mohawk * river; but upon intelligence of Mr. Abercrombie's approach, were now recalled for the defence of Ticonderoga. This information determined the English general to strike, if possible, some decisive stroke before the junction could be effected. He, therefore, early next morning sent his engineer across the river on the opposite side of the fort, to reconnoitre the enemy's intrenchments, and he reported, that the works being still unfinished, might be attempted with a good prospect of success. A disposition was made accordingly for the attack, and after proper guards had been left at the saw-mill and the landing-place, the whole army Unsuccessful attack on the French intrenchment.

* This officer intended to have made an interruption through the pass of Oneida on the Mohawk's river, but was recalled before he could execute this design. General Abercrombie afterwards sent thither brigadier Stanwix, with a considerable body of Provincials; and this important pass was secured by a fort built at that juncture.

Ann. 1758. was put in motion. They advanced with great alacrity towards the intrenchment, which, however, they found altogether impracticable. The breast-work was raised eight feet high, and the ground before it covered with an abattis, or felled trees, with their boughs pointing outwards, and projecting in such a manner as to render the intrenchment almost inaccessible. Notwithstanding these discouraging difficulties, the British troops marched up to the assault with an undaunted resolution, and sustained a terrible fire without flinching. They endeavoured to cut their way through these embarrassments with their swords, and some of them even mounted the parapet; but the enemy were so well covered, that they could, deliberately, direct their fire without the least danger to themselves: the carnage was therefore considerable, and the troops began to fall into confusion, after several repeated attacks, which lasted above four hours, under the most disadvantageous circumstances. The general, by this time, saw plainly that no hope of success remained; and, in order to prevent a total defeat, took measures for the retreat of the army, which retired unmolested to their former camp, with the loss of about eighteen hundred men killed or wounded, including a great number of officers. Every corps of regular troops behaved, on this unfortunate occasion, with remarkable intrepidity; but the greatest loss was sustained by lord John Murray's Highland regiment, of which above one half of the private men, and twenty-five officers, were either slain upon the spot, or desperately wounded.

General
Abercrombie
retreats.

Mr. Abercrombie, unwilling to stay in the neighbourhood of the enemy, with forces which had received such a dispiriting check, retired to his batteaus, and reembarking the troops, returned to the camp at Lake George, from whence he had taken his departure. Censure, which always attends miscarriage, did not spare the character of this commander: his attack was condemned as rash, and his retreat as pusillanimous. In such cases allowance must be made for the peevishness of disappointment, and the clamour of connection. How far Mr. Abercrombie acquitted himself in the duty of a general, we shall not pretend to determine: but if he could depend upon the courage and discipline of his forces, he surely had nothing to fear, after the action, from the attempts of the enemy, to whom he would have been superior in number, even though they had been joined by the expected reinforcement: he might have therefore remained on the spot, in order to execute some other enterprize when he should be reinforced in his turn; for general Amherst no sooner heard of his disaster, than he returned with the troops from Cape Breton to New England, after having left a strong garrison in Louisbourg. At the head of six regiments he began his march to Albany, about the middle of September, in order to join the forces on the lake, that they might undertake some other service before the season should be exhausted.

Fort Frontenac taken and destroyed by the English.

In the mean time general Abercrombie had detached lieutenant colonel Bradstreet with a body of three thousand men, chiefly Provincials, to execute a plan which this officer had formed against Cadaraqui, or Fort Frontenac, situated on the north side of the river St. Laurence, just where it takes its origin from the Lake Ontario. To the side of this lake he penetrated with his detachment, and embarking in some sloops and batteaus, provided for the purpose, landed within a mile of Fort Frontenac, the garrison of which, consisting of one hundred and ten men, with a few Indians, immediately surrendered at discretion.

discretion. Considering the importance of this post, which, in a great measure, commanded the mouth of the river St. Laurence, and served as a magazine to the more southern castles, the French general was inexcusable for leaving it in such a defenceless condition. The fortification itself was considerable and ill contrived: nevertheless, it contained sixty pieces of cannon, sixteen small mortars, with an immense quantity of merchandise and provisions, deposited for the use of the French forces detached against brigadier Forbes, their western garrisons, and Indian allies, as well as for the subsistence of the corps commanded by Mr. de Levi, on his enterprize against the Mohawk river. Mr. Bradstreet not only reduced the fort without bloodshed, but also made himself master of all the enemy's shipping on the lake, amounting to nine armed vessels, some of which carried eighteen guns. Two of these Mr. Bradstreet conveyed to Oswego, whither he returned with his troops, after he had destroyed Fort Frontenac, with all the artillery, stores, provision, and merchandize, which it contained. In consequence of this exploit, the French troops to the southward were exposed to the hazard of starving; but it is not easy to conceive the general's reason for giving orders to abandon and destroy a fort, which, if properly strengthened and sustained, might have rendered the English masters of the Lake Ontario, and grievously harrassed the enemy, both in their commerce and expeditions to the westward. Indeed, great part of the Indian trade centered at Frontenac, to which place the Indians annually repaired from all parts of America, some of them at the distance of a thousand miles, and here exchanged their furs for European commodities. So much did the French traders excel the English in the art of conciliating the affection of those savage tribes, that great part of them, in their yearly progress to this remote market, actually passed by the British settlement of Albany in New York, where they might have been supplied with what articles they wanted, much more cheap than they could purchase them at Frontenac or Montreal: nay, the French traders use to furnish themselves with these very commodities from the merchants of New York, and found this traffic much more profitable than that of procuring the same articles from France, loaded with the expence of a tedious and dangerous navigation, from the sea to the source of the river St. Laurence.

In all probability, the destruction of Frontenac facilitated the expedition against Fort du Quesne, intrusted to the conduct of brigadier Forbes, who, with his little army, began his march in the beginning of July from Philadelphia for the river Ohio, a prodigious tract of country very little known, destitute of military roads, incumbered with mountains, morasses, and woods, that were almost impenetrable. It was not without incredible exertion of industry, that he procured provisions and carriages for this expedition, formed new roads, extended scouting parties, secured camps, and surmounted many other difficulties in the course of his tedious march, during which he was also harrassed by small detachments of the enemy's Indians. Having penetrated with the main body as far as Ray's-Town, at the distance of ninety miles from Fort du Quesne, and advanced colonel Bouquet, with two thousand men; about fifty miles farther to a place called Lyal-Henning, this officer detached major Grant, at the head of eight hundred men, to reconnoitre the fort and its outworks. The enemy perceiving him approach, sent a body of troops against him,

Ann. 1758.

Brigadier Forbes takes possession of Fort du Quesne.

Ann. 1758. him, sufficient to surround his whole detachment; a very severe action began the English maintained it with their usual courage for three hours against cruel odds, but at length, being overpowered by numbers, they were obliged to give way, and retired in disorder to Lyal-Henning, with the loss of about three hundred men killed or taken, including major Grant, who was carried prisoner to Fort du Quesne, and nineteen officers. Notwithstanding this mortifying check, brigadier Forbes advanced with the army, resolved to prosecute his operations with vigour; but the enemy dreading the prospect of a siege, dismantled and abandoned the fort, and retired down the river Ohio, to their settlements on the Mississippi. They quitted the fort on the twenty-fourth day of November, and next day it was possessed by the British forces. As for the Indians of this country, they seemed heartily to renounce their connections with France, and be perfectly reconciled to the government of his Britannic majesty. Brigadier Forbes having repaired the fort, changed its name from Du Quesne to Pittsburgh, secured it with a garrison of Provincials, and concluded treaties of friendship and alliance with the Indian tribes. Then he marched back to Philadelphia, and in his retreat built a blockhouse, near Lyal-Henning, for the defence of Pennsylvania: but he himself did not long survive these transactions, his constitution having been exhausted by the incredible fatigues of the service.

Admiral Boscawen returns to England.

Thus have we given a particular detail of all the remarkable operations by which this campaign was distinguished on the continent of America; the reader will be convinced, that notwithstanding the defeat at Ticonderoga, and the disaster of the advanced party in the neighbourhood of Fort du Quesne, the arms of Great Britain acquired many important advantages; and, indeed, paved the way for the reduction of Quebec, and conquest of all Canada. In the mean time, the admirals Boscawen and Hardy, having left a considerable squadron at Halifax in Nova Scotia, returned with four ships of the line to England, where they arrived in the beginning of November, after having given chase to six large French ships, which they descried to the westward of Scilly, but could not overtake or bring to an engagement.

Enterprise against Goree.

The conquest of the French settlements in the river Senegal being deemed imperfect and incomplete, whilst France still kept possession of the island of Goree, the ministry of Great Britain resolved to crown the campaign in Africa with the reduction of that fortress. For this purpose commodore Keppel, brother to the earl of Albemarle, was vested with the command of a squadron, consisting of four ships of the line, several frigates, two bomb-ketches, and some transports, having on board seven hundred men of the regular troops, commanded by colonel Worge, and embarked in the harbour of Cork in Ireland, from whence this whole armament took their departure on the eleventh day of November. After a tempestuous passage, in which they touched at the isle of Teneriffe, they arrived at Goree in the latter end of December, and the commodore made a disposition for attacking this island, which was remarkably strong by nature, but very indifferently fortified. Goree is a small barren island, extending about three quarters of a mile in length, of a triangular form; and on the south-west side rising into a rocky hill, on which the paucity fort of St. Michael is situated. There is another, still more inconsiderable, called St. Francis, towards the other extremity of the island; and several bat-

teries were raised around its sweep, mounted with about one hundred pieces of cannon and four mortars. The French governor, Mr. de St. Jean, had great plenty of ammunition, and his garrison amounted to about three hundred men, exclusive of as many negro inhabitants. Ann. 1758.

The flat-bottomed boats, for disembarking the troops, being hoisted out, and disposed along-side of the different transports, the commodore stationed his ships on the west side of the island, and the engagement began with a shell from one of the ketches. This was a signal for the great ships, which poured in their broadsides without intermission, and the fire was returned with equal vivacity from all the batteries of the island. In the course of the action the cannonading from the ships became so severe and terrible, that the French garrison deserted their quarters, in spite of all the efforts of the governor, who acquitted himself like a man of honour; but he was obliged to strike his colours, and surrender at discretion, after a short but warm dispute, in which the loss of the British commodore did not exceed one hundred men killed and wounded. The success of the day was the more extraordinary as the French garrison had not lost a man except one negro, killed by the bursting of a bomb-shell, and the number of their wounded was very inconsiderable. While the attack lasted, the opposite shore of the continent was lined with a concourse of negroes, assembled to view the combat, who expressed their sentiments and surprize in loud clamour and uncouth gesticulations, and seemed to be impressed with awe and astonishment at the power and execution of the British squadron. The French colours being struck, as a signal of submission, the commodore sent a detachment of marines on shore, who disarmed the garrison, and hoisted the British flag upon the castle of St. Michael. In the mean time the governor and the rest of the prisoners were secured among the shipping. Thus the important island of Goree fell into the hands of the English, together with two trading vessels, that chanced to be at anchor in the road; and stores, money, and merchandize, to the value of twenty thousand pounds. The island is surrendered.

Part of the troops being left in garrison at Goree, under the command of major Newton, together with three sloops for his service, the squadron being watered and refreshed from the continent, that part of which is governed by one of the Jalof kings, and the prisoners, with their baggage being dismissed in three cartel-ships to France; the commodore set sail for Senegal, and reinforced Fort Louis with the rest of the troops, under colonel Worge, who was at this juncture favoured with a visit by the king of Legibelli: but very little pains were taken to dismiss this potentate in good humour, or maintain the disposition he professed to favour the commerce of Great Britain. True it is, he was desirous of engaging the English in his quarrels with some neighbouring nations; and such engagements were cautiously and politically avoided, because it was the interest of Great Britain to be upon good terms with every African prince who can promote and extend the commerce of her subjects. Commodore Keppel sails to Senegal.

Commodore Keppel having reduced Goree, and reinforced the garrison of Senegal, returned to England, where all his ships arrived, after a very tempestuous voyage, in which the squadron had been dispersed.

This expedition, however successful in the main, was attended with one misfortune, the loss of the Litchfield ship of war, commanded by captain Barton, Shipwreck of captain Barton.

Ann. 1758. Barton, which, together with one transport and a bomb-tender, was wrecked on the coast of Barbary, about nine leagues to the northward of Saffy, in the dominions of Morocco. One hundred and thirty men, including several officers, perished on this occasion; but the captain and the rest of the company, to the number of two hundred and twenty, made shift to reach the shore, where they ran the risque of starving, and were cruelly used by the natives, although a treaty of peace at that time subsisted between Great Britain and Morocco; nay, they were even enslaved by the Emperor, who detained them in captivity until they were ransomed by the British government: so little dependence can be placed on the faith of such Barbarian princes, with whom it is even a disgrace for any civilized nation to be in alliance, whatever commercial advantages may arise from the connexion.

Gallant exploit of captain Tyrrel.

The incidents of the war that happened in the West Indies, during these occurrences, may be reduced to a small compass. Nothing extraordinary was achieved in the neighbourhood of Jamaica, where admiral Coates commanded a small squadron, from which he detached cruisers occasionally for the protection of the British commerce; and at Antigua the trade was effectually secured by the vigilance of captain Tyrrel, whose courage and activity were equal to his conduct and circumspection. In the month of March this gentleman, with his own ship the Buckingham, and the Cambridge, another of the line, demolished a fort on the island of Martinique, and destroyed four privateers riding under its protection: but his valour appeared much more conspicuous in a subsequent engagement, which happened in the month of November. Being detached on a cruise in his own ship the Buckingham by commodore Moore, who commanded at the Leeward Islands, he fell in with the Weazle sloop, commanded by captain Boles, between the islands of Montserrat and Guadalupe, and immediately discovered a fleet of nineteen sail, under convoy of a French ship of war carrying seventy-four cannon, and two large frigates. Captain Tyrrel immediately gave chase with all the sail he could carry; and the Weazle, running close to the enemy, received a whole broadside from the large ship, which, however, she sustained without much damage: nevertheless Mr. Tyrrel ordered her commander to keep aloof, as he could not be supposed able to bear the shock of large metal, and he himself prepared for the engagement. The enemy's large ship the Florissant, though of much greater force than the Buckingham, instead of lying-to for his coming up, made a running fight with her stern-chace, while the two frigates annoyed him in his course, sometimes raking him fore and aft, and sometimes lying on his quarter. At length he came along-side of the Florissant, within pistol-shot, and poured in a whole broadside, which did considerable execution. The salutation was returned with equal vivacity, and a furious engagement ensued. Captain Tyrrel was wounded in the face, and lost three fingers of his right hand; so that, being intirely disabled, he was obliged to delegate the command of the ship to his first lieutenant, Mr. Marshal, who continued the battle with great gallantry until he lost his life: then the charge devolved to the second lieutenant, who acquitted himself with equal honour, and sustained a desperate fight against the three ships of the enemy. The officers and crew of the Buckingham exerted themselves with equal vigour and deliberation; and captain Troy, who commanded a detachment of marines on the poop, plied

plied his small arms so effectually as to drive the French from their quarters. At length confusion, terror, and uproar prevailing on board the *Florissant*, her firing ceased, and her colours were hauled down about the twilight: but her commander, perceiving that the *Buckingham* was too much damaged in her rigging to pursue with any hope of success, ordered all his sails to be set, and fled in the dark with his two consorts. Nothing but this circumstance could have prevented a British ship of sixty five guns, indifferently manned, in respect to number, from taking a French ship of the line, mounted with seventy-four pieces of cannon, provided with seven hundred men, and assisted by two large frigates, one of thirty-eight guns, and the other wanting two of this number. The loss of the *Buckingham*, in this action, did not exceed twenty men killed and wounded; whereas the number of the slain on board the *Florissant* did not fall short of one hundred and eighty, and that of her wounded is said to have exceeded three hundred. She was so disabled in her hull, that she could hardly be kept afloat until she reached Martinique, where she was repaired; and the largest frigate, together with the loss of forty men, received such damage as to be for some time quite unserviceable.

In the East Indies the transactions of the war were chequered with a variety of success; but, on the whole, the designs of the enemy were intirely defeated. The French commander Mr. de Buffly had, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, quarrelled with Salabatzing viceroy of Decan, because this last would not put him in possession of the fortress of Golconda. In the course of the next year, while the English forces were employed in Bengal, Mr. de Buffly made himself master of the British factories of Ingeram, Bandermaalanka and Vizagapatam, and the reduction of this last left the enemy in possession of the whole coast of Coromandel from Ganjam to Massulapatam. While a body of the English company's forces under captain Caillaud endeavoured to reduce the important fortress and town of Madura, the French under Mr. D'Anteuil invested Trichinopoly. Caillaud no sooner received intelligence of the danger to which this place was exposed, than he hastened to its relief, and obliged the enemy to abandon the siege. Then he returned to Madura, and after an unsuccessful assault, made himself master of it by capitulation. During these transactions, colonel Forde made an attempt upon the fort of Nelloure, a strong place at the distance of twenty-four miles from Madras, but miscarried; and this was also the fate of an expedition against Wandewash, undertaken by colonel Aldercron. The first was repulsed in storming the place; the other was anticipated by the French army, which marched from Pondicherry to the relief of the garrison. The French king had sent a considerable reinforcement to the East Indies, under the command of general Lally, an officer of Irish extraction, together with such a number of ships as rendered the squadron of Mr. d'Apche superior to that of Admiral Pococke, who had succeeded admiral Watson, lately deceased, in the command of the English squadron stationed on the coast of Coromandel, which, in the beginning of this year, was reinforced from England with several ships, under the direction of commodore Stevens. Immediately after this junction, which was effected in the road of Madras on the twenty-fourth day of March, admiral Pococke, who had already signalized himself by his

Ann. 1758. **courage, vigilance, and conduct,** failed to windward, with a view to intercept the French squadron, of which he had received intelligence. In two days he descried in the road of Fort St. David the enemy's fleet, consisting of nine ships, which immediately stood out to sea, and formed the line of battle a-head. The admiral took the same precaution, and bearing down upon M. d'Apché, the engagement began about three in the afternoon. The French commodore, having sustained a warm action for about two hours, bore away with his whole fleet; and being joined by two ships, formed a line of battle again to leeward. Admiral Pococke's own ship, and some others, being greatly damaged in their masts and rigging, two of his captains having misbehaved in the action, and night coming on, he did not think it adviseable to pursue them with all the sail he could carry; but nevertheless he followed them at a proper distance, standing to the south-west, in order to maintain the weather-gage, in case he should be able to renew the action in the morning. In this expectation, however, he was disappointed: the enemy shewed no lights, nor made any signals that could be observed; and in the morning not the least vestige of them appeared. Mr. Pococke, on the supposition that they had weathered him in the night, endeavoured to work up after them to windward; but finding he lost ground considerably, he dropped anchor about three leagues to the northward of Sadras, and received intelligence from the chief of that settlement, that one of the largest French ships having been disabled in the engagement, was run ashore to the southward of Alemparve, where their whole squadron lay at anchor. Such was the issue of the first action between the English and French squadrons in the East-Indies, which, over and above the loss of a capital ship, is said to have cost the enemy about five hundred men; whereas the British admiral did not lose one-fifth part of that number. Being dissatisfied with the behaviour of three captains, he, on his return to Madras, appointed a court-martial to enquire into their conduct; two were dismissed from that service, and the third was sentenced to lose one year's rank as a post captain.

Fort St.
David's
taken by the
French.

In the mean time Mr. Lally had disembarked his troops at Pondicherry, and, taking the field, immediately invested the fort of St. David, while the squadron blocked it up by sea; two English ships being at anchor in the road when the enemy arrived, their captains seeing no possibility of escaping, ran them on shore, set them on fire, and retired with their men into the fortress, which, however, was in a few days surrendered. A much more resolute defence was expected from the courage and conduct of major Polier, who commanded the garrison. When he arrived at Madras he was subjected to a court of inquiry, which acquitted him of cowardice, but were of opinion that the place might have held out much longer, and that the terms on which it surrendered were shameful, as the enemy were not even masters of the outward covered way, as they had made no breach, and had a wet ditch to fill up and pass before the town could have been properly assaulted. Polier, in order to wipe off this disgrace, desired to serve as a volunteer, with colonel Draper, and was mortally wounded in a sally at the siege of Madras. Admiral Pococke having, to the best of his power, repaired his shattered ships, set sail again on the tenth of May, in order to attempt the relief of Fort St. David's; but notwithstanding his utmost endeavours, he could not reach it in time to be of any service. On the thirtieth day of the month he came in sight of Pondicherry,
from

from whence the French squadron stood away early next morning; nor was it in his power to come up with them, though he made all possible efforts for that purpose. Then receiving intelligence that Fort St. David's was surrendered to the enemy, he returned again to Madrafs, in order to refresh his squadron. On the twenty-fifth day of July, he sailed a third time in quest of Mr. d'Apché, and, in two days, perceived his squadron, consisting of eight ships of the line and a frigate, at anchor in the road of Pondicherry. They no sooner descried him advancing than they stood out to sea as before, and he continued to chace, in hope of bringing them to an engagement; but all his endeavours proved fruitless till the third day of August, when having obtained the weather-gage, he bore down upon them in order of battle. The engagement began with great impetuosity on both sides, but in little more than ten minutes Mr. d'Apché set his foresail and bore away, his whole squadron following his example, and maintaining a running fight in a very irregular line. The British admiral then hoisted the signal for a general chace, which the enemy perceiving, thought proper to cut away their boats, and croud with all the sail they could carry. They escaped by favour of the night into the road of Pondicherry, and Mr. Pococke anchored with his squadron off Carical, a French settlement, having thus obtained an undisputed victory, with the loss of thirty men killed, and one hundred and sixteen wounded, including commodore Stevens and captain Martin; though their wounds were not dangerous. The number of killed and wounded on board of the French squadron, amounted, according to report, to five hundred and forty; and their fleet was so much damaged, that in the beginning of September their commodore sailed for the island of Bourbon, in the same latitude with Madagascar, in order to refit; thus leaving the command and sovereignty of the Indian seas to the English admiral, whose fleet, from the beginning of this campaign, had been much inferior to the French squadron in number of ships and men, as well as in weight of metal.

Second en-
gagement be-
tween admi-
ral Pococke
and monsieur
d'Apché.

Mr. Lally having reduced Cudalore and Fort St. David's*, resolved to extort a sum of money from the king of Tanjour, on pretence that, in the last war, he had granted an obligation to the French governor, for a certain sum which had never been payed. Lally accordingly marched with a body of three thousand men into the dominions of Tanjour, and demanded seventy-two lack of rupees. This extravagant demand being rejected, he plundered Nagare, a trading town on the sea-coast, and afterwards invested the capital: but after he had prosecuted the siege until a breach was made, his provisions and ammunition beginning to fail, several vigorous sallies being made by the forces of the king of Tanjour, and the place well defended by European gunners, sent from the English garrison at Trichenopoli, he found himself obliged to raise the siege, and retreat with precipitation, leaving his cannon behind. He arrived at Carical about the middle of August, and from thence retired to Pondicherry towards the end of September. He afterwards cantoned his troops in the province of Arcot, entered the city without opposition, and began to make preparations for the siege of Madrafs, which shall be recorded

Progress of
Mr. Lally in
the East-
Indies.

* Cudalore was in such a defenceless condition, that it could make no resistance; and there being no place in Fort St. David's bomb-proof, nor any provisions or fresh water, the

garrison surrendered in twelve days, on capitulation, after having sustained a severe bombardment.

among

Ann. 1758. among the incidents of the succeeding year. In the mean time, the land-forces belonging to the East-India company were so much out-numbered by the reinforcements which arrived with Mr. Lally, that they could not pretend to keep the field, but were obliged to remain on the defensive, and provide as well as they could for the security of Fort St. George, and the other settlements in that part of India.

Transactions
on the conti-
nent of
Europe.

Having particularized the events of the war, which distinguished this year in America, Africa, and Asia, those remote scenes in which the interest of Great Britain was immediately and intimately concerned, it now remains to record the incidents of the military operations in Germany, supported by British subsidies, and enforced by British troops, to favour the a— designs of an ally, from whose solitary friendship the British nation can never reap any solid benefit; and to defend a foreign el—, in whose behalf she had already lavished an immensity of treasure. Notwithstanding the bloodshed and ravages which had signalized the former campaign; the mutual losses of the belligerent powers, the incredible expence of money, the difficulty of recruiting armies thinned by sword and distemper, the scarcity of forage and provision, the distresses of Saxony in particular, and the calamities of war, which desolated the greatest part of the Empire, no proposition of peace was hinted by either of the parties concerned, but the powers at variance seemed to be exasperated against each other, with the most implacable resentment. Jarring interests were harmonized, old prejudices rooted up, inveterate jealousies asswaged, and even inconsistencies reconciled, in connecting the confederacy which was now formed and established against the king of Prussia; and on the other hand, the k— of G— B— seemed determined to employ the whole power and influence of his crown in supporting this monarch. Yet the members of the grand confederacy were differently actuated by disagreeing motives, which, in the sequel, operated for the preservation of his Prussian majesty, by preventing the full exertion of their united strength. The Empress-queen, over and above her desire of retrieving Silesia, which was her primary aim, gave way to the suggestions of personal hatred and revenge, to the gratification of which she may be said to have sacrificed, in some measure, the interests of her family, as well as the repose of the empire, by admitting the natural enemies of her house into the Austrian Netherlands, and inviting them to invade the dominions of her co-estates with a formidable army. France, true to her old political maxims, wished to see the house of Austria weakened by the divisions in the empire, which she accordingly fomented: for this reason it could not be her interest to effect the ruin of the house of Brandenburg; and therefore she had, no doubt, set bounds to the prosecution of her schemes in concert with the court of Vienna: but her designs against Hanover amounted to absolute conquest: in pursuance of these, she sent an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men across the Rhine, instead of four and twenty thousand which she had engaged to furnish by the original treaty with the Empress-queen of Hungary, who is said to have shared in the spoils of the electorate. The Czarina, by co-operating with the houses of Bourbon and Austria, gratified her personal disgust towards the Prussian monarch, augmented her finances by considerable subsidies from both, and perhaps amused herself with the hope of obtaining an establishment in the German

German empire : but whether she wavered in her own sentiments, or her ministry *Ann. 1758.* fluctuated between the promises of France and the presents of G—— B—— n, certain it is, her forces had not acted with vigour in Pomerania; and her general Apraxin, instead of prosecuting his advantage, had retreated immediately after the Prussians miscarried in their attack. He was indeed disgraced, and tried for having thus retired without orders : but in all probability this trial was no other than a farce, acted to amuse the other confederates, while the empress of Russia gained time to deliberate upon the offers that were made, and determine with regard to the advantages or disadvantages that might accrue to her from persevering in the engagements which she had contracted. As for the Swedes, although they had been instigated to hostilities against Prussia, by the intrigues of France, and flattered with hopes of retrieving Pomerania, they prosecuted the war in such a dispirited and ineffectual manner, as plainly proved that either the ancient valour of that people was extinct, or that the nation was not heartily engaged in the quarrel.

When the Russian general Apraxin retreated from Pomerania, marechal *The king of Prussia raises contributions in Saxony and the dominions of the duke of Wirtemberg.* Lehwald, who commanded the Prussians in that country, was left at liberty to turn his arms against the Swedes, and accordingly drove them before him almost without opposition. By the beginning of January they had evacuated all the Prussian Pomerania, and Lehwald invaded their dominions in his turn. He, in a little time, made himself master of all Swedish Pomerania, except Stralsund and the isle of Rugen, and possessed himself of several magazines which the enemy had erected.

The Austrian army, after their defeat at Breslau, had retired into Bohemia, where they were cantoned, the head-quarters being fixed at Koningsgratz. The king of Prussia having cleared all his part of Silesia, except the town of Schweidnitz, which he circumscribed with a blockade, sent detachments from his army cantoned in the neighbourhood of Breslau, to penetrate into the Austrian or southern part of Silesia, where they surprized Troppau and Jaggernsdorf, while he himself remained at Breslau, entertaining his officers with concerts of musick. Not that he suffered these amusements to divert his attention from subjects of greater importance. He layed Swedish Pomerania under contribution, and made a fresh demand of five hundred thousand crowns from the electorate of Saxony. Having received intimation that the duke of Mecklenbourg was employed in providing magazines for the French army, he detached a body of troops into that country, who not only secured the magazines, but levied considerable contributions; and the duke retired to Lubeck, attended by the French minister.

The states of Saxony having proved a little dilatory in obeying his Prussian majesty's injunction, received a second intimation, importing, that they should levy and deliver, within a certain time, eighteen thousand recruits for his army, pay into the hands of his commissary one year's revenue of the electorate in advance; and Leipzig was taxed with an extraordinary subsidy of eight hundred thousand crowns, on pain of military execution. The states were immediately convoked at Leipzig, in order to deliberate on these demands; and the city being unable to pay such a considerable sum, the Prussian troops began to put their monarch's threats in execution. He justified these proceedings, by declaring

Ann. 1758. claring that the enemy had practised the same violence and oppression on the territories of his allies; but how the practice of his declared enemies, in countries which they had invaded and subdued in the common course of war, should justify him in pillaging and oppressing a people, with whom neither he nor his allies were at war, it is not easy to conceive. As little can we reconcile this conduct to the character of a prince, assuming the title of Protector of the Protestant Religion, which is the established faith among those very Saxons, who were subjected to such grievous impositions; impositions the more grievous and unmerited, as they had never taken any share in the present war, but cautiously avoided every step that might be construed into provocation, since the king of P—a declared they might depend upon his protection.

State of the
armies on the
continent.

Before we proceed to enumerate the events of the campaign, it may be necessary to inform the reader, that the forces brought into the field by the empress-queen of Hungary, and the states of the Empire, the Czarina, the kings of France and Sweden, fell very little short of three hundred thousand men; and all these were destined to act against the king of Prussia and the elector of Hanover. In opposition to this formidable confederacy, his Prussian majesty was, by the subsidy from England, the spoils of Saxony, and the revenues of Brandenburg, enabled to maintain an army of one hundred and forty thousand men; while the elector of Hanover assembled a body of sixty thousand men, composed of his own electoral troops, with the auxiliary mercenaries of Hesse Cassel, Buckebourg, Saxegotha, and Brunswic Wolfembutte, all of them maintained by the pay of Great Britain. At this juncture, indeed, there was no other fund for their subsistence, as the countries of Hanover and Hesse were possessed by the enemy, and in the former the government was entirely changed.

The French
king chan-
ges the admi-
nistration of
Hanover.

In the month of December, in the preceding year, a farmer of the revenues from Paris arrived at Hanover, where he established his office, in order to act by virtue of powers from one John Faigy, to whom the French king granted the direction, receipt and administration of all the duties and revenues of the electorate. This director was, by a decree of the council of state, impowered to receive the revenues not only of Hanover, but also of all other countries that should be subjected to his most Christian majesty in the course of the campaign; to remove the receivers, who had been employed in any part of the direction, receipt, and administration of the duties and revenues of Hanover, and appoint others in their room. The French king, by the same decree, ordained, that all persons who had been intrusted under the preceding government with titles, papers, accounts, registers, or estimates, relating to the administration of the revenues, should communicate them to John Faigy, or his attornies; that the magistrates of the town, districts, and commonalties, as well as those who directed the administration of particular states and provinces, should deliver to the said John Faigy, or his attornies, the produce of six years of the duties and revenues belonging to the said towns, districts, and provinces, reckoning from the first of January in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-one, together with an authentic account of the sums they had paid during that term to the preceding sovereign, and of the charges necessarily incurred. It appears, from the nature of this decree, which was dated on the eighteenth day of October, that immediately after the conventions of Closter-

Closter-Seven and Bremeworden*, the court of Versailles had determined to Ann. 1758. change the government and system of the electorate, contrary to an express article of the capitulation granted to the city of Hanover, when it surrendered on the ninth day of August; and that the crown of France intended to take advantage of the cessation of arms, in seizing places and provinces which were not yet subdued; for, by the decree above mentioned, the administration of John Faidy extended to the countries which might hereafter be conquered. With what regard to justice, then, could the French government charge the elector of Hanover with the infraction of articles? or what respect to good faith and humanity did the duke de Richelieu observe, in the order issued from Zell, towards the end of the year, importing, that as the treaty made with the country of Hanover had been rendered void by the violation of the articles signed at Closter-seven, all the effects belonging to the officers, or others, employed in the Hanoverian army, should be confiscated for the use of his most Christian Majesty?

The landgrave of Hesse Cassel, being desirous of averting a like storm from his dominions, not only promised to renounce all connexion with the kings of Great Britain and Prussia, but even solicited the court of France to receive him among the number of its dependants; for, on the eighteenth day of October, the minister of the duc de Deuxponts delivered at Versailles, in the name of the landgrave, the plan of a treaty founded on the following conditions. The landgrave, after having expressed an ardent desire of attaching himself wholly to France, proposed these articles: That he should enter into no engagement against the king and his allies; and give no assistance, directly or indirectly, to the enemies of his majesty and his allies: that he should never give his vote, in the general or particular assemblies of the Empire, against his majesty's interest; but, on the contrary, employ his interest, jointly with France, to quiet the troubles of the Empire: that, for this end, his troops, which had served in the Hanoverian army, should engage in the service of France, on condition that they should not act in the present war against his Britannic majesty: that, immediately after the ratification of the treaty, his most Christian majesty should restore the dominions of the landgrave in the same condition they were in when subdued by the French forces: that these dominions should be exempted from all further contributions, either in money, corn, forage, wood, or cattle, though already imposed on the subjects of Hesse; and the French troops pay for all the provision with which they might be supplied; in which case the landgrave should exact no toll for warlike stores, provisions, or other articles of that nature, which might pass through his dominions: that the king of France should guaranty all his estates, all the rights of the house of Hesse Cassel, particularly the act of assurance signed by his son, the hereditary prince, with regard to religion; use his interest with the Emperor, and the Empress-queen, that, in consideration of the immense losses and damages his most serene highness had suffered since the French invaded his country, and of the great sums he should lose with England in arrears and subsidies by this accommodation, he might be excused from furnishing his contingent to the army of the Empire, as well as from paying the Roman months granted

Plan of a treaty between the French king and the landgrave of Hesse Cassel.

3 A

* Six days after the convention was signed at Closter-Seven, another act of accommodation was concluded at Bremeworden, between the generals Sporcken and Villemur, relating to the release of prisoners, and some other points omitted in the convention.

Ann. 1758. granted by the dyet of the Empire; and if, in resentment of this convention, the states of his serene highness should be attacked, his most Christian majesty should afford the most speedy and effectual succours.

Remarks on
this plan.

These proposals will speak for themselves to the reader's apprehension; and if he is not blinded by the darkeſt miſts of prejudice, exhibit a clear and diſtinct idea of a genuine G——n ally. The l—— of H—— C—— I had been fed with the good things of England, even in time of peace, when his friendship could not avail, nor his averſion prejudice the intereſts of Great Britain: but he was retained in that ſeaſon of tranquillity as a friend, on whoſe ſervices the moſt implicit dependence might be placed in any future ſtorm or commotion. How far he merited this confidence and favour, might have been determined by reflecting on his conduct during the laſt war: in the courſe of which his troops were hired to the king of Great Britain and his enemies alternately, as the ſcale of convenience happened to preponderate. Since the commencement of the preſent troubles, he had acted as a mercenary to Great Britain, although he was a principal in the diſpute, and ſtood connected with her deſigns by ſolemn treaty, as well as by all the ties of gratitude and honour: but now that the cauſe of Hanover ſeemed to be on the decline, and his own dominions had ſuffered by the fate of the war, he not only appeared willing to abandon his benefactor and ally, but even ſued to be inliſted in the ſervice of his adverſary. This intended defection was, however, prevented by a ſudden turn of fortune, which he could not poſſibly foreſee; and his troops continued to act in conjunction with the Hanoverians.

Treaty con-
cluded be-
tween the
French court
and the duke
of Brunſwic.

The landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel was not ſingular in making ſuch advances to the French monarch. The duke of Brunſwic, ſtill more nearly connected with the king of Great Britain, uſed ſuch uncommon expedition in detaching himſelf from the tottering fortune of Hanover, that, in ten days after the convention of Cloſter-ſeven, he had concluded a treaty with the courts of Vienna and Verſailles; ſo that the negotiation muſt have been begun before that convention took place. On the twentieth day of September his miniſter at Vienna, by virtue of full powers from the duke of Brunſwic, accepted and ſigned the conditions which the French king and his Auſtrian ally thought proper to impoſe. Theſe imported, That his moſt Chriſtian majesty ſhould keep poſſeſſion of the cities of Brunſwic and Wolfembuttel during the war, and make uſe of the artillery, arms, and military ſtores, depoſited in their arsenals: that the duke's forces, on their return from the camp of the duke of Cumberland, ſhould be diſbanded and diſarmed; and take an oath, that they ſhould not, during the preſent war, ſerve againſt the king or his allies: that the duke ſhould be permitted to maintain a battalion of foot, and two ſquadrons of horſe, for the guard of his perſon and caſtles; but the regulations made by the marechal Richelieu and the intendant of his army ſhould ſubſiſt on their preſent footing: that the duke ſhould furniſh his contingent in money and troops, agreeably to the laws of the Empire: that his forces ſhould immediately join thoſe which the Germanic body had aſſembled; and that he ſhould order his miniſter at Ratiſbon to vote conformably to the reſolutions of the dyet, approved and confirmed by the Emperor. In conſideration of all theſe concessions, the duke was reſtored to the favour of the French king, who graciously promiſed that neither his revenues nor his treaſure ſhould be touched, nor the adminiſtration

administration of justice invaded; and that nothing further should be demanded, but winter-quarters for the regiments which should pass that season in the country of Brunswic.

How scrupulously soever the duke might have intended to observe the articles of this treaty, his intentions were frustrated by the conduct of his brother prince Ferdinand, who, being invested with the command of the Hanoverian army, and ordered to resume the operations of war against the enemy, detained the troops of Brunswic, as well as his nephew the hereditary prince, notwithstanding the treaty which his brother had signed, and the injunctions which he had laid upon his son to quit the army, and make a tour to Holland. The duke wrote an expostulatory letter to prince Ferdinand, pathetically complaining that he had seduced his troops, decoyed his son, and disgraced his family; insisting upon the prince's pursuing his journey, as well as upon the return of the troops; and threatening, in case of non-compliance, to use other means that should be more effectual*.

The duke's expostulation with his brother prince Ferdinand.

3 A 2

Notwithstanding

* Translation of the letter written by the duke of Brunswic to his brother prince Ferdinand.

"S I R,

"I know you too well to doubt that the situation in which we stand at present, with respect to each other, gives you abundance of uneasiness; nor will you doubt that it gives me equal concern: indeed it afflicts me greatly. Meanwhile I could never, my dearest brother, have believed that you would be the person who should carry away from me my eldest son. I am exceedingly mortified to find myself under the hard necessity of telling you that this step is contrary to the law of nations, and the constitutions of the Empire; and that, if you persist in it, you will disgrace your family, and bring a stain upon your country, which you pretend to serve. The hereditary prince, my son, was at Hamburgh by my order, and you have carried him to Stade. Could he distrust his uncle, an uncle who hath done so much honour to his family? Could he believe that this uncle would deprive him of liberty, a liberty never refused to the lowest officer? I ordered him to make a tour to Holland: could not the lowest officer have done as much? Let us suppose, for a moment, that my troops, among whom he served, were to have stayed with the Hanoverians, would it not have been still in my power to give an officer leave of absence, or even leave to resign his commission? and would you hinder your brother, the head of your family, and of such a family as ours, to exercise this right with regard to a son, who is the hereditary prince, of whose rights and prerogatives you cannot be ignorant? It is impossible you could have conceived such designs, without the suggestion of others.

Those who did suggest them have trampled on the rights of nature, of nations, and of the princes of Germany: they have induced you to add to all these the most cruel insult on a brother whom you love, and who always loved you with the warmest affection. Would you have your brother lay his just complaints against you before the whole Empire, and all Europe? Are not your proceedings without example? What is Germany become? What are its princes become, and our house in particular? Is it the interest of the two kings, the cause of your country, and my cause, that you pretend to support?—I repeat it, brother, that this design could never have been framed by you. I again command my son to pursue his journey; and I cannot conceive you will give the least obstruction: if you should (which I pray God avert) I solemnly declare, that I will not be constrained by such measures, nor shall I ever forget what I owe to myself. As to my troops, you may see what I have written on that head to the Hanoverian ministry. The duke of Cumberland, by the convention of Closter-Seven, dismissed them, and sent them home: the said ministry gave me notice of this convention, as a treaty by which I was bound. The march of the troops was settled; and an incident happening, they halted: that obstacle being removed, they were to have continued their march. The court of Hanover will be no longer bound by the convention; while I not only accepted it on their word, but have also, in conformity with their instructions, negotiated at Versailles, and at Vienna. After all these steps, they would have me contradict myself, break my word, and entirely ruin my estate, as well as my honour. Did you ever know your brother guilty of such things?

True

Ann. 1758.

Notwithstanding this warm remonſtance, prince Ferdinand adhered to his plan. He detained the troops, and the hereditary prince, who, being fond of the ſervice, in a little time ſignalized himſelf by very extraordinary acts of bravery and conduct; and means were found to reconcile his father to meaſures that expreſſy contradicted his engagements with the courts of Vienna and Verſailles.

Decree of the
Aulic coun-
cil againſt
the elector of
H—r, and
others.

The defeat of the French army at Roſbach, and the retreat of the Ruſſians from Pomerania, had intirely changed the face of affairs in the Empire. The French king was ſoon obliged to abandon his conqueſts on that ſide of the Rhine, and his threats founded no longer terrible in the ears of the Hanoverian and Pruſſian allies. As little formidable were the denunciations of the Emperor, who had, by a decree of the Aulic council, communicated to the dyet certain mandates, iſſued in the month of Auguſt in the preceding year, on pain of the ban of the Empire, with avocatory letters annexed, againſt the king of Great Britain, elector of Hanover, and the other princes acting in concert with the king of Pruſſia.

The French court likewise published a virulent memorial, after the convention of Cloſter-ſeven had been violated and ſet aſide, drawing an invidious parallel between the conduct of the French king and the proceedings of his Britannic majeſty; in which the latter is taxed with breach of faith, and almoſt every meannefs that could ſtain the character of a monarch. In answer to the Emperor's decree, and this virulent charge, baron Gimmengen, the electoral miniſter of Brunſwic Lunenbourg, preſented to the dyet, in November, a long memorial, recapitulating the important ſervices his ſovereign had done the houſe of Auſtria, and the ungrateful returns he had reaped, in the queen's reſuſing to aſſiſt him, when his dominions were threatened with an invaſion. He enumerated many inſtances in which ſhe had aſſiſted, encouraged, and even joined the enemies of the electorate, in contempt of her former engagements, and directly contrary to the conſtitution of the empire. He reſuted every article of the charge which the French court had brought againſt him in their virulent libel, retorted the imputations of perfidy and ambition, and, with reſpect to France, juſtified every particular of his own conduct.

Winter ex-
cuſion.

While the French and Hanoverian armies remained in their winter quarters, the former at Zell, and the latter at Lunenbourg, divers petty enterprizes were executed by detachments with various ſucceſs. The Hanoverian general Juncheim, having taken poſt at Halberſtadt and Quedlimburg, from whence he made excuſions even to the gates of Brunſwic, and kept the French army in continual alarm, he was viſited by a large body of the enemy, who com-

True it is, I have, as you ſay, ſacrificed my all; or rather, I have been ſacrificed. The only thing left me is my honour; and in the unhappy conſtraſt of our ſituations, I lament both you and myſelf, that it ſhould be from you, my dear brother, I ſhould receive the cruel advice to give up my honour. I cannot liſten to it: I cannot recede from my promiſe. My troops, therefore, muſt return home, agreeably to what the duke of Cumberland and the Hanoverian miniſtry ſtipulated with regard to me in the ſtrongeſt manner. I am afraid that the true circumſtances of things are concealed from you. Not to detain your expreſs too long, I ſhall ſend you, by the poſt, copies of all I have written to the Hanoverian miniſtry. It will grieve your honeſt heart to read it. I am, with an heart almoſt broken, yet full of tenderneſs for you, your, &c.
Blanckenbourg,
Nov. 27, 1757.

pelled

pelled him to retire to Ackersleben, committed great excesses in the town of Ann. 1758. Halberstadt and its neighbourhood, and carried off hostages for the payment of contributions. General Hardenberg, another Hanoverian officer, having dislodged the French detachments that occupied Burgh, Vogelsack, and Ritterhude, and cleared the whole territory of Bremen, in the month of January the duke of Broglie assembled a considerable corps of troops that were cantoned at Ottersburg, Rothenburg, and the adjacent country, and advancing to Bremen demanded admittance, threatening, that in case of a refusal, he would have recourse to extremities, and punish the inhabitants severely, should they make the least opposition. When their deputies waited upon him, to desire a short time for deliberation, he answered, "Not a moment—the duke de Richelieu's orders are peremptory, and admit of no delay." He accordingly ordered the cannon to advance; the wall was scaled, and the gates would have been forced open, had not the magistrates, at the earnest importunity of the people, resolved to comply with his demand. A second deputation was immediately dispatched to the duke of Broglie, signifying their compliance; and the gates being opened, he marched into the city at midnight, after having promised, upon his honour, that no attempt should be made to the prejudice of its rights and prerogatives, and no outrage offered to the privileges of the regency, to the liberty, religion, and commerce of the inhabitants. This conquest, however, was of short duration. Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick being joined by a body of Prussian horse, under the command of prince George of Holstein Gottorp, the whole army was put in motion, and advanced to the country of Bremen about the middle of February. The enemy were dislodged from Rottenburg, Ottersburg, and Verden, and they abandoned the city of Bremen at the approach of the Hanoverian general, who took possession of it without opposition.

By this time the court of Versailles, being dissatisfied with the conduct of The duke de Richelieu recalled. the duke de Richelieu, had recalled that general from Germany, where his place was supplied by the count de Clermont, to the general satisfaction of the army, as well as to the joy of the Hanoverian subjects, among whom Richelieu had committed many flagrant and inhuman acts of rapine and oppression. The new commander found his master's forces reduced to a deplorable condition, by the accidents of war, and distemper arising from hard duty, severe weather, and the want of necessaries. As he could not pretend, with such a wretched remnant, to oppose the designs of prince Ferdinand in the field, or even maintain the footing which his predecessor had gained, he found himself under the necessity of retiring with all possible expedition towards the Rhine. As the allies advanced, his troops retreated from their distant quarters with such precipitation, as to leave behind all their sick, together with a great part of their baggage and artillery, besides a great number of officers and soldiers, that fell into the hands of those parties by whom they were pursued.

The inhabitants of Hanover, perceiving the French intended to abandon that city, were overwhelmed with the fear of being subjected to every species of violence and abuse: but their apprehensions were happily disappointed by Generous and humane conduct of the duke de Randan. the honour and integrity of the duke de Randan, the French governor, who not only took effectual measures for restraining the soldiers within the bounds of

Ann. 1758. of the most rigid discipline and moderation, but likewise exhibited a noble proof of generosity, almost without example. Instead of destroying his magazine of provisions, according to the usual practice of war, he ordered the whole to be either sold at a low price, or distributed among the poor of the city, who had been long exposed to the horrors of famine: an act of godlike humanity, which ought to dignify the character of that worthy nobleman above all the titles that military fame can deserve, or arbitrary monarchs bestow. The regency of Hanover were so deeply impressed with a sense of his heroic behaviour on this occasion, that they gratefully acknowledged it in a letter of thanks to him and the count de Clermont; and on the day of solemn thanksgiving to heaven, for their being delivered from their enemies, the clergy in their sermons did not fail to celebrate and extol the charity and benevolence of the duke de Randan. Such glorious testimonies, even from enemies, must have afforded the most exquisite pleasure to a mind endued with sensibility; and this, no doubt, may be termed one of the fairest triumphs of humanity.

The French
abandon
Hanover.

The heredi-
tary prince of
Brunswic re-
duces Hoya
and Minden.

The two grand divisions of the French army, quartered at Zell and Hanover, retired in good order to Hamelen, where they collected all their troops, except those that were left in Hoya, and about four thousand men placed in garrison at Minden, to retard the operations of the combined army. Towards the latter end of February, prince Ferdinand of Brunswic, having received intelligence that the count de Chabot was posted with a considerable body of troops at Hoya upon the Weser, detached the hereditary prince of Brunswic with four battalions, and some light troops and dragoons, to dislodge them from that neighbourhood. This enterprize was executed with the utmost intrepidity. The hereditary prince passed the Weser at Bremen with part of his detachment, while the rest advanced on this side of the river; and the enemy, being attacked in front and rear, were in a little time forced, and thrown into confusion. The bridge being abandoned, and near seven hundred men taken prisoners, the count de Chabot threw himself with two battalions into the castle, where he resolved to support himself, in hope of being relieved. The regiment of Bretagne and some detachments of dragoons were actually on the march to his assistance. The hereditary prince being made acquainted with this circumstance, being also destitute of heavy artillery to besiege that place in form, and taking it for granted he should not be able to maintain the post after it might be taken, he listened to the terms of capitulation proposed by the French general, whose garrison was suffered to march out with the honours of war; but their cannon, stores, and ammunition, were surrendered to the victor. This was the first exploit of the hereditary prince, whose valour and activity, on many subsequent occasions, shone with distinguished lustre. He had no sooner reduced Hoya, than he marched to the attack of Minden, which he invested on the fifth day of March, and on the fourteenth the garrison surrendered at discretion.

The French
army retreats
to the Rhine.

After the reduction of this city, the combined army advanced towards Hamelen, where the French general had established his head quarters: but he abandoned them at the approach of the allies, and leaving behind all his sick and wounded, with part of his magazines, retired without halting to Paderborn, and from thence to the Rhine, recalling in his march the troops that were

were in Embden, Cassel, and the landgraviate of Hesse, all which places were now evacuated. They were terribly harrassed in their retreat by the Prussian hussars, and a body of light horse, distinguished by the name of Hanoverian hunters, who took a great number of prisoners, together with many baggage-waggons, and some artillery. Such was the precipitation of the enemy's retreat, that they could not find time to destroy all their magazines of provision and forage; and even forgot to call in the garrison of Vechte, a small fortress in the neighbourhood of Diepholt, who were made prisoners of war, and here was found a complete train of battering cannon and mortars. Ann. 1758.

The count de Clermont, having reached the banks of the Rhine, distributed his forces into quarters of cantonment in Wesel and the adjoining country, while prince Ferdinand cantoned the allied army in the bishopric of Munster: here, however, he did not long remain inactive. In the latter end of May he ordered a detachment to pass the Rhine at Duyzburg, under the command of colonel Scheither, who executed his order without loss, defeated three battalions of the enemy, and took five pieces of cannon. In the beginning of June the whole army passed the Rhine, on a bridge constructed for the occasion, defeated a body of French cavalry, and obtained divers other advantages in their march towards Wesel. Kaiserfworth was surprized, the greater part of the garrison either killed or taken; and prince Ferdinand began to make preparations for the siege of Dusseldorp. In the mean time the count de Clermont, being unable to stop the rapidity of his progress, was obliged to secure his troops with strong intrenchments, until he should be properly reinforced. Prince Ferdinand passes the Rhine.

The court of Versailles, though equally mortified and confounded at the turn of their affairs in Germany, did not sit tamely and behold this reverse; but exerted their usual spirit and expedition in retrieving the losses they had sustained. They assembled a body of troops at Hanau, under the direction of the prince de Soubise, who, it was said, had received orders to penetrate, by the way of Donawert, Ingoldstadt, and Arnberg, into Bohemia. In the mean time, reinforcements daily arrived in the camp of the count de Clermont; and as repeated complaints had been made of the want of discipline and subordination in that army, measures were taken for reforming the troops by severity, and example. The marechal duke de Belleisle, who now acted as secretary at war, with uncommon ability, wrote a letter, directed to all the colonels of infantry, threatening them, in the king's name, with the loss of their regiments, should they connive any longer at the scandalous practice of buying commissions: an abuse which had crept into the service under various pretexts, to the discouragement of merit, the relaxation of discipline, and the total extinction of laudable emulation. The French army reinforced.

The prince of Clermont having quitted his strong camp at Rhinefeldt, retired to Nuys, a little higher up the river, and detached a considerable corps, under the command of the count de St. Germain, to take post at Crevelt, situated in a plain between his army and the camp of the allies, which fronted the town of Meurs: after several motions on both sides, prince Ferdinand resolved to attack the enemy, and forthwith made a disposition for this purpose. He assigned the command of the whole left wing, consisting of eighteen battalions and twenty-eight squadrons, to lieutenant-general Sporcken: Prince Ferdinand's dispositions for attacking the enemy.

Ann. 1758. ken: the conduct of the right wing, composed of sixteen battalions and fourteen squadrons, was intrusted to the hereditary prince and major-general Wangenheim; the squadrons, with the addition of two regiments of Prussian dragoons, were under the immediate direction of the prince of Holstein, while the hereditary prince commanded the infantry. The light troops, consisting of five squadrons of hussars, were divided between the prince of Holstein and lieutenant-general Sporcken. Major Luckner's squadron, together with Scheither's corps, were ordered to observe the flank of the enemy's right, and with this view were posted in the village of Papendeick; and a battalion of the troops of Wolfembutte were left in the town of Hulste, to cover the rear of the army. Prince Ferdinand's design was to attack the enemy on their left flank; but the execution was rendered extremely difficult by the woods and ditches that embarrassed the route, and the numerous ditches that intersected this part of the country.

Their left
wing defeated
at Crevelt.

On the twenty-third day of June, at four in the morning, the army began to move; the right advancing in two columns as far as St. Anthony, and the left marching up within half a league of Crevelt. The prince having viewed the position of the enemy from the steeple of St. Anthony, procured guides, and having received all the necessary hints of information, proceeded to the right, in order to charge the enemy's left flank by the villages of Worst and Anrath; but, in order to divide their attention, and keep them in suspense with respect to the nature of his principal attack, he directed the generals Sporcken and Oberg to advance against them by the way of Crevelt and St. Anthony, and, in particular, to make the most of their artillery, that, being employed in three different places at once, they might be prevented from sending any reinforcement to the left, where the chief attack was intended. These precautions being taken, prince Ferdinand putting himself at the head of the grenadiers of the right wing, continued his march in two columns to the village of Anrath, where he fell in with an advanced party of the French, which, after a few discharges of musquetry, retired to their camp and gave the alarm. In the mean time both armies were drawn up in order of battle; the troops of the allies in the plain between the villages of Anrath and Willich, opposite to the French forces, whose left was covered with a wood. The action began about one in the afternoon, with a severe cannonading on the part of prince Ferdinand, which, though well supported, proved ineffectual in drawing the enemy from their cover: he therefore determined to dislodge them from the wood by dint of small arms. The hereditary prince immediately advanced with the whole front, and a very obstinate action ensued. Mean while the cavalry on the right, in vain, attempted to penetrate the wood on the other side, where the enemy had raised two batteries, which were sustained by forty squadrons of horse. After a terrible fire had been maintained on both sides till five in the afternoon, the grenadiers forced the intrenchments in the wood, which were lined by the French infantry. These giving way abandoned the wood in the utmost disorder; but the pursuit was checked by the conduct and resolution of the enemy's cavalry, which, notwithstanding a dreadful fire from the artillery of the allies, maintained their ground, and covered the foot in their retreat to Nuys. The success of the day was, in a good measure, owing to the artillery on the left and in the centre, with which the generals Sporcken and Oberg had

had done great execution, and employed the attention of the enemy on that side, while prince Ferdinand prosecuted his attack on the other quarter. It must be owned, however, that their right wing and centre retired in great order to Nuys, though the left was defeated with the loss of some standards, colours, and pieces of cannon, and six thousand men killed, wounded, or taken prisoners*. This victory, however, which cost the allies about fifteen hundred men, was not at all decisive in its consequences; and, indeed, the plan seemed only calculated to display the enterprising genius of the Hanoverian general. True it is, the French army took refuge under the cannon of Cologne, where they remained without hazarding any step for the relief of Dusseldorf, which prince Ferdinand immediately invested, and, in a few days, reduced, the garrison being allowed to march out with the honours of war, on condition that they should not, for the space of one year, carry arms against the allies.

It was at this period that count de Clermont resigned his command,* which was conferred upon Mr. de Contades, and the French army was considerably reinforced. He even threatened to attack prince Ferdinand in his turn, and made some motions with that design; but was prevented by the little river Erff, behind which the prince resolved to lie quiet until he should be joined by the body of British troops, under the command of the duke of Marlborough, the first division of which had just landed at Embden. He flattered himself that the prince of Ysenbourg, at the head of the Hessian troops, would find employment for the prince de Soubise, who had marched from Hanau with a design to penetrate into the landgraviate of Hesse Cassel: his vanguard had been already surprised and defeated by the militia of the country; and the prince of Ysenbourg was at the head of a considerable body of regular forces, assembled to oppose his further progress.

Prince Ferdinand therefore hoped, that the operations of the French general would be effectually impeded, until he himself, being joined by the British troops, should be in a condition to pass the Meuse, transfer the seat of war into the enemy's country, thus make a diversion from the Rhine, and perhaps oblige the prince of Soubise to come to the assistance of the principal French army, commanded by Mr. de Contades. He had formed a plan which would have answered these purposes effectually, and, in execution of it, marched to Ruremond on the Maese, when his measures were totally disconcerted by a variety of incidents which he could not foresee. The prince of Ysenbourg was, on the twenty-third day of July, defeated at Sangarshausen by the duke de Broglio, whom the prince de Soubise had detached against him with a number of troops greatly superior to that which the Hessian general commanded. The duke de Broglio, who commanded the corps that formed the vanguard of Soubise's army, having learned at Cassel, that the Hessian troops, under the prince of Ysenbourg, were retiring towards Munden, he advanced, on the twenty-third of July, with a body of eight thousand men to the village of Sangarshausen, where

* Among the French officers who lost their lives in this engagement, was the count de Gisors, only son of the marechal duke de Belleisle, and last hope of that illustrious family, a young nobleman of extraordinary accomplish-

ments, who finished a short life of honour in the embrace of military glory, and fell gallantly fighting at the head of his own regiment, to the inexpressible grief of his aged father, and the universal regret of his country.

Ann. 1758. he found them drawn up in order of battle, and forthwith made a disposition for the attack. At first his cavalry were repulsed by the Hessian horse, which charged the French infantry, and were broke in their turn. The Hessians, though greatly inferior in number to the enemy, made a very obstinate resistance, by favour of a rock in the Fulde that covered their right, and a wood by which their left was secured. The dispute was so obstinate, that the enemy's left was obliged to give ground; but the duke of Broglie ordering a fresh corps to advance, changed the fortune of the day. The Hessians, overpowered by numbers, gave way; part plunged into the river, where many perished, and part threw themselves into the wood, through which they escaped from the pursuit of the hussars, who took above two hundred soldiers and fifty officers, including the count de Canitz, who was second in command. They likewise found on the field of battle seven pieces of cannon, and eight at Munden: but the carnage was pretty considerable, and nearly equal on both sides. The number of the killed and wounded, on the side of the French, exceeded two thousand; the loss of the Hessians was not so great. The prince of Ysenbourg, having collected the remains of his little army, took post at Eimbeck, where he soon was reinforced, and found himself at the head of twelve thousand men: but, in consequence of this advantage, the enemy became masters of the Weser, and opened to themselves a free passage into Westphalia.

Prince Ferdinand resolves to retreat.

The progress of prince Ferdinand upon the Maese had been retarded by a long succession of heavy rains, which broke up the roads, and rendered the country impassable; and now the certain information of this unlucky check, left him no alternative but a battle or a retreat across the Rhine: the first was carefully avoided by the enemy; the latter resolution, therefore, he found himself under a necessity to embrace. In his present position he was hampered by the French army on one wing, on the other by the fortress of Gueldre, the garrison of which had been lately reinforced, as well as by divers other posts, capable of obstructing the convoys and subsistence of the combined army: besides, he had reason to apprehend, that the prince de Soubise would endeavour to intercept the British troops in their march from Embden. Induced by these considerations, he determined to repass the Rhine, after having offered battle to the enemy, and made several motions for that purpose. Finding them averse to an engagement, he made his dispositions for forcing the strong pass of Wachtendonck, an island surrounded by the Niers, of very difficult approach, and situated exactly in his route to the Rhine. This service was performed by the hereditary prince of Brunswick, who, perceiving the enemy had drawn up the bridge, rushed into the river at the head of his grenadiers, who drove them away with their bayonets, and cleared the bridges for the passage of the army towards Rhinebergen. At this place prince Ferdinand receiving intelligence, that Mr. de Chevert, reputed one of the best officers in the French service, had passed the Lippe with fourteen battalions and several squadrons, to join the garrison of Wesel, and fall upon lieutenant-general Imhoff, who commanded a detached corps of the combined army at Meer, that he might be at hand to guard the bridge which the prince had thrown over the Rhine at Rees. His serene highness was extremely desirous of sending succours to general Imhoff; but the troops were too much fatigued to begin another march before morning; and the Rhine had overflowed its banks in such a manner as

to

to render the bridge at Rees impassable; so that Mr. Imhoff was left to the resources of his own conduct, and the bravery of his troops, consisting of six battalions and four squadrons, already weakened by the absence of different detachments. Ann. 1758.

This general having received advice on the fourth of August, that the enemy intended to pass the Lippe the same evening with a considerable train of artillery, in order to burn the bridge at Rees, decamped with a view to cover this place, and join two battalions which had passed the Rhine in boats, under the command of general Zastrow, who reinforced him accordingly; but the enemy not appearing, he concluded the information was false, and resolved to resume his advantageous post at Meer. Of this he had no sooner repossessed himself, than his advanced guards were engaged with the enemy, who marched to the attack from Wesel, under the command of lieutenant-general de Chevert, consisting of the whole corps intended for the siege of Dusseldorp. Imhoff's front was covered by coppices and ditches, there being a rising-ground on his right, from whence he could plainly discern the whole force that advanced against him, together with the manner of their approach. Perceiving them engaged in that difficult ground, he posted one regiment in a coppice, with orders to fall upon the left flank of the enemy, which appeared quite uncovered; and as soon as their fire began, advanced with the rest of his forces to attack them in front. The bayonet was used on this occasion, and the charge given with such impetuosity and resolution, that, after a short resistance, the enemy fell in confusion, and fled towards Wesel, leaving on the spot eleven pieces of cannon, with a great number of waggons and other carriages: besides the killed and wounded, who amounted to a pretty considerable number, the victor took three hundred and fifty-four prisoners, including eleven officers; whereas, on his part, the victory was purchased at a very small expence. General Imhoff defeats Mr. de Chevert.

Immediately after this action, general Wangenheim passed the Rhine with several squadrons and battalions to reinforce general Imhoff, and enable him to prosecute the advantage he had gained, while prince Ferdinand marched with the rest of the army to Santen: from thence he proceeded to Rhineberg, where he intended to pass; but the river had overflowed to such a degree, that here, as well as at Rees, the shore was inaccessible; so that he found it necessary to march farther down the river, and lay a bridge at Gtiethuyzen. The enemy had contrived four vessels for the destruction of this bridge; but they were all taken before they could put the design in execution, and the whole army passed on the tenth day of August, without any loss or further interruption. At the same time the prince withdrew his garrison from Dusseldorp, of which the French immediately took possession. Immediately after his passage he received a letter from the duke of Marlborough, acquainting him, that the British troops had arrived at Lingen, in their route to Coesfeldt; to which place general Imhoff was sent to receive them, with a strong detachment. Notwithstanding this junction, the two armies on the Rhine were so equally matched, that no stroke of importance was struck on either side during the remaining part of the campaign. The allies re-pass the Rhine.

Mr. de Contades, seeing no prospect of obtaining the least advantage over prince Ferdinand, detached prince Xaverius of Saxony with a strong reinforcement

Ann. 1758. The corps commanded by general Oberg defeated by the French at Landwernhausen. forcement to the prince de Soubise, who had taken possession of Gottengen, and seemed determined to attack the prince of Ysenbourg at Eimbeck. That this officer might be able to give him a proper reception, prince Ferdinand detached general Oberg with ten thousand men to Lipstadt, from whence, should occasion require, they might continue their march, and join the Hessians. The whole body, when thus reinforced, did not exceed twenty thousand men, of whom general Oberg now assumed the command; whereas the troops of Soubise were increased to the number of thirty thousand. The allies had taken post upon the river Fulde at Sandershausen, where they hoped the French would attack them; but the design of Soubise was first to dislodge them from that advantageous situation. With this view he made a motion, as if he had intended to turn the camp of the allies by the road of Munden. In order to prevent the execution of this supposed design, general Oberg decamped on the tenth of October, and, passing by the village of Landwernhausen, advanced towards Luttenberg; where, understanding the enemy were at his heels, he forthwith formed his troops in order of battle, his right to the Fulde, and his left extending to a thicket upon an eminence, where he planted five field-pieces. The cavalry supported the wings in a third line; the village of Luttenberg was in the rear, and four pieces of cannon were mounted on a rising ground that flanked this village. The French having likewise passed Landwernhausen, posted their left towards the Fulde, their right extending far beyond the left of the allies, and their front being strengthened with above thirty pieces of cannon. At four in the afternoon the enemy began the battle with a severe cannonading, and at the same time the first line of their infantry attacked major-general Zastrow, who was posted on the left wing of the allies. This body of the French was repulsed; but, in the same moment, a considerable line of cavalry advancing, charged the allies in front and flank. These were supported by a fresh body of infantry with cannon, which, after a warm dispute, obliged the confederates to give way; and general Oberg, in order to prevent a total defeat, made a disposition for a retreat, which was performed in tolerable order; not but that he suffered greatly, in passing through a defile, from the fire of the enemy's cannon, which was brought up, and managed under the direction of the duke de Broglio. Having marched through Munden, by midnight, the retiring army lay till morning under arms in the little plain near Grupen, on the other side of the Weser; but at day-break prosecuted their march, after having withdrawn the garrison from Munden, until they arrived in the neighbourhood of Gunterstheim, where they encamped.

In this engagement general Oberg lost about fifteen hundred men, his artillery, baggage, and ammunition. He was obliged to abandon a magazine of hay and straw at Munden, and leave part of his wounded men in that place to the humanity of the victor. But, after all, the French general reaped very little advantage from his victory.

By this time prince Ferdinand had retired into Westphalia, and fixed his head-quarters at Munster, while Mr. Contades encamped near Ham upon the Lippe: so that, although he had obliged the French army to evacuate Hanover and Hesse in the beginning of the year, when they were weakened by death and distemper, and even driven them beyond the Rhine, where they sustained a defeat; yet they were soon put in a condition to baffle all his future endeavours,

vours, and penetrate again into Westphalia, where they established their winter-
 quarters, extending themselves in such a manner as to command the whole
 course of the Rhine on both sides, while the allies were disposed in the land-
 graviate of Hesse Cassel, and in the bishoprics of Munster, Paderborn, and
 Hildesheim. The British troops had joined them so late in the season, that they
 had no opportunity to signalize themselves in the field; yet the fatigues of the
 campaign, which they had severely felt, proved fatal to their commander, the
 duke of Marlborough, who died of a dysentery at Munster, universally la-
 mented.

Ann. 1758.

Death of the
duke of Marl-
borough.

Having thus particularized the operations of the allied army since the com-
 mencement of the campaign, we shall now endeavour to trace the steps of the
 king of Prussia, from the period at which his army was assembled for action.
 Having collected his force as soon as the season would permit, he undertook
 the siege of Schweidnitz in form on the twenty-first day of March; and car-
 ried on his operations with such vigour, that in thirteen days the garrison sur-
 rendered themselves prisoners of war, after having lost one half of their num-
 ber in the defence of the place. While one part of his troops were engaged in
 this service, he himself at the head of another advanced to the eastern frontier
 of Bohemia, and sent a detachment as far as Trautenaw, garrisoned by a body
 of Austrians, who, after an obstinate resistance, abandoned the place, and
 retreated towards their grand army. By this success he opened to himself a way
 into Bohemia, by which he poured in detachments of light troops, to raise
 contributions, and harass the out-posts of the enemy. At the same time the
 baron de la Mothe Fouquet marched with another body against the Austrian
 general Jahnus, posted in the county of Glatz, whom he obliged to abandon
 all the posts he occupied in that country, and pursued as far as Nachod, with-
 in twenty miles of Koningsgratz, where the grand Austrian army was en-
 camped, under the command of marechal Daun, who had lately arrived from
 Vienna*.

Operations of
the king of
Prussia at the
beginning of
the campaign.

Over and above these excursions, the king ordered a body of thirty thousand
 men to be assembled, to act under the command of his brother prince
 Henry, an accomplished warrior, against the army of the Empire, which the
 prince of Deuxponts, with great difficulty, made a shift to form again near
 Bamberg in Franconia.

The king of Prussia, whose designs were perhaps even greater than he cared
 to own, resolved to shift the theatre of the war, and penetrate into Moravia, a
 fertile country, which had hitherto been kept sacred from ravage and contri-
 bution. Having formed an army of fifty thousand choice troops, near Neiss in
 Silesia, he divided them into three columns; the first commanded by marechal
 Keith, the second by himself in person, and the third conducted by prince
 Maurice of Anhalt Dessau. In the latter end of April they began their
 march towards Moravia; and general De la Ville, who commanded a body of

He enters
Moravia, and
invests Ol-
mutz.

* At this juncture the Prussian commandant
 of Dresden, being admitted into the Japan
 palace, to see the curious porcelain with which
 it is adorned, perceived a door built up; and
 ordering the passage to be opened, entered a
 large apartment, where he found three thousand

tents, and other field utensils. These had been
 here concealed when the Prussians first took
 possession of the city: they were immediately
 seized by the commandant, and distributed a-
 mong the troops of prince Henry's army.

troops

Ann. 1758. troops in that country, retired as they advanced, after having thrown a strong reinforcement into Olmutz, which the king was determined to besiege. Had he passed by this fortress, which was strongly fortified, and well provided for a vigorous defence, he might have advanced to the gates of Vienna, and reduced the Emperor to the necessity of suing for peace on his own terms; but, it seems, he was unwilling to deviate so far from the common maxims of war as to leave a fortified place in the rear; and therefore he determined to make himself master of it before he should proceed. For this purpose it was immediately invested: orders were issued to hasten up the heavy artillery, and marechal Keith was appointed to superintend and direct the operations of the siege.

Count Daun follows him with the Austrian army.

Mean while the Austrian commander, count Daun, being informed of his Prussian majesty's motions and designs, quitted his camp at Leutomysfel in Bohemia, and entered Moravia by the way of Billa. Being still too weak to encounter the Prussians in the field, he extended his troops in the neighbourhood of the king's army, between Gewitz and Littau, in a mountainous situation, where he ran little or no risque of being attacked. Here he remained for some time in quiet, with the fertile country of Bohemia in his rear, from whence he drew plentiful supplies, and received daily reinforcements. His scheme was to relieve the besieged occasionally, to harraß the besiegers, and to intercept their convoys from Silesia; and this scheme succeeded to his wish. Olmutz is so extensive in its works, and so peculiarly situated on the river Morava, that it could not be completely invested without weakening the posts of the besieging army, by extending them to a prodigious circuit; so that, in some parts, they were easily forced by detachments in the night, who fell upon them suddenly, and seldom failed to introduce into the place supplies of men, provisions, and ammunition. The forage in the neighbourhood of the city having been previously destroyed, the Prussian horse were obliged to make excursions at a great distance, consequently exposed to fatigue and liable to surprise; and, in a word, the Prussians were not very expert in the art of town taking.

The king of Prussia obliged to raise the siege of Olmutz.

Count Daun knew how to take advantage of these circumstances, without hazarding a battle, to which the king provoked him in vain. While the garrison made repeated sallies to retard the operations of the besiegers, the Austrian general harraßed their foraging parties, fell upon different quarters of their army in the night, and kept them in continual alarm. Nevertheless, the king finished his first parallel; and proceeded with such vigour as seemed to promise a speedy reduction of the place, when his design was entirely frustrated by an untoward incident. Marechal Daun, having received intelligence that a large convoy had set out from Silesia for the Prussian camp, resolved to seize this opportunity of compelling the king to desist from his enterprize. He sent general Jahnus with a strong body of troops towards Bahrn, and another detachment to Stadtoliebe, with instructions to attack the convoy on different sides; while he himself advanced towards the besiegers, as if he intended to give them battle. The king of Prussia, far from being deceived by this feint, began, from the motion of the Austrian general, to suspect his real scheme, and immediately dispatched general Ziethen with a strong reinforcement to protect the convoy, which was escorted by eight battalions, and about four thousand men, who had been sick and were just recovered. Before this officer joined them, the con-

voy

voy had been attacked on the twenty-eighth day of June; but the assailants Ann. 1758. were repulsed with considerable loss. Marechal Daun, however, took care that they should be immediately reinforced; and next day the attack was renewed with much greater effect. Four hundred waggons, guarded by four battalions, and about one thousand troopers, had just passed the defiles of Domstadt, when the Austrians charged them furiously on every side: the communication between the head and the rest of the convoy was cut off; and general Zieten, after having exerted all his efforts for its preservation, being obliged to abandon the waggons, retired to Troppau. Thus the whole convoy fell into the hands of the enemy, who took above six hundred prisoners, together with general Putkammer; and the king of Prussia was obliged to relinquish his enterprize.

This was a mortifying necessity to a prince of his high spirit, at a time when He retires in- he saw himself on the eve of reducing the place, notwithstanding the gallant to Bohemia. defence which had been made by general Marshal the governor. Nothing now remained but to raise the siege, and retire without loss in the face of a vigilant enemy, prepared to seize every opportunity of advantage: a task which, how hard soever it may appear, he performed with equal dexterity and success. Instead of retiring into Silesia, he resolved to avert the war from his own dominions, and take the route of Bohemia, the frontiers of which were left uncovered by marechal Daun's last motion, when he advanced his quarters to Posenitz, in order to succour Olmutz the more effectually. After the king had taken his measures, he carefully concealed his design from the enemy, and, notwithstanding the loss of his convoy, prosecuted the operations of the siege with redoubled vigour, till the first day of July, when he decamped in the night, and began his march to Bohemia. He himself with one division took the road to Konitz; and marechal Keith having brought away all the artillery, except four mortars, and one disabled cannon, pursued his march by the way of Littau to Muglitz and Tribau. Although his Prussian majesty had gained an entire march upon the Austrians, their light troops, commanded by the generals Buccow and Laudohn, did not fail to attend and harass his army in their retreat; but their endeavours were in a great measure frustrated by the conduct and circumspection of the Prussian commanders. After the rear of the army had passed the defiles of Krenau, general Laszi, who was posted at Gibau with a large body of Austrian troops, occupied the village of Krenau with a detachment of grenadiers, who were soon dislodged; and the Prussians pursued their march by Zwittau to Leutomysfel, where they seized a magazine of meal and forage. In the mean time, general de Ratzow, who conducted the provisions and artillery, found the hills of Hollitz possessed by the enemy, who cannonaded him as he advanced; but marechal Keith coming up, ordered them to be attacked in the rear, and they fled into a wood with precipitation, with the loss of six officers and three hundred men, who were taken prisoners. While the marechal was thus employed, the king proceeded from Leutomysfel to Koningsgratz, where general Buccow, who had got the start of him, was posted with seven thousand men behind the Elbe, and in the intrenchments which they had thrown up all round the city. The Prussian troops as they arrived passed over the little river Adler, and as the enemy had broken down the bridges over the Elbe, the king ordered them to be repaired with all expedition.

Ann. 1758. tion, being determined to attack the Austrian intrenchments: but general Buccow did not wait for his approach. He abandoned his intrenchments, and retired with his troops to Clumetz; so that the king took possession of the most important post of Koningsgratz without farther opposition. An Austrian corps having taken post between him and Hollitz, in order to obstruct the march of the artillery, he advanced against them in person, and having driven them from the place, all his cannon, military stores, provision, with fifteen hundred sick and wounded men, arrived in safety at Koningsgratz, where the whole army encamped. His intention was to transfer the seat of war from Moravia to Bohemia, where he should be able to maintain a more easy communication with his own dominions: but a more powerful motive soon obliged him to change his resolution.

Progress of the Russians. After the Russian troops under Apraxin had retreated from Pomerania in the course of the preceding year, and the czarina seemed ready to change her system, the courts of Vienna and Versailles had, by dint of subsidies, promises, presents, and intrigues, attached her, in all appearance, more firmly than ever to the confederacy, and even induced her to augment the number of troops destined to act against the Prussian monarch. She not only signed her accession in form to the quadruple alliance with the empress-queen and the kings of France and Sweden; but, in order to manifest her zeal for the common cause, she disgraced her chancellor count Bestuchef, who was supposed averse to the war: she divided her forces into separate bodies, under the command of the generals Fermer and Browne, and ordered them to put their troops in motion in the middle of winter. Fermer accordingly began his march in the beginning of January, and on the twenty-second his light troops took possession of Koningsberg, the capital of Prussia, without opposition; for the king's forces had quitted that country, in order to prosecute the war in the western parts of Pomerania. They did not however maintain themselves in this part of the country; but, after having ravaged some districts, returned to the main body, which halted on the Vistula, to the no small disturbance of the city of Dantzick. The resident of the czarina actually demanded that the magistrates should receive a Russian garrison: a demand which they not only peremptorily refused, but ordered all the citizens to arms, and took every other method to provide for their defence. At length, after some negotiation with general Fermer, the affair was compromised: he desisted from the demand, and part of his troops passed the Vistula, seemingly to invade Pomerania, in the eastern part of which count Dohna had assembled an army of Prussians to oppose their progress. But after they had pillaged the open country, they rejoined their main body; and general Fermer, turning to the left, advanced towards Silesia, in order to co-operate with the other Russian army commanded by Browne, who had taken his route through Poland, and already passed the Posna. By the first of July, both bodies had reached the frontiers of Silesia, and some of their coffacks, penetrating into that province, had committed dreadful ravages, and overwhelmed the inhabitants with consternation. Count Dohna, with the Prussian army under his command, had attended their motions, and even passed the Oder at Frankfort, as if he had intended to give them battle: but he was too much inferior in number to hazard such a step, which became an object of his sovereign's own personal attention. Marechal Daun had followed the king into Bohemia, and, on the twenty-second day of July, encamped on the hills of Libischau, a situation almost inaccessible, where he resolved to remain and

and watch the motions of the Prussian monarch, until some opportunity should offer of acting to advantage. Nature seems to have expressly formed this commander with talents to penetrate the designs, embarrass the genius, and check the impetuosity of the Prussian monarch. He was justly compared to Fabius Maximus, distinguished by the epithet of Cunctator. He possessed all the vigilance, caution, and sagacity of that celebrated Roman. Like him, he hovered on the skirts of the enemy, harassing their parties, accustoming the soldiers to strict discipline, hard service, and the face of a formidable foe, and watching for opportunities, which he knew how to seize with equal courage and celerity. Ann. 1758.

The king of Prussia, being induced by a concurrence of motives to stop the progress of the Russians in Silesia, made his dispositions for retreating from Bohemia, and on the twenty-fifth day of July quitted the camp of Königsgratz. He was attended in his march by three thousand Austrian light troops, who did not fail to incommode his rear: but notwithstanding these impediments, he passed the Mittau, proceeded on his route, and on the ninth day of August arrived at Landshut. From thence he hastened with a detachment towards Frankfort on the Oder, and joined the army commanded by lieutenant-general Dohna at Gorgas. Then the whole army passed the Oder by a bridge thrown over it at Gatavise, and having rested one day, advanced to Dertmitzel, where he encamped. The Russians, under general Fermer, were posted on the other side of the little river Mitzel, their right extended to the village of Zwicker and their left to Quertchem. The king marches to the Oder,

The king being determined to hazard a battle, passed the Mitzel on the twenty-fifth in the morning, and turning the flank of the enemy, drew up his army in order of battle in the plain between the little river and the town of Zorndorf. The Russians, by whom he was out-numbered, did not decline the dispute; but as the ground did not permit them to extend themselves, they appeared in four lines, forming a front on every side, defended by cannon and chevaux de frise, their right flank covered by the village of Zwicker. After a warm cannonade, the Prussian infantry were ordered to attack the village, and a body of grenadiers advanced to the assault; but this brigade unexpectedly giving way, occasioned a considerable opening in the line, and left the whole left flank of the infantry uncovered. Before the enemy could take advantage of this incident, the interval was filled up by the cavalry under the command of general Seydlitz; and the king, with his usual presence of mind, substituted another choice body of troops, to carry on the attack. This began about noon, and continued for some time, during which both sides fought with equal courage and perseverance: at length general Seydlitz, having routed the Russian cavalry, fell upon the flank of the infantry with great fury, which being also dreadfully annoyed by the Prussian artillery, they abandoned the village, together with their military chest, and great part of their baggage. Notwithstanding this loss, which had greatly disordered their right wing, they continued to stand their ground, and terrible havock was made among them, not only with the sword and bayonet, but also by the cannon, which were loaded with grape-shot, and being excellently served did great execution. Towards evening the confusion among them increased to such a degree, that in all probability they would have been entirely routed, had they not been favoured and defeats the Russians at Zorndorf.

Ann. 1758. voured by the approaching darkness, as well as by a particular operation, which was very gallantly performed. One of the Russian generals perceiving the fortune of the day turned against them, rallied a select body of troops, and made a vigorous impression on the right wing of the Prussians. This effort diverted their attention so strongly to that quarter, that the right of the Russians enjoyed a respite, during which they retired in tolerable order, and occupied a new post in the right, where the rest of their forces were the more easily assembled. In this battle they are said to have lost above fifteen thousand men, thirty-seven colours, five standards, twelve mortars, the greater part of their baggage, and above one hundred pieces of cannon. Among the prisoners that fell into the hands of the victor, there were several general officers, and a good number lost their lives on the field of battle. The victory cost the king above two thousand men, including some officers of distinction, particularly two aids-du-camp, who attended his own person, which he exposed without scruple to all the perils of the day. It would have redounded still more to his glory, had he put a stop to the carnage; for after all resistance was at an end, the wretched Russians were hewn down without mercy. It must be owned, indeed, that the Prussian soldiers were in a peculiar manner exasperated against this enemy, because they had laid waste the country, burned the villages, ruined the peasants, and committed many horrid acts of barbarity, which the practice of war could not authorize *. The Prussian army passed the night under

* A detail of the cruelties committed by those barbarians cannot be read without horror. They not only burned a great number of villages, but they ravished, rifled, murdered, and mutilated the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex, without any other provocation or incitement than brutal lust and wantonness of barbarity. They even violated the sepulchres of the dead, which have been held sacred among the most savage nations. At Cammin and Breckholtz they forced open the graves and sepulchral vaults, and stripped the bodies of the generals Schlaberndorf and Ruitz, which had been there deposited. But the collected force of their vengeance was discharged against Crustin, the capital of the New Marche of Brandenburg, situated at the conflux of the Warta and the Oder, about fifteen English miles from Frankfort. The particulars of the disaster that befel this city, are pathetically related in the following extracts from a letter written by an inhabitant and eye-witness.

“ On the thirteenth of August, about three o'clock in the afternoon, a sudden report was spread that a body of Russian hussars and cossacks appeared in sight of the little suburb. All the people were immediately in motion, and the whole city was filled with terror, especially as we were certainly informed that the whole Russian army was advancing from Meserick and Konigswalda, by the way of Landsberg. A reinforcement was immediately sent

to our piquet-guard in the suburb, amounting, by this junction, to three hundred men, who were soon attacked by the enemy, and the skirmish lasted from four till seven o'clock in the evening. During this dispute, we could plainly perceive, from our ramparts and church-steeple, several persons of distinction, mounted on English horses, reconnoitring our fortification through perspective glasses. They retired, however, when our cannon began to fire: then our piquet took possession of their former post in the suburb; and the reinforcement we had sent from the city returned, after having broke down the bridge over the Oder. Next day count Dohna, who commanded the army near Frankfort, sent in a reinforcement of four battalions, ten squadrons, and a small body of hussars, under the command of lieutenant-general Scherlemmer. The hussars and a body of dragoons were added to the piquet of the little suburb: the four battalions pitched their tents on the Anger, between the suburb and the fortification; and the rest of the dragoons remained in the field, to cover the long suburb. General Scherlemmer, attended by our governor, colonel Schuck, went with a small party to observe the enemy; but were obliged to retire, and were pursued by the cossacks to the walls of the city. Between four and five o'clock next morning the poor inhabitants were roused from their sleep by the noise of the cannon, intermingled with the dismal shrieks and hideous

under arms, and next morning the cannonade was renewed against the enemy, Ann. 1758. who nevertheless maintained that position, without flinching. On the twenty-seventh, they seemed determined to hazard another action, and even attack the conquerors: instead of advancing, however, they took the route of Landsberg; but afterwards turned off towards Vietzel, and posted themselves between the river Warta and that village.

ous yellings of the cossacks belonging to the Russian army. Alarmed at this horrid noise, I ascended the church-steeple, from whence I beheld the whole plain, extending from the little suburb to the forest, covered with the enemy's troops, and our light horse, supported by the infantry, engaged in different places with their irregulars. At eight I descried a body of the enemy's infantry, whose van consisted of four or five thousand men, advancing towards the vineyard, in the neighbourhood of which they had raised occasional batteries in the preceding evening: from these they now played on our piquet-guard and hussars, who were obliged to retire. Then they fired, *en ricochet*, on the tents and baggage of the four battalions encamped on the Anger, who were also compelled to retreat. Having thus cleared the environs, they threw into the city such a number of bombs and red-hot bullets, that by nine in the morning it was set on fire in three different places; and the streets, being narrow, burned with such fury, that all our endeavours to extinguish it proved ineffectual. At this time the whole atmosphere appeared like a shower of fiery rain and hail; and the miserable inhabitants thought of nothing but saving their lives by running into the open fields. The whole place was filled with terror and consternation, and resounded with the shrieks of women and children, who ran about in the utmost distraction, exposed to the shot and the bomb-shells, which, bursting, tore in pieces every thing that stood in their way. As I led my wife, with a young child in her arms, and drove the rest of my children and servants half naked before me, those instruments of death and devastation fell about us like hail; but, by the mercy of God, we all escaped unhurt. Nothing could be more melancholy and affecting than a sight of the wretched people, flying in crouds, and leaving their all behind, while they rent the sky with their lamentations. Many women of distinction I saw without shoes and stockings, and almost without cloaths, who had been roused from their beds, and run out naked into the streets. When my family had reached the open plain, I endeavoured to return and save some of my effects; but I could not force my way through a multitude of people, thronging out at the gate, some sick and bed-ridden persons being carried on horseback and in carriages, and others conveyed on the backs of their

friends, through a most dreadful scene of horror and desolation. A great number of families from the open country, and defenceless towns in Prussia and Pomerania, had come hither for shelter with their most valuable effects when the Russians first entered the king's territories. These, as well as the inhabitants, are all ruined; and many, who a few days ago possessed considerable wealth, are now reduced to the utmost indigence. The neighbouring towns and villages were soon crowded with the people of Custrin: the roads were filled with objects of misery: and nothing was seen but nakedness and despair; nothing heard but the cries of hunger, fear, and distraction. For my own part, I stayed all night at Goltz, and then proceeded for Berlin. Custrin is now a heap of ruins. The great magazine, the governor's house, the church, the palace, the store and artillery houses, in a word, the old and new towns, the suburbs, and all the bridges, were reduced to ashes: nay, after the ashes were destroyed, the piles and sterlings were burned to the water's edge. The writings of all the colleges, together with the archives of the country, were totally consumed, together with a prodigious magazine of corn and flour, valued at some millions of crowns. The cannon in the arsenal were all melted; and the loaded bombs and cartridges, with a large quantity of gunpowder, went off at once with a most horrible explosion. A great number of the inhabitants are missing, supposed to have perished in the flames, or under the ruins of the houses, or to have been suffocated in subterraneous vaults and caverns, to which they had fled for safety."

Nothing could be more inhuman, or contrary to the practice of a generous enemy, than such vengeance wreaked upon the innocent inhabitants; for the Russians did not begin to batter the fortifications until all the rest of the place was destroyed. In the course of this campaign, the Russian cossacks are said to have plundered and burned fourteen large towns and two hundred villages, and wantonly butchered above two thousand defenceless women and children. Such monsters of barbarity ought to be excluded from all the privileges of human nature, and hunted down as wild beasts, without pity or cessation. What infamy ought those powers to incur, who employ and encourage such ruthless barbarians!

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Messages that
passed be-
tween the
Russian and
Prussian ge-
nerals.

Immediately after the battle, general Fermer*, who had received a slight wound in the action, sent a trumpet with a letter to lieutenant-general Dohna, desiring a suspension of arms for two or three days to bury the dead, and take care of the wounded; and presenting to his Prussian majesty the humble request of general Browne, who was much weakened with the loss of blood, that he might have a passport, by virtue of which he could be removed to a place where he should find such accommodation as his situation required. In answer to this message, count Dohna gave the Russian general to understand, that as his Prussian majesty remained master of the field, he would give the necessary orders for interring the dead, and taking care of the wounded on both sides: he refused a suspension of arms, but granted the request of general Browne; and concluded his letter by complaining of the outrages which the Russian troops still continued to commit in pillaging and burning the king's villages.

Situation of
the Austrians
in Saxony.

The king of Prussia had no sooner repulsed the enemy in one quarter than his presence was required in another. When he quitted Bohemia, marechal Daun, at the head of the Austrian army, and the prince de Deuxponts, who commanded the forces of the empire, advanced to the Elbe, in order to surround the king's brother prince Henry, who, without immediate succour, would not have been able to preserve his footing in Saxony. The Prussian monarch therefore determined to support him with all possible expedition. In a few days after the battle, he began his march from Custrin with a reinforcement of twenty-four battalions and great part of his cavalry; and pursued his route with such unwearied diligence, that by the fifth day of September he reached Torgau, and on the eleventh joined his brother. Marechal Daun had posted himself at Stolpen to the eastward of the Elbe, in order to preserve an easy communication with the army of the empire encamped in the neighbourhood of Koningstein; to favour the operations of general Laudohn, who had advanced through the Lower Lusatia to the frontiers of Brandenburg; to make a diversion from the southern parts of Silesia, where a body of Austrian troops acted under the command of the generals Harrache and De Ville; and to interrupt the communication between prince Henry and the capital of Saxony. On the fifth day of September, the garrison in the strong fortress of Koningstein surrendered themselves prisoners of war, after a very feeble resistance, to the prince of Deuxponts, who forthwith took possession of the strong camp at Pirna. When the king of Prussia therefore arrived at Dresden, he found the army of the empire in this position, and marechal Daun in a still stronger situation at Stolpen, with bridges of communication thrown over the Elbe; so that he could not attack them with any prospect of advantage.

The king of
Prussia ad-
vances to
Hochkirchen,

He had no other resolution to take but that of endeavouring to cut them off from supplies of provision; and with this view he marched to Bautzen, which he occupied. This motion obliged the Austrian general to quit his camp at Stolpen; but he chose another of equal strength at Libau; yet he afterwards advanced to Rittlitz, that he might be at hand to seize the first favourable oc-

* General Fermer is of Scottish extract, and general Browne is actually a native of North Britain.

caſion of executing the reſolution he had formed to attack the Pruffians. The Ann. 1758. king, having detached general Ratzow on his left to take poſſeſſion of Weiſſenberg, marched forwards with the body of his army, and poſted himſelf in the neighbourhood of Hochkirchen, after having diſlodged the Auſtrians from that village. Matters were now brought to ſuch a delicate criſis, that a battle ſeemed inevitable, and equally deſired by both parties, as an event that would determine whether the Auſtrians ſhould be obliged to retreat for winter-quarters into Bohemia, or be enabled to maintain their ground in Saxony.

In this ſituation marechal Daun reſolved to act offeniſively, and formed a ſcheme for attacking the right flank of the Pruffians by ſurprize. This meaſure was ſuggeſted to him by an oversight of the Pruffians, who had neglected to occupy the heights that commanded the village of Hochkirchen, which was only guarded by a few free companies. He determined to take the advantage of a very dark night, and to employ the flower of his whole army on this important ſervice, well knowing, that ſhould they penetrate through the flank of the enemy, the whole Pruffian army would be diſconcerted, and in all probability intirely ruined. Having taken his meaſures with wonderful ſecrecy and circumspection, the troops began to move in the night between the thirteenth and fourteenth of October, favoured by a thick fog, which greatly increased the darkneſs of the night. Their firſt care was to take poſſeſſion of the hill that commanded Hochkirchen, from whence they poured down upon the village, of which they took poſſeſſion, after having cut in pieces the free companies there poſted. The action began in this quarter about four in the morning, and continued ſeveral hours with great fury; for notwithſtanding the impetuous efforts of the Auſtrian troops, and the confuſion occaſioned among the Pruffians by the ſurprize, a vigorous ſtand was made by ſome general officers, who, with admirable expedition and preſence of mind, aſſembled and arranged the troops as they could take to their arms, and led them up to the attack without diſtinction of regiment, place, or precedence. While the action was obſtinately and deſperately maintained in this place, amidſt all the horrors of darkneſs, carnage, and confuſion, the king being alarmed, exerted all his perſonal activity, addreſs, and recollection, in drawing regularity from diſorder, arranging the different corps, altering poſitions, reinforcing weak poſts, encouraging the ſoldiery, and oppoſing the efforts of the enemy; for although they made their chief impreſſion upon the right by the village of Hochkirchen, marechal Daun, in order to divide the attention of the king, made another attack upon the left, which was with difficulty ſuſtained, and effectually prevented him from ſending reinforcements to the right, where marechal Keith, under the greateſt diſadvantages, bore the brunt of the enemy's chief endeavours. Thus the battle raged till nine in the morning, when this gallant officer was ſhot through the heart. Prince Francis of Brunſwic had met with the ſame fate: prince Maurice of Anhalt was wounded and taken priſoner; and many others were either ſlain or diſabled. As the right wing had been ſurprized, the tents continued ſtanding, and greatly embarrassed them in their defence. The ſoldiers had never been properly drawn up in in order: the enemy ſtill perſeversed in their attack with ſucceſſive reinforcements and redoubled reſolution; and a conſiderable ſlaughter was made by their artillery, which

where he is
ſurprized and
defeated.

Ann. 1758. which they had brought up to the heights of Hochkirchen. All these circumstances concurring, could not fail to increase the confusion and disaster of the Prussians; so that about ten the king was obliged to retire to Dobreschütz, with the loss of seven thousand men, of all his tents, and part of his baggage. Nor had the Austrian general much cause to boast of his victory. His loss of men was pretty near equal to that of the Prussian monarch; and, whatever reputation he might have acquired in foiling that enterprising prince, certainly his design did not take effect in its full extent, for the Prussians were next day in a condition to hazard another engagement. The king of Prussia had sustained no damage which he could not easily repair, except the death of marechal Keith, which was doubtless an irreparable misfortune*.

He

* As very little notice was taken, in the detail published by authority, of any part which this great man acted in the battle of Hochkirchen, and a report was industriously circulated in this kingdom, that he was surprized in his tent, naked and half asleep, we think it the duty of a candid historian to vindicate his memory and reputation from the foul aspersion thrown by the perfidious and illiberal hand of envious malice, or else contrived to screen some other character from the imputation of misconduct. This task we are enabled to perform by a gentleman of candour and undoubted credit, who learned the following particulars at Berlin from a person that was eye-witness of the whole transaction. Field-marechal Keith, who arrived in the camp the very day that preceded the battle, disapproved of the situation of the Prussian army, and remonstrated to the king on that subject. In consequence of his advice, a certain general was sent with a detachment to take possession of the heights that commanded the village of Hochkirchen; but by some fatality he miscarried. Marechal Keith was not in any tent; but lodged with prince Francis of Brunswic, in a house belonging to a Saxon major. When the first alarm was given in the night, he instantly mounted his horse, assembled a body of the nearest troops, and marched directly to the place that was attacked. The Austrians had taken possession of the hill which the Prussian officer was sent to occupy, and this they fortified with cannon: then they made themselves masters of the village in which the free companies of Anginelli had been posted. Marechal Keith immediately conceived the design of the Austrian general, and knowing the importance of this place, thither directed all his efforts. He in person led on the troops to the attack of the village, from whence he drove the enemy; but being overpowered by numbers continually pouring down from the hills, he was obliged to retire in his turn. He rallied his men, re-

turned to the charge, and regained possession of the place: being again repulsed by fresh reinforcements of the enemy, he made another effort, entered the village a third time, and finding it untenable, ordered it to be set on fire. Thus he kept the Austrians at bay, and maintained a desperate conflict against the flower of the Austrian army, from four in the morning till nine, when the Prussians were formed, and began to file off in their retreat. During the whole dispute he rallied the troops in person, charged at their head, and exposed his life in the hottest of a dreadful fire, like a private captain of grenadiers. He found it necessary to exert himself in this manner, the better to remove the bad effects of the confusion that prevailed, and in order to inspirit the troops to their utmost exertion by his voice, presence, and example. Even when dangerously wounded, at eight in the morning, he refused to quit the field; but continued to signalize himself in the midst of the carnage until nine, when he received a second shot in his breast, and fell speechless into the arms of Mr. Tibay, an English volunteer, who had attended him during the whole campaign. This gentleman, who was likewise wounded, applied to a Prussian officer for a file of men to remove the marechal, being uncertain whether he was intirely deprived of life. His request was granted; but the soldiers, in advancing to the spot, were countermanded by another officer. He afterwards spoke on the same subject to one of the Prussian generals, a German prince, as he chanced to pass on horseback: when Mr. Tibay told him the field-marechal was lying wounded on the field, he asked if his wounds were mortal: and the other answering he was afraid they were, the prince shrugged up his shoulders, and rode off without further question. The body of this great officer, being thus shamefully abandoned, was soon stripped by the Austrian stragglers, and lay exposed and undistinguished on the field of battle. In this situation it was perceived by
count

He remained with his army ten days at Dobreschutz, during which he endeavoured to bring the Austrians to a second engagement; but count Daun declined the invitation, and kept his forces advantageously posted on eminences planted with artillery. His aim having been frustrated at Hochkirchen, where he fought with many advantages on his side, he would not hazard another battle upon equal terms, with such an enterprising enemy, rendered more vigilant by the check he had received, already reinforced from the army of prince Henry, and eager for an opportunity to retrieve the laurel which had been snatched from him by the wiles of stratagem, rather than by the hand of valour. Count Daun having nothing more to hope from the active operations of his own army, contented himself with amusing the Prussian monarch in Lusatia, while the Austrian generals, Harsche and De Ville, should prosecute the reduction of Neiss and Cosel in Silesia, which they now actually invested. As the Prussian monarch could not spare detachments to oppose every different corps of his enemies that acted against him in different parts of his dominions, he resolved to make up in activity what he wanted in number, and if possible to raise the siege of Neiss in person. With this view he decamped from Dobreschutz, and in sight of the enemy marched to Gorlitz, without the least interruption. From thence he proceeded towards Silesia with his usual expedition, notwithstanding all the endeavours and activity of general Laudohn, who harassed the rear of the Prussians, and gained over them some petty advantages.

Count Daun not only sent this detached corps to retard them in their march, but at the same time, by another route, detached a strong reinforcement to the army of the besiegers. In the mean time, having received intelligence that the army of prince Henry in Saxony was considerably weakened, he himself marched thither in hope of expelling the prince from that country, and reducing the capital in the king's absence. Indeed, his designs was still more extensive; for he proposed to reduce Dresden, Leipzig, and Torgau at the same time; the first with the main body under his own direction; the second by the army of the Empire under the prince de Deuxponts; and the third by a corps under general Haddick; while the forces directed by Laudohn should exclude the king from Lusatia. In execution of this plan, he marched directly to the Elbe, which he passed at Pirna, and advanced to Dresden, which he hoped would surrender without putting him to the trouble of a formal siege. The army of prince Henry had already retired to the westward of this capital, before the prince de Deuxponts, who had found means to cut off

count Laschi, son of the general of that name, with whom marechal Keith had served in Russia. This young count had been the marechal's pupil, and revered him as his military father, though employed in the Austrian service. He recognized the body by the large scar of a dangerous wound, which general Keith had received in his thigh at the siege of Ockzacow, and could not help bursting into tears to see his honoured master thus extended at his feet, a naked, lifeless, and deserted corpse. He forthwith caused the body to be covered, and interred. It

was afterwards taken up, and decently buried by the curate of Hochkirchen; and, finally, removed to Berlin by order of the king of Prussia, who bestowed upon it those funeral honours that were due to the dignified rank and transcendent merit of the deceased; merit so universally acknowledged, that even the Saxons lamented him as their best friend and patron, who protected them from violence and outrage, even while he acted a principal part in subjecting them to the dominion of his sovereign.

his

Ann. 1758. his communication with Leipzig, and even invested that city. During these transactions, general Haddick advanced against Torgau.

The Prussian governor of that city, burns the suburbs.

The field-marshal count Daun appearing on the sixth day of November within sight of Dresden, at the head of sixty thousand men, encamped next day at Lockowitz, and on the eighth his advanced troops attacked the Prussian hussars and independent battalions, which were posted at Striessen and Gruenewiese. Count Schmettau, who commanded the garrison, amounting to ten thousand men, apprehensive that, in the course of skirmishing, the Austrian troops might enter the suburbs pellmell, posted colonel Itzenplitz with seven hundred men in the redoubts that surrounded the suburbs, that in case of emergency they should support the irregulars: at the same time, as the houses that constituted the suburbs were generally so high as to overlook the ramparts and command the city, he prepared combustibles, and gave notice to the magistrates, that they would be set on fire as soon as an Austrian should appear within the place. This must have been a dreadful declaration to the inhabitants of these suburbs, which compose one of the most elegant towns in Europe. In these houses, which were generally lofty and magnificent, the fashionable and wealthy class of people resided; and here a number of artists carried on a variety of curious manufactures. In vain the magistrates implored the mercy and forbearance of the Prussian governor, and represented in the most submissive strain, that as they were unconcerned in the war, they hoped they should be exempted from the horrors of devastation. In vain the royal family, who remained at Dresden, conjured him to spare that last refuge of distressed royalty, and allow them at least a secure residence, since they were deprived of every other comfort. He continued inflexible, or rather determined to execute the orders of his master, which indeed he could not disobey with any regard to his own safety. On the ninth day of November, about noon, the Austrian vanguard attacked the advanced post of the garrison, repelled the hussars, drove the independent battalions into the suburbs, and forced three of the redoubts, while their cannon played upon the town. The governor expecting a vigorous attack next day, recalled his troops within the city, after they had set fire to the suburbs. At three in the morning the signal was made for this terrible conflagration, which in a little time reduced to ashes the beautiful suburbs of Pirna, which had so lately flourished as the seat of gaiety, pleasure, and the ingenious arts.

Reflections on this measure.

Every bosom, warmed with benevolence, must be affected at the recital of such calamities. It excites not only our compassion for the unhappy sufferers; but also our resentment against the perpetrators of such enormity. Next day marshal Daun sent an officer, to count Schmettau, with a message expressing his surprize at the destruction of the suburbs in a royal residence, an act of inhumanity unheard of among Christians. He desired to know if it was by the governor's order this measure was taken; and assured him, that he should be responsible, in his person, for whatever outrages had been or might be committed against a place in which a royal family resided. Schmettau gave him to understand, that he had orders to defend the town to the last extremity, and that the preservation of what remained depended entirely on the conduct of his excellency; for, should he think proper to attack the place, he (the governor) would defend himself from house to house, and from street to street, and even make his last

last effort in the royal palace, rather than abandon the city. He excused the Ann. 1758. destruction of the suburbs as a necessary measure, authorised by the practice of war; but he would have found it a difficult task to reconcile this step to the laws of eternal justice, and far less to the dictates of common humanity. Indeed, if the scene had happened in an enemy's country, or if no other step could have saved the lives and liberties of himself and his garrison, such a desperate remedy might have stood excused by the law of nature and of nations: but on this occasion he occupied a neutral city, over which he could exercise no other power and authority but that which he derived from illegal force and violence; nor was he at all reduced to the necessity of sacrificing the place to his own safety, inasmuch as he might have retired unmolested, by virtue of an honourable capitulation, which however he did not demand. Whether the peremptory order of a superior will, in foro conscientiae, justify an officer who hath committed an illegal or inhuman action, is a question that an English reader will scarce leave to the determination of a German casuist with one hundred and fifty thousand armed men in his retinue.

Be this as it will, Mr. Ponickau, the Saxon minister, immediately after this The Saxon minister complains of this outrage to the dyet of the Empire. tragedy was acted, without waiting for his master's orders, presented a memorial to the dyet of the Empire, complaining of it as an action reserved for the history of the war, which the king of Prussia had kindled in Germany, to be transmitted to future ages. He affirmed, that, in execution of Schmettau's orders, the soldiers had dispersed themselves in the streets of the Pirna and Witten suburbs, broke open the houses and shops, set fire to the combustibles, added fresh fuel, and then shut the doors; that the violence of the flames was kept up by red-hot balls fired into the houses, and along the streets; that the wretched inhabitants, who forsook their burning houses, were slain by the fire of the cannon and small arms; that those who endeavoured to save their persons and effects, were pushed down and destroyed by the bayonets of the Prussian soldiers, posted in the streets for that purpose: he enumerated particular instances of inhuman barbarity, and declared that a great number of people perished, either amidst the flames, or under the ruins of the houses. The destruction of two hundred and fifty elegant houses, and the total ruin of the inhabitants, were circumstances in themselves so deplorable, as to need no aggravation: but the account of the Saxon minister was shamefully exaggerated, and all the particular instances of cruelty false in every circumstance.

Baron Plotho, the minister of Brandenburg, did not fail to answer every Answered by the minister of Brandenburg. article of the Saxon memorial, and refute the particulars therein alledged, in a fair detail, authenticated by certificates under the hands of the magistrates, judges, and principal inhabitants of Dresden. The most extraordinary part of this defence or vindication was the conclusion, in which the baron solemnly assured the dyet, that the king of Prussia, from his great love to mankind, always felt the greatest emotion of soul, and the most exquisite concern, at the effusion of blood, the devastation of cities and countries, and the horrors of war, by which so many thousand fellow-creatures were overwhelmed; and that if his sincere and honest inclination to procure peace to Germany, his dear country, had met with the least regard, the present war, attended with such bloodshed and desolation, would have been prevented and avoided. He therefore

Ann. 1758. therefore declared, that those who excited the present trouble, who, instead of extinguishing, threw oil upon the flames, must answer to God for the seas of blood that had been, and would be shed, for the devastation of so many countries, and the entire ruin of so many innocent individuals. Such declarations cost nothing to those hardened politicians, who, feeling no internal check, are determined to sacrifice every consideration to the motives of rapacity and ambition. It would be happy however for mankind, were princes taught to believe that there is really an omnipotent and all-judging Power, that will exact a severe account of their conduct, and punish them for their guilt, without any respect to their persons; that pillaging a whole people is more cruel than robbing a single person; and that the massacre of thousands is, at least, as criminal as private murder.

The king of Prussia raises the siege of Neiss, and relieves Dresden.

While count Daun was employed in making a fruitless attempt upon the capital of Saxony, the king of Prussia proceeded in his march to Neiss, which was completely invested on the third day of October. The operations of the siege were carried on with great vigour by the Austrian general de Harsche, and the place was as vigorously defended by the Prussian governor Theskaw till the first day of November, when the Prussian monarch approached and obliged the besiegers to abandon their enterprize. Mr. de Harsche having raised the siege, the king detached general Fouquet with a body of troops across the river Neiss, and immediately the blockade of Cosel was likewise abandoned. De Harsche retired to Bohemia, and De Ville hovered about Jagerndorf. The fortress of Neiss was no sooner relieved than the king of Prussia began his march on his return to Saxony, where his immediate presence was required. At the same time the two bodies under the generals Dohna and Wedel penetrated by different routes into that country. The former had been left at Custrin to watch the motions of the Russians, who had by this time retreated to the Vistula, and even crossed that river at Thorn; and the other had during the campaign observed the Swedes, who had now entirely evacuated the Prussian territories; so that Wedel was at liberty to co-operate with the king in Saxony. He accordingly marched to Torgau, the siege of which had been undertaken by the Austrian general Haddick, who was repulsed by Wedel, and even pursued to the neighbourhood of Eulenburg. Wedel, being afterwards joined by Dohna, drove him from thence with considerable loss; and then raised the siege of Leipzig. Mean while the king prosecuted his march towards the capital of Saxony, driving before him the body of Austrian troops under Laudohn, who retreated to Zittau. On the tenth day of November count Daun retired from Dresden, and with the army of the Empire fell back towards Bohemia; and on the twentieth the king arrived in that city, where he approved of the governor's conduct.

The Russians miscarry in their attack upon Colberg.

The Russian general foreseeing that he should not be able to maintain his ground during the winter in Pomerania, unless he could secure some sea-port on the Baltick, by which he might be supplied with provisions, detached general Palmbach with fifteen thousand men to besiege the town of Colberg, an inconsiderable place, very meanly fortified. It was accordingly invested on the third day of October; but the besiegers were either so ill provided with proper implements, or so little acquainted with operations of this nature, that the garrison, though feeble, maintained the place against all their attacks for six-

fix-and-twenty days; at the expiration of which they abandoned their enter- prize, and cruelly ravaged the open country in their retreat. Thus by the activity and valour of the Prussian monarch, his generals, and officers, six sieges were raised almost at the same period, namely, those of Colberg, Neiss, Cosel, Torgau, Leipzig and Dresden. Ann. 1758.

The variety of fortune which the king of Prussia experienced in the course of this campaign was very remarkable; but the spirit of his conduct, and the rapidity of his motions, were altogether without example. In the former campaign we were dazzled with the lustre of his victories; in this we admire his fortitude and skill in stemming the different torrents of adversity, and rising superior to his evil fortune. One can hardly without astonishment recollect, that in the course of a few months he invaded Moravia, invested Olmutz, and was obliged to relinquish that design; that he marched through an enemy's country, in the face of a great army, which, though it harassed him in his retreat, could not, in a route of an hundred miles, obtain any advantage over him; that, in spite of his disaster at Olmutz, and the difficulties of such a march, he penetrated into Bohemia, drove the enemy from Koningsgratz, executed another dangerous and fatiguing march to the Oder, defeated a great army of Russians, returned by the way of Saxony, from whence he drove the Austrian and Imperial armies; that after his defeat at Hochkirchen, where he lost two of his best generals, and was obliged to leave his tents standing, he baffled the vigilance and superior number of the victorious army, rushed like a whirlwind to the relief of Silesia, invaded by an Austrian army, which he compelled to retire with precipitation from that province; that, with the same rapidity of motion, he wheeled about to Saxony, and once more rescued it from the hands of his adversaries; that in one campaign he made twice the circuit of his dominions, relieved them all in their turns, and kept all his possessions entire against the united efforts of numerous armies, conducted by generals of consummate skill and undaunted resolution. Recapitulation of the events of this campaign.

His character would have been still more complete, if his moderation had been equal to his courage; but in this particular we cannot applaud his conduct. Incensed by the persecuting spirit of his enemies, he wreaked his vengeance on those who had done him no injury; and the cruelties which the Russians had committed in his dominions, were retaliated upon the unfortunate inhabitants of Saxony. In the latter end of September, the president of the Prussian military directory sent a letter to the magistrates of Leipzig, requiring them in the king's name to pay a new contribution of six hundred thousand crowns, and to begin immediately with the payment of one-third part, on pain of military execution. In answer to this demand the magistrates represented that the city having been exhausted by the enormous contributions already raised, was absolutely incapable of furnishing further supplies; that the trade was stagnated and ruined, and the inhabitants so impoverished, that they could no longer pay the ordinary taxes. This remonstrance made no impression. At five in the morning, the Prussian soldiers assembled, and were posted in all the streets, squares, market-places, cæmeteries, towers, and steeples; then the gates being shut, in order to exclude the populace of the suburbs from the city, the senators were brought into the town-hall, and accosted by general Haus, who told them the king his master would have money; and if

The inhabitants of Saxony grievously oppressed.

Ann. 1758. they refused to part with it, the city should be plundered. To this peremptory address, they replied to this effect: "We have no more money—we have nothing left but life; and we recommend ourselves to the king's mercy." In consequence of this declaration, dispositions were made for giving up the city to be plundered. Cannon were planted in all the streets; the inhabitants were ordered to remain within doors, and every house resounded with dismal cries and lamentations. The dreaded pillage, however, was converted into a regular exaction. A party of soldiers, commanded by a subaltern, went from house to house, signifying to every burgher that he should produce all his specie, on pain of immediate pillage and massacre; and every inhabitant delivered up his all without further hesitation. About six in the evening, the soldiers returned to their quarters; but the magistrates were detained in confinement, and all the citizens were overwhelmed with grief and consternation. Happy Britain, who knowest such grievances only by report!

King of Prussia's declaration with respect to the electorate.

When the king of Prussia first entered Saxony, at the beginning of the war, he declared he had no design to make a conquest of that electorate, but only to keep it as a depositum for the security of his own dominions, until he could oblige his enemies to acquiesce in reasonable terms of peace: but upon his last arrival at Dresden, he adopted a new resolution. In the beginning of December, the Prussian directory of war issued a decree to the deputies of the states of the electorate, demanding a certain quantity of flour and forage, according to the convention formerly settled; at the same time signifying that though the king of Prussia had hitherto treated the electorate as a country taken under his special protection, the face of affairs was now changed in such a manner, that for the future he would consider it in no other light than that of a conquered country. The Russians had seized in Prussia all the estates and effects belonging to the king's officers: a retaliation was now made upon the effects of the Saxon officers who served in the Russian army. Seals were put on all the cabinets containing papers belonging to the privy-counsellors of his Polish majesty, and they themselves ordered to depart for Warsaw at a very short warning. Though the city had been impoverished by former exactions, and very lately subjected to military execution, the king of Prussia demanded fresh contributions, and even extorted them by dint of severities that shock humanity. He surrounded the exchange with soldiers, and confining the merchants to straw-beds and naked apartments, obliged them to draw bills for very large sums on their foreign correspondents: a method of proceeding much more suitable to the despotism of a Persian sophi towards a conquered people who professed a different faith, than reconcilable to the character of a protestant prince towards a peaceable nation of brethren, with whom he was connected by the common ties of neighbourhood and religion. Even if they had acted as declared enemies, and been subdued with arms in their hands, the excesses of war on the side of the conqueror, ought to have ceased with the hostilities of the conquered, who, by submitting to his sway, would have become his subjects, and in that capacity had a claim to his protection. To retaliate upon the Saxons, who had espoused no quarrel, the barbarities committed by the Russians, with whom he was actually at war, and to treat as a conquered province, a neutral country which his enemies had entered by violence, and been obliged

obliged to evacuate by force of arms, was a species of conduct founded on Ann. 1758. pretences which overturn all right, and confound all reason.

Having recorded all the transactions of the campaign, except those in which the Swedes were concerned, it now remains that we should particularize the progress which was made in Pomerania by the troops of that nation under the command of count Hamilton. We have already observed that in the beginning of the year, the Prussian general Lehwald had compelled them to evacuate the whole province except Stralsund, which was likewise invested. This, in all probability, would have been besieged in form, had not Lehwald resigned the command of the Prussians, on account of his great age and infirmities, and his successor count Dohna been obliged to withdraw his troops, in order to oppose the Russian army on the other side of Pomerania. The blockade of Stralsund being consequently raised, and that part of the country entirely evacuated by the Prussians, the Swedish troops advanced again from the isle of Rugen to which they had retired: but the supplies and reinforcements they expected from Stockholm were delayed in such a manner, either from a deficiency in the subsidies promised by France, or from the management of those that were averse to the war, that great part of the season was elapsed before they undertook any important enterprize. Indeed while they lay encamped under the cannon of Stralsund waiting for these supplies, their operations were retarded by the explosion of a whole ship-load of gunpowder intended for their use; an event imputed to the practices of the Prussian party in Sweden, which, at this period, seemed to gain ground, and even threatened a change in the ministry. At length the reinforcement arrived about the latter end of June, and their general seemed determined to act with vigour.

In the beginning of July, his army being put in motion, he sent a detachment to dislodge the few Prussian troops that were left at Anclam, Demmin, and other places, to guard that frontier; and they retreated accordingly. Count Hamilton having nothing further to oppose him in the field, in a very little time recovered all Swedish Pomerania, and even made hot incursions into the Prussian territories. Mean while, a combined fleet of thirty-three Russian and seven Swedish ships of war appeared in the Baltic, and anchored between the islands of Dragoë and Amagh; but they neither landed troops, nor committed hostilities. The Swedish general advanced as far as Fehrbellin, sent out parties that raised contributions within five-and-twenty miles of Berlin, and threw the inhabitants of that capital into the utmost consternation. The king of Prussia, alarmed at their progress, dispatched general Wedel from Dresden, with a body of troops that were augmented on the march; so that, on the twentieth of September, he found himself at Berlin with eleven thousand effective men, at the head of whom he proceeded against count Hamilton, while the prince of Bevern with five thousand advanced on the other side from Stetin. At their approach, the Swedish commander retired, after having left a garrison of fourteen hundred men at Fehrbellin, in order to retard the Prussians and secure the retreat of his army. The place was immediately attacked by general Wedel; and though the Swedes disputed the ground from house to house with uncommon obstinacy, he at last drove them out of the town, with the loss of one half of their number either killed or taken prisoners. The body of the Swedish army, without hazarding any other action, immediately evacuated the Prussian.

Progress of
the Swedes
in Pomerania.

They retreat
to Stralsund.

Ann. 1758. Prussian territories, and returned to the neighbourhood of Stralsund, intending to take winter-quarters in the isle of Rugen. Count Hamilton, either disgusted at the restrictions he had been laid under, or finding himself unable to act in such a manner as might redound to the advantage of his reputation, threw up his command, retired from the army, and resigned all his other employments.

Proceedings in the dyet of Poland. The king of Prussia was not only favoured by a considerable party in Sweden, but he had also raised a strong interest in Poland, among such Palatines as had always opposed the measures of the reigning family. These were now reinforced by many patriots, who dreaded the vicinity, and suspected the designs of the Russian army. The dyet of the republic was opened on the second day of November; and, after warm debates, M. Malachowski was unanimously elected marechal: but no sooner had the chambers of nuncios begun their deliberations, than a number of voices were raised against the encroachment of the Russian troops, who had taken up their residence in Poland; and heavy complaints were made of the damages sustained from their cruelty and rapine. Great pains were taken to appease these clamours; and many were prevailed upon to refer these grievances to the king in senate; but when this difficulty seemed almost surmounted, Padhorski, the nuncio of Volhinia, stood up, and declared, that he would not permit any other point to be discussed in the dyet, while the Russians maintained the least footing within the territories of the republic. Vain were all the attempts of the courtiers to persuade and mollify this inflexible patriot, he solemnly protested against their proceedings, and hastily withdrew; so that the marechal was obliged to dissolve the assembly, and recourse was had to a senatus consilium, to concert proper measures to be taken in the present conjuncture.

Prince Charles of Saxony elected duke of Courland. The king of Poland was, on this occasion, likewise disappointed in his views of providing for his son, prince Charles, in the duchy of Courland. He had been recommended by the court of Russia, and even approved by the states of that country; but two difficulties occurred. The states declared they could not proceed to a new election during the life of their former duke, count Biron, who was still alive, though a prisoner, in Siberia, unless their duchy should be declared vacant by the king and republic of Poland; and, according to the laws of that country, no prince could be elected, until he should have declared himself of the Augsburg confession. His Polish majesty, however, being determined to surmount all obstacles to his son's interest, ordered count Malachowski, high chancellor of Poland, to deliver to prince Charles a diploma, by which the king granted permission to the states of Courland, to elect that prince for their duke, and appointed the day for his election and instalment, which accordingly took place in the month of January, notwithstanding the clamour of many Polish grandees, who persisted in affirming, that the king had no power to grant such permission without the consent of the dyet.

Rescript of the court of Vienna. The vicissitudes of the campaign had produced no revolutions in the several systems adopted by the different powers in Europe. The Czarina, who in the month of June had signified her sentiments and designs against the king of Prussia, in a declaration delivered to all the foreign ministers at Petersburg, seemed now, more than ever, determined to act vigorously in behalf of the
Empress-

Empress-queen of Hungary, and the unfortunate king of Poland, who still Ann. 1758. resided at Warsaw. The court of Vienna distributed among the Imperial ministers at the several courts of the Empire, copies of a rescript, explaining the conduct of her generals since the beginning of the campaign, and concluding with expressions of self-approbation to this effect. "Though the issue of the campaign be not as yet entirely satisfactory, and such as might be desired, the Imperial court enjoys, at least, the sincere satisfaction of reflecting, that, according to the change of circumstances, it instantly took the most vigorous resolutions; that it was never deficient in any thing that might contribute to the good of the common cause, and now employed in making preparations, from which the most happy consequences may be expected."

We have already hinted at a decree of the Aulic council of the Empire, published in the month of August, enjoining all directors of circles, all Imperial towns, and the noblesse of the Empire, to transmit to Vienna an exact list of all those who had disobeyed the avocatoria of the Empire, and adhered to the rebellion raised by the elector of Brandenburg; that their revenues might be sequestered and themselves punished in their honours, persons, and effects. As the elector of Hanover was plainly pointed out, and, indeed, expressly mentioned in this decree, the king of Great Britain, by the hands of baron Gemmegen, his electoral minister, presented a memorial to the dyet of the Empire in the month of November, enumerating the instances in which he had exerted himself, and even exposed his life, for the preservation and aggrandizement of the house of Austria. In return for these important services, he observed, that the Empress-queen had refused him the assistance stipulated in treaties, against an invasion planned by France, whose hatred he had drawn upon himself by his friendship to that princess; and his Imperial majesty even denied him the dictatorial letters which he solicited: that the court of Vienna had signed a treaty with the crown of France, in which it was stipulated, that the French troops should pass the Weser, and invade the electorate of Hanover, where they were joined by the troops of the Empress-queen, who ravaged his Britannic majesty's dominions, with greater cruelty than even the French had practised; and the same duke of Cumberland, who had been wounded at Dettingen in the defence of her Imperial majesty, was obliged to fight at Hastenbeck against the troops of that very princess, in defence of his father's dominions: that she sent commissaries to Hanover, who shared with the crown of France the contributions extorted from that electorate; rejected all proposals of peace, and dismissed from her court the minister of Brunswic-Lunenbourg: that his Imperial majesty, who had sworn to protect the Empire, and oppose the entrance of foreign troops destined to oppress any of the states of Germany, afterwards required the king of England to withdraw his troops from the countries which they occupied, that a French army might again have free passage into his German dominions; that the Emperor had recalled these troops, released them from their allegiance to their sovereign, enjoined them to abandon their posts, their colours, and the service in which they were embarked, on pain of being punished in body, honour, and estate; and that the king of England himself was threatened with the ban of the Empire. He took notice, that, in quality of elector, he had been accused of refusing to concur with the resolutions of the dyet taken in the preceding year, of entering into alliance with the king of Prussia.

Memorial to the dyet of the empire by the minister of Brunswic-Lunenbourg.

Ann. 1758 Prussia, joining his troops to the armies of that prince, employing auxiliaries belonging to the states of the Empire, sending English forces into Germany, where they had taken possession of Embden, and exacting contributions in different parts of Germany. In answer to these imputations, he alledged, that he could not, consistent with his own safety, or the dictates of common sense, concur with a majority, in joining his troops, which were immediately necessary for his own defence, to those which, from the arbitrary views of the court of Vienna, were led against his friend and ally the king of Prussia, by a prince who did not belong to the generality of the Empire, and on whom the command had been conferred, without a previous conclusum of the Germanic body; that with respect to his alliance with the king of Prussia, he had a right, when deserted by his former allies, to seek assistance wheresoever it could be procured; and surely no just grounds of complaint could be offered against that which his Prussian majesty lent, to deliver the electoral states of Brunswic, as well as those of Brunswic-Wolfembutte, Hesse, and Buckebourg, from the oppressions of their common enemy. Posterity, he said, would hardly believe, that at a time when the troops of Austria, the Palatinate, and Wirtemberg, were engaged to invade the countries of the Empire, other members of the Germanic body, who employed auxiliaries in their defence, should be threatened with outlawry and sequestration.

He owned, that, in quality of king, he had sent over English troops to Germany, and taken possession of Embden; steps for which he was accountable to no power upon earth, although the constitutions of the Empire permit the co-estates to make use of foreign troops, not indeed for the purpose of invasion or conquest in Germany, but for their defence and preservation. He also acknowledged, that he had resented the conduct and chastised the injustice of those co-estates who had assisted his enemies, and helped to ravage his dominions; inferring, that if the crown of France was free to pillage the estates of the duke of Brunswic, and the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, because they had supplied the king of England with auxiliaries; if the Empress-queen had a right to appropriate to herself half of the contributions raised by the French king in these countries, surely his Britannic majesty had an equal right to make those feel the burden of the war, who had favoured the unjust enterprizes of his enemies. He expressed his hope, that the dyet, after having duly considered these circumstances, would, by way of advice, propose, to his Imperial majesty, that he should annul his most inconsistent mandates; and not only take effectual measures to protect the electorate and its allies, but also give order for commencing against the Empress-queen, as archduchess of Austria, the elector Palatine, and the duke of Wirtemberg, such proceedings as she wanted to enforce against his Britannic majesty, elector of Brunswic-Lunenburg. For this purpose the minister now requested their excellencies to ask immediately the necessary instructions for their principals.

The rest of this long memorial contained a justification of his Britannic majesty's conduct, in deviating from the capitulation of Closter-Seven; with a refutation of the arguments adduced, and a retortion of the reproaches levelled against the king of England, in the paper or manifesto, composed and published under the direction of the French ministry, and intituled "A Parallel of the conduct

conduct of the king of France, with that of the king of England, relative to Ann. 1758. the breach of the capitulation of Closter-Seven by the Hanoverians.

But to this invective a more circumstantial answer was published: in which, among other curious particulars, the letter of expostulation, said to have been written by the Prussian monarch to the king of Great Britain after the defeat at Collin, is treated as an infamous piece of forgery, produced by some venal pen employed to impose upon the public. The author also, in his endeavours to demonstrate his Britannic majesty's aversion to a continental war, very justly observes, that "none but such as are unacquainted with the maritime force of England can believe, that, without a diversion on the continent, to employ part of the enemy's force, she is not in a condition to hope for success, and maintain her superiority at sea. England, therefore, had no interest to foment quarrels or wars in Europe; but, for the same reason there was room to fear, that France would embrace a different system: accordingly she took no pains to conceal her views, and her envoys declared publicly, that a war upon the continent was inevitable; and that the king's dominions in Germany would be its principal object." He afterwards, in the course of his argumentation, adds, "that they must be very ignorant, indeed, who imagine that the forces of England are not able to resist those of France, unless the latter be hindered from turning all her efforts to the sea. In case of a war upon the continent, the two powers must pay subsidies; only with this difference, that France can employ her own land-forces, and aspire at conquests."

Particular re-
ply to the
Parallel pub-
lished by the
court of Ver-
sailles.

Such were the professed sentiments of the B—— m——, founded upon eternal truth and demonstration, and openly avowed, when the business was to prove, that it was not the interest of G—— B—— to maintain a war upon the continent; but afterwards, when this continental war was eagerly espoused, fostered, and cherished by the blood and treasure of the E—— nation, then the partisans of that very m——y, which had thus declared that E——d, without any diversion on the continent of Europe, was an over-match for France by sea, which may be termed the British element; then their partisans, their champions, declaimers, and dependants, were taught to rise in rebellion against their former doctrine, and, in defiance of common sense and reflection, affirm, that a diversion in Germany was absolutely necessary to the successful issue of England's operations in Asia, Africa, and America.

Notwithstanding all the facts and arguments assembled in this elaborate memorial, to expose the ingratitude of the Empress-queen, and demonstrate the oppressive measures adopted by the Imperial power, it remains to be proved, that the member of a community is not obliged to yield obedience to the resolutions taken, and the decrees published, by the majority of those that compose this community; especially when reinforced with the authority of the supreme magistrate, and not repugnant to the fundamental constitution on which that community was established.

If the Empress-queen was not gratified to the extent of her wishes in the fortune of the campaign, at least her self-importance was flattered in another point, which could not fail of being interesting to a princess famed for a glowing zeal and inviolable attachment to the religion of Rome. In the month of August the Pope conferred upon her the title of Apostolical Queen of Hungary, conveyed by a brief, in which he extolled her piety, and launched out into retro-

New title
conferred on
the Empress-
queen.

Ann. 1758. spective eulogiums of her predecessors, the princes of Hungary, who had been always accustomed to fight and overcome for the catholic faith under this holy banner.

Death of
pope Bene-
dict XIV. and
election of
Clement
XIII.

This compliment, however, she did not derive from the regard of Prosper Lambertini, who exercised the papal sway under the assumed name of Benedict XIV. That pontiff, universally esteemed for his good sense, moderation, and humanity, had breathed his last in the month of April, in the eighty-fourth year of his age; and in July was succeeded in the papacy by cardinal Charles Rezzonico, bishop of Padua, by birth a Venetian. He was formerly auditor of the Rota; afterwards promoted to the purple by pope Clement XII. at the nomination of the republic of Venice; was distinguished by the title of St. Maria d'Ara Coeli, the principal convent of the Cordeliers, and nominated protector of the Pandours, or Illyrians. When he ascended the papal chair, he assumed the name of Clement XIII. in gratitude to the last of that name, who was his benefactor. Though of a disagreeable person, and even deformed in his body, he enjoys good health, and a vigorous constitution. As an ecclesiastic, his life is exemplary; his morals are pure and unimpeached: in his character he is said to be learned, diligent, steady, devout, and in every respect worthy to succeed such a predecessor as Benedict.

The king of Spain wisely persisted in reaping the advantages of a neutrality, notwithstanding the intrigues of the French partisans at the court of Madrid, who endeavoured to alarm his jealousy by the conquests which the English had projected in America.

The king of Sardinia sagaciously kept aloof, resolving, in imitation of his predecessors, to maintain his power on a respectable footing, and be ready to seize all opportunities to extend and promote the interest of his crown, and the advantage of his country.

Assassination
of the king
of Portugal.

As for the king of Portugal, he had prudently embraced the same system of forbearance: but in the latter end of the season his attention was engrossed by a domestic incident of a very extraordinary nature. Whether he had, by particular instances of severity, exasperated the minds of certain individuals, and exercised his dominion in such acts of arbitrary power as excited a general spirit of disaffection among his nobility; or, lastly, by the vigorous measures pursued against the incroaching Jesuits in Paraguay, and their correspondents in Portugal, had incurred the resentment of that society, we shall not pretend to determine: perhaps all these motives concurred in giving birth to a conspiracy against his life, which was actually executed at this juncture with the most desperate resolution. On the third day of September the king, according to custom, going out in a carriage to take the air, accompanied by one domestic, was, in the night, at a solitary place near Belem, attacked by three men on horseback, armed with musketoes, one of whom fired his piece at the coachman without effect. The man, however, terrified both on his own account and that of his sovereign's, drove the mules at full speed; a circumstance which in some measure disconcerted the other two conspirators, who pursued him at full gallop, and, having no leisure to take aim, discharged their pieces at random through the back of the carriage. The slugs with which they were loaded happened to pass between the king's right arm and his breast, dilacerating the parts from the shoulder to the elbow, but without damaging the bone, or penetrating

penetrating into the cavity of the body. Finding himself grievously wounded, and the blood flowing apace, he, with such presence of mind as cannot be sufficiently admired, instead of proceeding to the palace, which was at some distance, ordered the coachman to return to Junqueira, where his principal surgeon resided, and there his wounds were immediately dressed. By this resolution, he not only prevented the irreparable mischief that might have arisen from an excessive effusion of blood; but, without all doubt, saved his life from the hands of other assassins, posted on the road to accomplish the regicide, in case he should escape alive from the first attack. This instance of the king's recollection was magnified into a miracle, on a supposition that it must have been the effect of divine inspiration; and, indeed, among a people addicted to superstition, might well pass for a favourable interposition of Providence.

The king, being thus disabled in his right arm, issued a decree, investing the queen with the absolute power of government. In the mean time, no person had access to his presence but herself, the first minister, the cardinal de Saldanha, the physicians and surgeons. An embargo was immediately laid on all the shipping in the port of Lisbon. Rewards were publicly offered, together with promise of pardon to the accomplices, for detecting any of the assassins; and such other measures used, that in a little time the whole conspiracy was discovered: a conspiracy the more dangerous, as it appeared to have been formed by persons of the first quality and influence. The duke de Aveiro, of the family of Mascarenhas; the marquis de Tavora, who had been viceroy of Goa, and now actually enjoyed the commission of general of the horse; the count de Attouguia, the marquis de Alloria, together with their wives, children, and whole families, were arrested immediately after the assassination, as principals in the design; and many other accomplices, including some Jesuits, were apprehended in the sequel. The further proceedings on this mysterious affair, with the fate of the conspirators, will be particularized among the transactions of the following year. At present it will be sufficient to observe, that the king's wounds were attended with no bad consequences; nor did the imprisonment of those noblemen produce any disturbance in the kingdom.

The domestic occurrences of France were tissued with a continuation of the disputes between the parliaments and clergy, touching the bull Unigenitus. In vain the king had interposed his authority; first proposing an accommodation; then commanding the parliament to forbear taking cognizance of a religious contest, which did not fall under their jurisdiction; and, thirdly, banishing their persons, and abrogating their power. He afterwards found it necessary to the peace of his dominions to recall and reinstate those venerable patriots; and, being convinced of the intolerable insolence and turbulent spirit of the archbishop of Paris, had exiled that prelate in his turn. He was no sooner re-admitted to his function, than he resumed his former conduct, touching the denial of the sacraments to those who refused to acknowledge the bull Unigenitus: he even acted with redoubled zeal; intrigued with the other prelates; caballed among the inferior clergy; and not only revived, but augmented the troubles throughout the whole kingdom. Bishops, curates, and monks, presumed to withhold spiritual consolation from persons in extremity,

Continuation
of disputes
between the
parliaments
and clergy of
France.

Ann. 1758. mity, and were punished by the civil power. Other parliaments of the kingdom followed the example exhibited by that of Paris, in asserting their authority and privileges. The king commanded them to desist, on pain of incurring his indignation: they remonstrated, and persevered; while the archbishop repeated his injunctions and censures, and continued to inflame the dispute to such a dangerous degree, that he was given to understand he should be again obliged to quit the capital, if he did not proceed with more moderation.

Measures taken by the ministry of that kingdom to alarm Great Britain.

But the chief care of the French ministry was employed in regulating the finances, and establishing funds of credit for raising money to pay subsidies, and maintain the war in Europe and America. In the course of this year they had not only considerably reinforced their armies in Germany, but made surprising efforts to supply the colony of Canada with troops, artillery, stores, and ammunition, for its defence against the operations of the British forces, which greatly out-numbered the French upon the continent. The court of Versailles practised every stratagem to elude the vigilance of the English cruisers. The ships destined for America they detached, both single and in convoys, sometimes from the Mediterranean, sometimes from their harbours in the Channel. They assembled transports in one port, in order to withdraw the attention of their enemies from another where their convoys lay ready for sailing; and in boisterous weather, when the English could no longer block up their harbours, their storeships came forth, and hazarded the voyage, for the relief of their American settlements. Those that had the good fortune to arrive on the coast of that continent, were obliged to have recourse to different expedients for escaping the British squadrons stationed at Halifax, or cruising in the bay of St. Laurence. They either ventured to navigate the river, before it was clear of the ice, so early in the spring, that the enemy had not yet quitted the harbour of Nova Scotia; or they waited on the coast of Newfoundland for such thick fogs as might screen them from the notice of the English cruisers, in sailing up the Gulph; or, lastly, they penetrated through the Streights of Belleisle, a dangerous passage, which however led them directly into the river St. Laurence, at a considerable distance above the station of the British Squadron.

Though the French navy was by this time so reduced, that it could neither face the English at sea, nor furnish proper convoys for commerce, her ministry nevertheless attempted to alarm the subjects of Great Britain with the project of an invasion. Flat-bottomed boats were built, transports collected, large ships of the line equipped, and troops ordered to assemble on the coast for embarkation; but this was no more than a feint to arouse the apprehension of the English, disconcert the administration, prejudice the national credit, and deter the government from sending forces to keep alive the war in Germany. A much more effectual method they took to distress the trade of England, by laying up their useless ships of war, and encouraging the equipment of stout privateers, that did considerable damage to the commerce of Great Britain and Ireland, by cruising in the seas of Europe and America. Some of them lay close in the harbours of the Channel, fronting the coast of England, and darted out occasionally on the trading ships of this nation, as they received intelligence from boats employed for that purpose. Some chose their station

station in the North Sea, where a great number of captures were made upon Ann. 1758, the coast of Scotland; others cruised in the chops of the Channel, and even to the westward of Ireland; but the far greater number scoured the seas in the neighbourhood of the Leeward Islands in the West-Indies, where they took a prodigious number of British ships, sailing to and from the sugar-colonies, and conveyed them to their own settlements in Martinique, Guadalupe, or St. Domingo.

With respect to the war that raged in Germany, the king of Denmark wisely pursued that course which happily preserved him from being involved in those troubles by which great part of Europe was agitated, and terminated in that point of national advantage which a king ought ever to have in view for the benefit of his people. By observing a scrupulous neutrality, he enhanced his importance among his neighbours: he saw himself courted by all the belligerent powers: he saved the blood and treasure of his subjects: he received large subsidies, in consideration of his forbearance; and enjoyed, unmolested, a much more considerable share of commerce than he could expect to carry on, even in times of universal tranquillity. He could not perceive that the protestant religion had any thing to apprehend from the confederacy which was formed against the Prussian monarch; nor was he misled into all the expence, the perils, and disquiets of a sanguinary war, by that ignis fatuus which hath seduced and impoverished other opulent nations, under the specious title of the ballance of power in Germany. Howsoever he might be swayed by private inclination, he did not think it was a point of consequence to his kingdom whether Pomerania was possessed by Sweden or Prussia; whether the French army was driven back beyond the Rhine, or penetrated once more into the electorate of Hanover; whether the Empress-queen was stripped of her remaining possessions in Silesia, or the — of P—— a circumscribed within the original bound of his dominion. He took it for granted, that France, for her own sake, would prevent the ruin of that enterprising monarch; and that the house of Austria would not be so impolitic, and blind to its own interest, as to permit the empress of Russia to make and retain conquests in the Empire: but, even if these powers should be weak enough to sacrifice all the maxims of sound policy to caprice or resentment, he did not think himself so deeply concerned in the event, as, for the distant project of what might possibly happen, to plunge headlong into a war that must be attended with certain and immediate disadvantages. True it is, he had no hereditary electorate in Germany that was threatened with invasion; nor, if he had, is it to be supposed that a prince of his sagacity and patriotism would have impoverished his kingdom of Denmark, for the precarious defence of a distant territory. It was reserved for another nation to adopt the pernicious absurdity of wasting its blood and treasure, exhausting its revenues, loading its own back with the most griveous impositions, incurring an enormous debt big with bankruptcy and ruin; in a word, of expending above an hundred and fifty millions sterling in fruitless efforts to defend a distant country, the intire property of which was never valued at one twentieth part of that sum; a country with which it had no natural connection, but a common alliance arising from accident.

The king of Denmark, though himself a prince of the Empire, and possessed of dominions in Germany, almost contiguous to the scenes of the present

Ann. 1758. sent war, did not yet think himself so nearly concerned in the issue, as to declare himself either principal or auxiliary in the quarrel: yet he took care to maintain his forces, by sea and land, upon a respectable footing; and, by this conduct, he not only provided for the security of his own country, but over-awed the belligerent powers, who considered him as a prince capable of making either scale preponderate, just as he might chuse to trim the ballance. Thus he preserved his wealth, commerce, and consequence undiminished; and, instead of being harrassed as a party, was honoured as an umpire. Had Great Britain adhered to these prudent maxims, with regard to the continent, from which she is, both by nature and interest, infinitely farther removed, she must have been at this day one of the most powerful, opulent, and happy nations that ever flourished on the face of the earth; and, as arbitress of all Europe, would have surely acted a much more important part than she now performs on the theatre of Germany.

Answers to
the charge
brought by
the Dutch a-
gainst the
English crui-
sers.

The United Provinces, though as adverse as his Danish majesty to any participation in the war, did not however so scrupulously observe the neutrality they professed: at least, the traders of that republic, either from an inordinate thirst of lucre, or a secret byass in favour of the enemies of Great Britain, assisted the French commerce with all the appearance of the most flagrant partiality. We have, in the beginning of this year's transactions, observed, that a great number of their ships were taken by the English cruisers, and condemned as legal prizes, for having French property on board: that the Dutch merchants, exasperated by their losses, exclaimed against the English as pirates and robbers, petitioned the States for redress in very high terms, and even loudly clamoured for a war against Great Britain. The charge of violence and injustice which they brought against the English, for taking and confiscating the ships that transported to Europe the produce of the French islands in the West Indies, they founded on the tenth article of the treaty of commerce between Great Britain and the States General of the United Provinces concluded in the year one thousand six hundred and sixty-eight, stipulating, "That whatever shall be found on board the ships of the subjects of the United Provinces, though the lading or part thereof may belong to the enemies of Great Britain, shall be free and unmolested; except these be prohibited goods, which are to be served in the manner prescribed by the foregoing articles." From this article the Dutch merchants argued, that, if there be no prohibited goods on board, the English had no right to stop or molest any of their ships, or make the least inquiry to whom the merchandize belonged, whence it was brought, or whither bound. This plea the English casuists would by no means admit, for the following reasons: A general and perpetual licence to carry on the whole trade of their enemy, would be such a glaring absurdity, as no convention could authorize: common sense has dictated, and Grotius declared, that no man can be supposed to have consented to an absurdity; therefore the interpretation given by the Dutch to this article, could not be supposed to be its true and genuine meaning; which, indeed, relates to nothing more than the common course of trade, as it was usually carried on in time of peace. But, even should this interpretation be accepted, the article, and the treaty itself, would be superseded and annulled by a subsequent treaty, concluded between the two nations in the year one thousand six hundred and seventy-five, and often confirmed since that

that period, stipulating, in a secret article, That neither of the contracting Ann. 1758. parties should give, nor consent that any of their subjects and inhabitants should give any aid, favour, or counsel, directly or indirectly, by land or sea, or on the fresh waters; nor should furnish, or permit the subjects or inhabitants of their respective territories, to furnish any ships, soldiers, seamen, victuals, moneys, instruments of war, gunpowder, or any other necessaries for making war, to the enemies of either party, of any rank or condition forever. Now the Dutch have infringed this article in many instances, during the present war, both in Europe and America; and, as they have so openly contravened one treaty, the English are not obliged to observe any other. They, moreover, forfeited all right to the observance of the treaty in question, by refusing the succours with which they were bound, in the most solemn manner, to furnish the king of Great Britain, in case any of his territories in Europe should be attacked: for nothing could be more weak and frivolous than the allegation upon which this refusal was founded; namely, that the hostilities in Europe were commenced by the English, when they seized and confiscated the vessels of France; and they, being the aggressors, had no right to insist upon the succours stipulated in a treaty which was purely defensive. If this argument has any weight, the treaty itself can have no signification. The French, as in the present case, will always commence the war in America; and when their ships, containing reinforcements and stores for the maintenance of that war, shall be taken on the European seas, perhaps in consequence of their being exposed for that purpose, they will exclaim that the English were the aggressors, in Europe, consequently deprived of all benefit accruing from the defensive treaty subsisting between them and the States General of the United Provinces. It being impossible for the English to terminate the war, while their enemies derive the sinews of it from their commerce carried on in neutral bottoms, they are obliged to suppress such collusions, by that necessity which Grotius himself hath allowed to be a sufficient excuse for deviating from the letter of any treaty whatsoever. In time of peace no Dutch ships were permitted to carry the produce of any French sugar island, or even to trade in any of the French ports in America or the West-Indies; consequently the treaty which they quote can never justify them in carrying on a commerce, which, as it did not exist, and was not foreseen, could not possibly be guarded against when that convention was ratified. Grotius, whose authority is held in such veneration among the Dutch, has determined, that every nation has a right to seize and confiscate the goods of any neutral power, which shall attempt to carry them into any place which is blocked up by that nation, either by land or sea. The French islands in the West-Indies were so blocked up by the English cruisers, that they could receive no relief from their own government, consequently no neutral power could attempt to supply them without falling under this predicament*.

* In the reign of king William, when the English and Dutch were engaged in a war against France, the northern powers of Sweden and Denmark attempted to carry on the French commerce, under the shade of neutrality; but

the Dutch and English joined in seizing the vessels that were thus employed. Complaints of these captures were made at London and the Hague, and the complainants were given to understand at both places, that they should not be

Ann. 1758.

Remarks on
the conduct
of both nati-
ons.

It was for these reasons that the king of England declared, by the mouth of Mr. York, his minister plenipotentiary at the Hague, in a conference held in the month of August with the deputies of the States General, that though he was ready to concur in every measure that should be proposed for giving satisfaction to their High Mightinesses, with whom he had always studied to live in the most perfect union, he was nevertheless determined, not to suffer the trade of the French colonies in America to be carried on by the subjects of other powers, under the specious pretext of neutrality: not to permit words to be interpreted as a licence to drive a trade with his enemies, which, though not particularly specified in the articles of contraband, was nevertheless rendered such in all respects, and in every sense, by the nature of the circumstances. It is not at all more

be allowed to carry on any trade with France, but what was usual in time of peace. In consequence of this declaration, Mr. Groning formed the design of writing a treatise on the freedom of navigation, and communicated the plan of his work to the celebrated Puffendorf, who signified his sentiments in the following letter, which is preserved by the learned Barbeyrac, in his notes upon that author's treatise on the law of nature and nations.

"The work, Sir, which you have in view, relating to the liberty of navigation, excites my curiosity. It is a curious subject, which no person that I know of has yet particularly handled. I very much fear, however, if I may judge from your letter, that you will find people who will dispute your notions. The question is certainly one of those which have not yet been settled on any clear or undeniable principles, so as to afford a general rule to mankind. In all the examples brought on this subject, there is a mixture of right and fact. Each nation usually allows, or forbids, the maritime commerce of neutral people with its enemy, either according as it happens to be its interest to preserve the friendship of those people, or it finds itself strong enough to obtain from them what it requires. For example, the English and Dutch may say, without absurdity, that it is lawful for them to do all the mischief they can to the French, with whom they are at war, and, consequently, to employ the method most proper to weaken them, which is to traverse and ruin their trade. They say it is not reasonable that neutral nations should enrich themselves at their expence, and, by engrossing a commerce which the English and Dutch are deprived of, furnish the French with money to maintain the war. This seems the rather just, because England and Holland commonly favour the trade of neutral nations, by suffering them to transport, and sell in foreign markets merchandize of their own growth and manufacture. In short, they say that they are willing to leave them in possession of the trade they usually

carry on in time of peace; but they cannot see them take advantage of the war, to extend their commerce to the prejudice of England and Holland; but as this matter of trade and navigation does not so much depend upon rules founded on a general law, as upon conventions made between particular nations, so, in order to form a solid judgment of the point in question, we ought previously to examine what treaties subsist between the northern crowns on one part, and England and Holland on the other; and whether these last powers have offered the former just and reasonable conditions. On the other hand, nevertheless, if the northern princes can maintain their trade with France, by sending strong convoys with their fleets, I see nothing to blame in this practice, provided their vessels have no contraband merchandize on board. The laws of humanity and equity between nations, do not extend so far as to require, without any apparent necessity, that one people should give up their profit in favour of another. But as the avarice of merchants is so great, that, for the smallest gain, they make no scruple of exceeding the just bounds of commerce; so nations that are at war may certainly visit neutral ships, and if they find prohibited goods on board, have a full right to confiscate them. Besides, I am not at all surprized, that the northern crowns have a greater regard to the general interest of Europe, than to the complaints of some rapacious merchants, who care not how matters go, provided they can satisfy their thirst of lucre. These princes wisely judge, that it is not at all convenient for them to precipitate measures, while other nations unite all their forces, to reduce within bounds an insolent and exorbitant power which threatens Europe with slavery, and the Protestant religion with ruin. This being the interest of the northern crowns, it is neither just nor necessary, that, for a present advantage, they should interrupt such a salutary design, especially as they neither incur the smallest expence nor run the least hazard, &c."

surprising,

surprising, that the Dutch merchants should complain, than that the English Ann. 1753.
government should persist in confiscating the ships that were found to contain the merchandize of their enemies. The individual traders of every mercantile nation will run considerable risques in extending their particular commerce, even when they know it must be detrimental to the general interest of their country. In the war maintained by the confederates against Louis XIV. of France, the merchant-ships of the Dutch carried on an uninterrupted trade to the French ports; and, notwithstanding the repeated solicitations of England, the States General could never be prevailed upon to prohibit this commerce, which undoubtedly enabled France to protract the war. The truth is, they gave the British ministry to understand, that unless they connived at this traffic, their subjects could not possibly defray their proportion of the expence at which the war was maintained. It is well known through all Europe, that the subjects of the United Provinces reaped considerable advantage, not only from this branch of illicit trade, but also by providing for both armies in Flanders, and by the practice of stock-jobbing in England; consequently it was not the interest, either of the States General, or the English general, between whom there was a very good understanding, to bring that war to a speedy conclusion; nor, indeed, ought we to fix the imputation of partiality upon a whole nation, for the private conduct of individuals, influenced by motives of self-interest, which operate with the same energy in Holland, and among the subjects of Great Britain. In the course of the last war, such a scandalous appetite for gain prevailed in different parts of the British dominions, that the French islands were actually supplied with provisions, slaves, and lumber, from Ireland and the British colonies in North America; and Martinique, in particular, must have surrendered to the commander of the English Squadron stationed in those seas, had it not been thus supported by English subjects. Certain it is, the Dutch had some reason to complain that they were decoyed into this species of traffic by the article of a treaty, which, in their opinion, admitted of no limitation; and that the government of Great Britain, without any previous warning, or explaining its sentiments on this subject, swept the sea at once of all their vessels employed in this commerce, and condemned them, without mitigation, to the entire ruin of many thousand families. Considering the intimate connection of mutual interest subsisting between Great Britain and the States of the United Provinces, they seem to have had some right to an intimation of this nature, which, in all probability, would have induced them to resign all prospect of advantage from the prosecution of such a traffic.

Besides the universal clamour excited in Holland, and the famous memorial Conferences presented to the States General, which we have already mentioned in another place, a deputation of merchants waited four times successively on the Princess Regent, to explain their grievances, and demand her occurrence in augmenting the navy for the preservation of their commerce. She promised to interpose her best offices with the court of Great Britain; and these co-operating with representations made by the States General, the English minister was empowered to open conferences at the Hague, in order to bring all matters in dispute to an amicable accommodation. These endeavours, however, proved

Ann. 1758. ineffectual. The British cruisers continued to take, and the British courts to condemn, all Dutch vessels containing the produce of the French sugar islands. The merchants of Holland and Zealand renewed their complaints with redoubled clamour, and all the trading part of the nation, reinforced by the whole party that opposed the house of Orange, cried aloud for an immediate augmentation of the marine, and reprisals upon the pirates of England. The princess, in order to avoid extremities, was obliged not only to employ all her personal influence with the States General, but also to play off one faction against another in the way of remonstrance and exclamation.

Management
of the Prin-
cess's Regent.

As far back as the month of June, she presented a memorial to the States General, reminding them, that in the beginning of the war between France and England, she had advised an augmentation should be made in their land-forces, to strengthen the garrisons of the frontier towns, and cover the territories of the republic from invasion. She gave them to understand, that the provinces of Gueldres and Overijssel, intimidated by the proximity of two formidable armies, had resolved to demand, that the augmentation of their land-forces should be taken into consideration by the other provinces; and requested her to reinforce their solicitations that this measure might immediately take place. This request, she said, she the more readily granted, as she could not but be sensible of the imminent danger that threatened the republic, especially since the Hanoverian army had passed the Rhine; and as it behoved the state to put itself in a condition to hinder either army from retiring into the territories of the republic, if it should be defeated; for, in that case, the conqueror being authorized to pursue his enemy wherever he can find him, would bring the war into the heart of their country. This representation had no other effect than that of suspending the measure which each party proposed. The princess, in her answer to the fourth deputation of the merchants, declared, that she beheld the present state of their trade with the most anxious concern; that its want of protection was not her fault, but that of the towns of Dort, Haarlem, Amsterdam, Torgau, Rotterdam, and the Brille, to whose conduct it was owing, that the forces of the state, by sea and land, were not now on a better footing. The deputies were afterwards referred to her minister, Mr. de la Larrey, to whom they represented, that the augmentation of the land-forces, and the equipment of a fleet, were matters as distinct from each other as light from darkness: that there was no pressing motive for an augmentation of the army; whereas, innumerable reasonable reasons rendered the equipment of a fleet a matter of the most urgent necessity. In a few days after this representation was made, the princess, in an assembly of the States General, requested their High Mightinesses, that seeing their earnest and repeated efforts to induce the provinces of Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and West-Friesland, to acquiesce in the proposed augmentation of forces by sea and land, had not hitherto met with success, they would now consider and deliberate upon some expedient for terminating this affair, and the sooner the better, in order, on one hand, to satisfy the strong and well-grounded instances made by the provinces of Gueldres, Utrecht, Overijssel, and Groningen; and, on the other, to comply with the ardent just desires expressed by the commercial inhabitants of the country. She told them, that the deputation which waited on

her

her consisted of forty merchants, a number that merited attention no less than Ann. 1758. the speech they pronounced, of which a great number of printed copies were distributed through all parts of the country. Without making any particular remarks on the harangue, she only observed, that the drift of it did not tend to facilitate the negociation begun with Great Britain, nor to induce the nation to prefer a convention to a rupture with that crown. From this circumstance she inferred, it was more than time to finish the deliberations on the proposal for augmenting the forces both by sea and land; a measure, without which she was convinced in her conscience the state was, and would always remain, exposed to all sorts of misfortune and danger, both now and hereafter.

In consequence of this interposition, the States General that same day sent a letter to the states of Holland and West-Friesland, communicating the sentiments of the Princess Regent, and insisting upon the necessity of complying with her proposal of the double augmentation. They observed, that an augmentation of the land-forces, for the defence of the frontiers, was unavoidable, as well as an equipment by sea for the security of commerce: that the states of the provinces of Gueldres, Utrecht, Overijssel, and Groningen, joined with them in the same opinion; and accordingly had insisted, by divers letters and propositions, on those two points so essential to the public interest. They represented the danger of delay, and the fatal effects of discord: they proposed, that by a reciprocal indulgence one party should comply with the sentiments of the other, in order to avoid a schism and dangerous division among the confederates, the consequences of which would be very deplorable; while the republic, in the mean time, would remain in a defenceless condition, both by sea and land, and depend upon the arbitrary power of its neighbours. They conjured them, therefore, as they valued the safety of their country, and all that was dear to them; as they regarded the protection of the good inhabitants, the concord and harmony, which at all times, but especially at the present critical juncture, was of the last necessity, that they would seriously reflect upon the exhortations of her royal highness, as well as on the repeated instances of the majority of the confederates; and take a wise and salutary resolution, with regard to the proposed augmentation of the land-forces; so that this addition, together with an equipment at sea, might, the sooner the better, be unanimously brought to a conclusion.

It was undoubtedly the duty of all, who wished well to their country, to moderate the heat and precipitation of those, who, provoked by their losses, and stimulated by resentment, endeavoured at this period to involve their nation in a war with Great Britain. Had matters been pushed to this extremity, in a few months the republic would, in all probability, have been brought to the brink of ruin. The Dutch were distracted by internal divisions; they were altogether unprovided for hostilities by sea; the ocean was covered with their trading vessels; and the naval armaments of Great Britain were so numerous and powerful, as to render all resistance on that element equally vain and pernicious. The English could not only have scoured the seas, and made prize of all their shipping, but were also in a condition to reduce or demolish all their towns in Zealand, where they would hardly have met with any opposition.

Substance of
a letter from
the States
General to
the states of
Holland and
West-Fries-
land.

Ann. 1758.
Domestic
occurrences
in Great Bri-
tain.

While the operations of the war were prosecuted through the four quarters of the globe, the island of Great Britain, which may be termed the centre that gave motion to this vast machine, enjoyed all the tranquillity of the most profound peace, and saw nothing of war but the preparations and trophies, which served only to animate the nation to a desire of further conquest; for the dejection, occasioned by the misfortune at St. Cas, soon vanished before the prospect of victory and success. Considering the agitation naturally produced among the common people, by the practice of pressing men into the service of the navy, which in the beginning of the year had been carried on with unusual violence, the levy of so many new corps of soldiers, and the endeavours used in forming the national militia, very few disturbances happened to interrupt the internal repose of the nation. From private acts of malice, fraud, violence, and rapine, no community whatsoever is exempted. In the month of April, the temporary wooden-bridge over the Thames, built for the conveniency of carriages and passengers, while the workmen should be employed in widening and repairing London-Bridge, was maliciously set on fire in the night, and continued burning till noon next day, when the ruins of it fell into the river. The destruction of this conveniency proved very detrimental to the commerce of the city; notwithstanding the vigilancy and discretion of the magistrates, in applying remedies for this misfortune. A promise of the king's pardon was offered in a public advertisement, by the secretary of state, and a reward of two hundred pounds by the city of London, to any person who should discover the perpetrator of such a wicked outrage; but nevertheless he escaped detection. No individual, nor any society of men, could have the least interest in the execution of such a scheme, except the body of London watermen; but as no discovery was made to the prejudice of any person belonging to that society, the deed was imputed to the malice of some secret enemy to the public. Even after a new temporary bridge was erected, another attempt was made (in all probability by the same incendiary) to reduce the whole to ashes, but happily miscarried; and a guard was appointed to prevent any such atrocious efforts in the sequel.

Tumult in
Lancashire.

Dangerous tumults were raised in and about Manchester, by a prodigious number of manufacturers, who had left off working, and entered into a combination to raise, by force, the price of their labour. They had formed a regular plan, and collected large sums for the maintenance of the poorer sort, while they refused to work for their families. They insulted and abused all those who would not join in this defection; dispersed incendiary letters, and denounced terrible threats against all such as should presume to oppose their proceedings. But these menaces had no effect upon the magistrates and justices, who did their duty with such discretion and courage, that the ringleaders being singled out, and punished by law, the rest were soon reduced to order.

Trial of Dr.
Henfey.

In the month of June Florence Henfey, an obscure physician, and native of Ireland, who had been apprehended for treasonable practices, was tried at the court of King's Bench, on an indictment for high treason. In the course of the trial it appeared, that he had been employed as a spy for the French ministry; to which, in consideration of a poultry pension, he sent intelligence of every material occurrence in Great Britain. The correspondence was managed by his brother,

brother, a Jesuit, who acted as chaplain and secretary to the Spanish ambassador at the Hague. The British resident at that court, having learned from the Spanish minister some secrets relating to England, even before they were communicated to him from the English ministry, was induced to set on foot an inquiry touching the source of this information; and soon received an assurance, that the secretary of the Spanish ambassador had a brother, a physician, at London. The suspicion, naturally arising from this circumstance, being imparted to the ministry of England, Hensley was narrowly watched, and twenty-nine of his letters were intercepted. From the contents of these he was convicted of having given the French court the first notice of the expedition to North America, the capture of the two ships, the Alcide and Lys, the sailing and destination of every squadron and armament, and the difficulties that occurred in raising money for the service of the public. He had even informed them, that the secret expedition of the foregoing year was intended against Rochfort; and advised a descent upon Great Britain, at a certain time and place, as the most effectual method of distressing the government, and affecting the public credit. After a long trial he was found guilty of treason, and received the sentence of death usually pronounced on such occasions: but whether he earned forgiveness by some material discovery, or the minister found him so insensible and insignificant that he was ashamed to take his life, he escaped execution, and was pardoned, on condition of going into perpetual exile.

The severity of the government was much about the same period exercised on Trial of Dr. Shebbeare. Dr. Shebbeare, a public writer, who, in a series of printed letters to the people of England, had animadverted on the conduct of the ministry, in the most acrimonious terms, stigmatized some great names with all the virulence of censure, and even assaulted the throne itself with oblique insinuation and ironical satire. The ministry, incensed at the boldness, and still more enraged at the success of this author, whose writings were bought with avidity by the public, determined to punish him severely for his arrogance and abuse; and he was apprehended by warrant from the secretary's office. His sixth letter to the people of England was pitched upon as the foundation of a prosecution. After a short trial, in the court of King's Bench, he was found guilty of having writ the sixth letter to the people of England, adjudged a libellous pamphlet, sentenced to stand in the pillory, to pay a small fine, to be imprisoned three years, and give security for his future good behaviour: so that, in effect, this man suffered more for having given vent to the unguarded effusions of mistaken zeal, couched in the language of passion and scurrility, than was inflicted upon Hensley, a convicted traitor, who had acted as a spy for France, and betrayed his own country for hire.

Amidst a variety of crimes and disorders, arising from impetuosity of temper, unreined passion, luxury, extravagance, and an almost total want of police and subordination, the virtues of benevolence are always springing up to an extraordinary growth in the British soil; and here charities are often established by the humanity of individuals, which in any other country would be honoured as national institutions: witness the great number of hospitals and infirmaries in London and Westminster, erected and maintained by voluntary contributions, or raised by the princely donations of private founders. In the course of this year the public began to enjoy the benefit of several admirable institutions.

Ann. 1758. institutions. Mr. Henry Raine, a private gentleman of Middlesex, had in his life-time built and endowed an hospital for the maintenance of forty poor maidens. By his will he bequeathed a certain sum of money to accumulate at interest, under the management of trustees, until the yearly produce should amount to two hundred and ten pounds, to be given in marriage portions to two of the maidens educated in his hospital, at the age of twenty-two, who should be the best recommended for piety and industry by the masters or mistresses whom they had served. In the month of March, the sum destined for this laudable purpose was completed; when the trustees, by public advertisement, summoned the maidens educated in the hospital to appear on a certain day, with proper certificates of their behaviour and circumstances, that six of the most deserving might be selected to draw lots for the prize of one hundred pounds, to be payed as her marriage-portion, provided she married a man of an unblemished character, a member of the church of England, residing within certain specified parishes, and approved by the trustees. Accordingly on the first of May the candidates appeared; and the prize being gained by one young woman, in presence of a numerous assembly of all ranks, attracted by curiosity, the other five maidens, with a sixth, added in lieu of her who had been successful, were marked for a second chance on the same day of the following year, when a second prize of the same value would be presented: thus a new candidate will be added every year, that every maiden who has been educated in this hospital, and preserved her character without reproach, may have a chance for the noble donation, which is also accompanied with the sum of five pounds to defray the expence of the wedding entertainment. One scarce knows whether most to admire the plan, or commend the humanity of this excellent institution.

Magdalen
hospital and
Asylum.

Of equal and perhaps superior merit was another charitable establishment, which also took effect about this period. A small number of humane individuals, chiefly citizens of London, deeply affected with the situation of common prostitutes, who are certainly the most forlorn of all human creatures, formed a generous resolution in their favour, such as even the best men of the kingdom had never before the courage to avow. They considered that many of those unhappy creatures, so wretched in themselves, and so productive of mischief to society, had been seduced to vice in their tender years by the perfidious artifice of the other sex, or the violence of unruly passion, before they had acquired experience to guard against the one, or foresight to perceive the fatal consequences of the other: that the jewel, reputation, being thus irretrievably lost, perhaps in one unguarded moment, they were covered with shame and disgrace, abandoned by their families, excluded from all pity, regard, and assistance: that, stung by self-conviction, insulted with reproach, denied the privilege of penitence and contrition, cut off from all hope, impelled by indigence, and maddened with despair, they had plunged into a life of infamy, in which they were exposed to deplorable vicissitudes of misery, and the most excruciating pangs of reflection that any human being could sustain: that whatever remorse they might feel, howsoever they might detest their own vice, or long for an opportunity of amendment, they were intirely destitute of all means of reformation: they were not only deprived of all possibility of profiting by those precious moments of repentance, and becoming again useful members of society;

society; but, in order to earn a miserable subsistence, were obliged to persevere in the paths of prostitution, and act as the instruments of heaven's vengeance in propagating distemper and profligacy, in ruining the bodies and debauching the minds of their fellow-creatures. Moved to sympathy and compassion by these considerations, this virtuous band of associates determined to provide a comfortable asylum for female penitents, to which they might fly for shelter from the receptacles of vice, the miseries of life, and the scorn of mankind; where they might indulge the salutary sentiments of remorse, make their peace with heaven, accustom themselves to industry and temperance, and be profitably reunited to society, from which they had been so unhappily severed. The plan of this excellent institution being formed, was put in execution by means of voluntary subscription, and the house opened in Goodman's-fields, under the name of the Magdalen-hospital, in the month of August; when fifty petitions were presented by penitent prostitutes, soliciting admittance. Another asylum was also opened by the hand of private charity, on the Surry-side of Westminster-bridge, for the reception and education of female orphans, and children abandoned by their parents; and no doubt the managers of both will be enabled, by the contribution of the tender-hearted and humane, to extend their protection over every object labouring under those species of distress which they propose to relieve.

Nor was encouragement refused to those who distinguished themselves by extraordinary talents, in any branch of the liberal and useful arts and sciences, though no Mæcenas appeared among the ministers, and not the least ray of patronage glimmered from the throne. The protection, countenance, and gratification, secured in other countries by the institution of academies, and the liberality of princes, the ingenious in England derived from the generosity of a public, endued with taste and sensibility, eager for improvement, and proud of patronizing extraordinary merit. Several years had already elapsed since a society of private persons was instituted at London, for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce. It consisted of a president, vice-president, secretary, register, collector, and other officers, elected from a very considerable number of members, who pay a certain yearly contribution for the purposes of the institution. In the course of every year they held eight general meetings in a large assembly-room, built and furnished at the common expence; besides the ordinary meetings of the society, held every week, from the second Wednesday in November to the last Wednesday in May; and, in the intermediate time, on the first and third Wednesday of every month. At these ordinary meetings, provided the number then present exceeded ten, the members had a right to proceed on business, and power to appoint such committees as they should think necessary. The money contributed by this association, after the necessary expence of the society had been deducted, was expended in premiums for planting and husbandry; for discoveries and improvements in chemistry, dying, and mineralogy; for promoting the ingenious arts of drawing, engraving, casting, painting, statuary, and sculpture; for the improvement of manufactures, and machines in the various articles of hats, crapes, druggets, mills, marbled paper, ship-blocks, spinning-wheels, toys, yarn, knitting, and weaving. They likewise allotted sums for the advantage of the British colonies in America; and bestowed premiums on those settlers who

Society for
the improve-
ment of arts.

should.

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should excel in curing cochineal, planting logwood-trees, cultivating olive-trees, producing myrtle-wax, making pot-ash, preserving raisins, curing safflower, making silk and wines, importing sturgeon, preparing isinglass, planting hemp and cinnamon, extracting opium and the gum of the persimon-tree, collecting stones of the mango, which should be found to vegetate in the West-Indies; raising silk-grass, and laying out provincial gardens. They moreover allowed a gold medal, in honour of him who should compose the best treatise on the arts of peace, containing an historical account of the progressive improvements of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce in the kingdom of England, with the effects of those improvements on the morals and manners of the people, and pointing out the most proper means for their future advancement. In a word, the society is so numerous, the contributions so considerable, the plan so judiciously laid, and executed with such discretion and spirit, as to promise much more effectual and extensive advantage to the public, than ever accrued from all the boasted academies of Christendom.

Other encouragements for learning and ingenuity.

The artists of London had long maintained a private academy for improvement in the art of drawing from living figures; but, in order to extend this advantage, which was not attained without difficulty and expence, the duke of Richmond, a young nobleman of the most amiable character, provided a large apartment at Whitehall for the use of those who studied the arts of painting, sculpture, and engraving; and furnished it with a collection of original plaster casts from the best antique statues and busts at Rome and Florence. Here any learner had liberty to draw, or make models, under the eye and instructions of two eminent artists; and twice a year the munificent founder bestowed premiums of silver medals on the four pupils who excelled the rest in drawing from a certain figure, and making the best model of it in basso-relievo*.

On

* Among other transactions that distinguish the history of Great Britain, scarce a year glides away without producing some incident, that strongly marks the singular character of the English nation. A very extraordinary instance of this nature, relating to the late duke of Marlborough, we shall record among the events of this year, although it derived its origin from the latter end of the last, and cannot be properly enumerated among those occurrences that appertain to general history. Towards the end of November, in the preceding year, the abovementioned nobleman received, by the post, a letter directed "To his grace the duke of Marlborough, with care and speed," and containing this address: "My lord, As ceremony is an idle thing upon most occasions, more especially to persons in my state of mind, I shall proceed immediately to acquaint you with the motive and end of addressing this epistle to you, which is equally interesting to us both. You are to know then, that my present situation in life is such, that I should prefer annihilation to a continuance in it. Desperate diseases require desperate remedies; and you are the man I have pitched upon, either to make me or unmake yourself. As I never had

the honour to live among the great, the tenour of my proposals will not be very courtly; but let that be an argument to enforce a belief of what I am now going to write. It has employed my invention for some time, to find out a method of destroying another without exposing my own life: that I have accomplished, and defy the law. Now, for the application of it. I am desperate, and must be provided for. You have it in your power; it is my business to make it your inclination to serve me; which you must determine to comply with, by procuring me a genteel support for my life, or your own will be at a period before this session of parliament is over. I have more motives than one for singling you out upon this occasion; and I give you this fair warning, because the means I shall make use of are too fatal to be eluded by the power of physic. If you think this of any consequence, you will not fail to meet the author on Sunday next, at ten in the morning, or on Monday (if the weather should be rainy on Sunday) near the first tree beyond the stile in Hyde Park, in the foot-walk to Kensington. Secrecy and compliance may preserve you from a double danger of this sort, as there is a certain part of the world where your death

On the twenty-third day of November both houses of parliament met at Ann. 1758. Westminster, when, his majesty being indisposed, the session was opened by Meeting of commission, and the lord keeper harangued them to this effect. He told them, the parliament. his majesty had directed the lords of the commission to assure his parliament, that

death has more than been wished for upon other motives. I know the world too well to trust this secret in any breast but my own. A few days determine me your friend or enemy. Felton.— You will apprehend that I mean you should be alone; and depend upon it, that a discovery of any artifice in this affair will be fatal to you. My safety is insured by my silence, for confession only can condemn me." The duke, in compliance with this strange remonstrance, appeared at the time and place appointed, on horseback and alone, with pistols before him, and the star of his order displayed, that he might be the more easily known. He had likewise taken the precaution of engaging a friend to attend in the Park at such a distance, however, as scarce to be observable. He continued some time on the spot without seeing any person he could suspect of having writ the letter, and then rode away; but chancing to turn his head, when he reached Hyde-Park corner, he perceived a man standing at the bridge, and looking at the water, within twenty yards of the tree which was described in the letter. He forthwith rode back at a gentle pace, and passing by the person, expected to be addressed; but as no advance of this kind was made, he, in repassing, bowed to the stranger, and asked if he had not something to communicate. The man replying, "No, I don't know you;" the duke told him his name, adding, "Now you know me, I imagine you have something to say to me." But he still answered in the negative, and the duke rode home. In a day or two after this transaction another letter was brought to him, couched in the following terms: "My lord, you receive this as an acknowledgement of your punctuality, as to the time and place of meeting on Sunday last, though it was owing to you it answered no purpose. The pageantry of being armed, and the ensign of your order, were useless and too conspicuous. You needed no attendant; the place was not calculated for mischief, nor was any intended. If you walk in the west isle of Westminster-Abbey, towards eleven o'clock on Sunday next, your sagacity will point out the person, whom you will address, by asking his company to take a turn or two with you. You will not fail, on enquiry, to be acquainted with the name and place of abode. According to which direction, you will please send two or three hundred pound Bank notes, the next day, by the penny post. Exert not your curiosity too early; it is in your power to make me grateful on cer-

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tain terms. I have friends who are faithful, but they do not bark before they bite. I am, &c.

F."

The duke determined, if possible, to unveil this mystery, repaired to the Abbey at the time prescribed, and after having walked up and down for five or six minutes, saw the very same person, to whom he had spoke in Hyde-Park, enter the Abbey with another man of a creditable appearance. This last, after they had viewed some of the monuments, went into the choir, and the other turning back, advanced towards the duke, who accosted him, asked if he had any thing to say to him, or any commands for him? He replied, "No, my lord, I have not." "Sure you have," said the duke; but he persisted in his denial. Then the duke leaving him, took several turns in the isle, while the stranger walked on the other side. But nothing further passed between them; and although the duke had provided several persons in disguise to apprehend the delinquent, he forbore giving the signal, that, notwithstanding appearances, he might run no risque of injuring an innocent person. Not long after this second disappointment he received a third letter, to the following effect: "My lord, I am fully convinced you had a companion on Sunday: I interpret it as owing to the weakness of human nature; but such proceeding is far from being ingenuous, and may produce bad effects, whilst it is impossible to answer the end proposed. You will see me again soon, as it were, by accident, and may easily find where I go to; in consequence of which, by being sent to I shall wait on your grace; but expect to be quite alone, and to converse in whispers: you will likewise give your honour, upon meeting, that no part of the conversation shall transpire. These and the former terms complied with, ensure your safety: my revenge, in case of non-compliance, (or any scheme to expose me) will be slower, but not the less sure; and strong suspicion the utmost that can possibly ensue upon it, while the chances would be tenfold again you. You will possibly be in doubt after the meeting, but it is quite necessary the outside should be a mask to the in. The family of the Bloods is not extinct, though they are not in my scheme."

The expression, "you will see me again soon, as it were, by accident," plainly pointed at the person to whom he had spoke in the Park, and in the Abbey; nevertheless he saw him not again,

Ann. 1758. that he always received the highest satisfaction in being able to lay before them any events that might promote the honour and interest of his kingdoms: that, in consequence of their advice, and enabled by the assistance which they unanimously gave, his majesty had exerted his endeavours to carry on the war in

again, nor did he hear any thing farther of the affair for two months, at the expiration of which the post brought him the following letter: "May it please your grace, I have reason to believe that the son of one Barnard, a surveyor in Abingdon-buildings, Westminster, is acquainted with some secrets that nearly concern your safety: his father is now out of town, which will give you an opportunity of questioning him more privately; it would be useless to your grace, as well as dangerous to me, to appear more publicly in this affair. Your sincere friend, Anonymous.—He frequently goes to Storey's Gate coffee-house."—In about a week after this intimation was received, the duke sent a person to the coffee-house to enquire for Mr. Barnard, and tell him he would be glad to speak to him. The message was delivered, and Barnard declared he would wait upon his grace next Thursday, half an hour after ten in the morning. He was punctual to his appointment, and no sooner appeared than the duke recognized him to be the person to whom he had spoke in the Park and the Abbey. Having conducted him into an apartment, and shut the door, he asked, as before, if he had any thing to communicate; and was answered, as formerly, in the negative. Then the duke repeated every circumstance of this strange transaction; to which Barnard listened with attention and surprise, yet without exhibiting any marks of conscious guilt or confusion. The duke observing, that it was matter of astonishment to see letters of such import written with the correctness of a scholar, the other replied, that a man might be very poor and very learned at the same time. When he saw the fourth letter, in which his name was mentioned, with the circumstance of his father's absence, he said, "It is very odd, my father was then out of town." An expression the more remarkable, as the letter was without date, and he could not, as an innocent man, be supposed to know at what time it was written. The duke having made him acquainted with the particulars, told him, that if he was innocent, he ought to use his endeavours to detect the writer of the letters, especially of the last, in which he was expressly named. To this admonition he returned no other answer but a smile, and then withdrew.—He was afterwards taken into custody, and tried at the Old Bailey, for sending a threatening letter, contrary to the statute; but no evidence could be found, to prove the letters were of his

hand-writing; nor did any presumption appear against him, except his being in Hyde-Park, and in Westminster-Abbey, at the time and place appointed in the two first letters. On the other hand, Mr. Barnard proved, that on the Sunday, when he saw the duke in Hyde-Park, he was on his way to Kensington, on particular business, by his father's order, signified to him that very morning: that he accordingly went thither, and dined with his uncle, in company with several other persons, to whom he related what had passed between the duke of Marlborough and him in the Park: that his being afterwards in Westminster-Abbey was the effect of mere accident: that Mr. James Greenwood, his kinsman, who had lain the preceding night at his father's house, desired him to dress himself, that they might walk together in the Park; and he did not comply with his request till after much solicitation: that he proposed to enter the Park without passing through the Abbey, but was prevailed upon by Mr. Greenwood, who expressed a desire of seeing the newly-erected monument of general Hargrave: that as he had formerly communicated to his friend the strange circumstance of the duke's speaking to him in Hyde Park, Mr. Greenwood no sooner saw that nobleman in the Abbey, than he gave notice to Mr. Barnard, who was very short-sighted; and that, from his passing them several times, concluding he wanted to speak with Mr. Barnard alone, he quitted him, and retired into the choir, that they might commune together without interruption. It likewise appeared, from undoubted evidence, that Barnard had often mentioned openly, to his friends and acquaintance, the circumstances of what passed between him and the duke in the Park and in the Abbey: that his father was a man of unblemished reputation, and in affluent circumstances: that he himself was never reduced to any want, or such exigence as might impel him to any desperate methods of obtaining money: that his fidelity had been often tried, and his life always irreproachable. For these reasons he was acquitted of the crime laid to his charge, and the mystery remains to this day undiscovered.

After all, the author of the letters does not seem to have had any real design to extort money, because the scheme was very ill calculated for that purpose, and, indeed, could not possibly take effect, without the most eminent risque of detection. Perhaps his aim was nothing more than

in the most vigorous manner, in order to attain that desirable end, always to be wished, a safe and honourable peace *: that it had pleased the Divine Providence to bless his measures and arms with success in several parts; and to make the enemies of the nation feel, that the strength of Great Britain is not to be provoked with impunity: that the conquest of the strong fortress of Louisbourg, with the islands of Cape Breton and St. John; the demolition of Frontenac, of the highest importance to his operations in America; and the reduction of Senegal; could not fail to bring great distress on the French commerce and colonies, and, in proportion, to procure great advantage to those of Great Britain. He observed, that France had also been made sensible, that whilst her forces are sent forth to invade and ravage the dominions of her neighbours, her own coasts are not inaccessible to his majesty's fleets and armies: a truth which she had experienced in the demolition of the works at Cherbourg erected at a great expence, with a particular view to annoy England, as well as in the loss of a great number of ships and vessels: but no treatment, however injurious to his majesty, could tempt him to make retaliation on the innocent subjects of that crown. He told them, that in Germany his majesty's good brother the king of Prussia, and prince Ferdinand of Brunswic, had found full employment for the armies of France and her confederates, from which the English operations, both by sea and in America, had derived the most evident advantage; their successes owing, under God, to their able conduct, and the bravery of his majesty's troops, and those of his allies, having been signal and glorious. The king, moreover, commanded them to declare, that the common cause of liberty and independency was still making noble and glorious efforts against the unnatural union formed to oppress it: that the commerce of his subjects, the source of national riches, had, by the vigilant protection received from his majesty's fleet, flourished in a manner not to be paralleled during such troubles. In this state of things, he said, the king in his wisdom, thought it unnecessary to use many words to persuade them to bear up against all difficulties, effectually to stand by and defend his majesty, vigorously to support the king of Prussia, and the rest of his majesty's allies, and to exert themselves to reduce their enemies to equitable terms of accommodation. He observed to the house of commons, that the uncommon extent of this war, in different parts, occasioned it to be uncommonly expensive: that the king had ordered them to declare to the commons, that he sincerely lamented, and deeply felt for the burdens of his people: that the several estimates were ordered to be laid before them; and that he desired only such supplies as should be requisite to push the war with advantage, and be adequate

than to gratify a petulance and peculiarity of humour, by alarming the duke, exciting the curiosity of the public, puzzling the multitude, and giving rise to a thousand ridiculous conjectures. If any thing more was intended, and the duke earnestly desired to know the extent of the scheme, he might, when he closetted the person suspected, have encouraged him to a declaration, by promising inviolable secrecy on his word and honour, in which any man would have confided as a sacred obligation. On the whole, it is surprising that the death of the duke, which

happened in the course of this year, was never attributed to the secret practices of this incendiary correspondent, who had given him to understand, that his vengeance, though slow, would not be the less certain.

* In the month of August the king, in quality of elector of Hanover, having occasion for two hundred thousand pounds, a loan by subscription for that sum was opened at the Bank, and filled immediately by seven or eight money-dealers of London.

Ann. 1758. to the necessary services. In the last place, he assured them the king took so much satisfaction in that good harmony which subsisted among his faithful subjects, that it was more proper for him now to thank them for it, than to repeat his exhortation to it: that this union, necessary at all times, was more especially so in such critical conjunctures; and his majesty doubted not but the good effects the nation had found from it, would be the strongest motives to them to pursue it.

Remarks on
the speech.

The reader will, no doubt, be surprised to find this harangue abound with harshness of period, and inelegancy of expression: he will wonder that, in particularising the successes of the year in America, no mention is made of the reduction of Fort Du Quesne on the river Ohio; a place of great importance, both from its strength and situation, the erection of which had been one great motive to the war between the two nations: but he will be still more surprised to hear it declared from the throne, that the operations, both by sea and in America, had derived the most evident advantage from the war in Germany. An assertion the more extraordinary, as the B—— m——, in their answer to the Parallel, which we have already mentioned, had expressly affirmed, that “none but such as are unacquainted with the maritime force of England, can believe, that without a diversion on the continent, to employ part of the enemy’s force, she is not in a condition to hope for success, and maintain her superiority at sea.—That they must be very ignorant, indeed, who imagine that the forces of England are not able to resist those of France, unless the latter be hindered from turning all her efforts to the sea.” It is very remarkable, that the B—— m—— should declare, that the war in Germany was favourable to the English operations by sea, and in America; and, almost in the same breath, accuse the French king of having fomented that war. Let us suppose that France had no war to maintain in Europe; and ask in what manner she, in that case, would have opposed the progress of the British arms by sea, and in America? Her navy was reduced to such a condition, that it durst not quit her harbours: her merchant-ships were all taken, her mariners confined in England, and the sea was covered with British cruisers: in these circumstances, what expedients could she have contrived for sending supplies and reinforcements to America, or for opposing the naval armaments of Great Britain in any other part of the world? None. Without ships and mariners, her troops, ammunition, and stores were, in this respect, as useless as money to a man ship-wrecked on a desolate island. But granting that the war in Germany had, in some measure, diverted the attention of the French ministry from the prosecution of their operations in America, (and this is granting more than ought to be allowed) the question is not, whether the hostilities upon the continent of Europe have prevented France from sending a great number of troops to Canada; but whether the war in Germany was either necessary or expedient, for distressing the French more effectually in other parts of the world? Surely every intelligent man of candour must answer in the negative. The expence incurred by England for subsidies and armies in the Empire, exceeds three millions sterling annually; and this enormous expence, without being able to protect Hanover, has only served to keep the war alive in different parts of Germany. Had one half of this sum been employed in augmenting and extending the naval armaments of Great Britain, and in reinforcing her troops in America and the West-Indies,

Indies, France would have been, at this day, deprived of all her sugar colonies, Ann. 1758. as well as of her settlements on the continent of America; and being absolutely cut off from these sources of wealth, would have found it impracticable either to gratify her subsidiaries, or to maintain such formidable armies to annoy her neighbours. These are truths, which will appear to the conviction of the public, when the illusive spells of unsubstantial victory are dissolved, and time shall have dispersed the thick mists of prejudice, which now seem to darken and perplex the understanding of the people.

The conduct of the administration was so agreeable to both houses of parliament, that in their address to the throne, they expressed their unshaken zeal and loyalty to his majesty's person, congratulated him on the success of his arms, and promised to support his measures and allies with steadiness and alacrity *. It was probably in consequence of this assurance, that a new treaty between Great Britain and Prussia was concluded at London on the seventh day of December, importing, that as the burthensome war, in which the king of Prussia is engaged, lays him under the necessity of making fresh efforts to defend himself against the multitude of enemies who attack his dominions, he is obliged to take new measures with the king of England, for their reciprocal defence and safety; and his Britannic majesty hath, at the same time, signified his earnest desire to strengthen the friendship subsisting between the two courts, and, in consequence thereof, to conclude a formal convention, for granting to his Prussian majesty speedy and powerful assistance, their majesties have nominated and authorized their ministers, to concert and settle the following articles. All formal treaties between the two crowns, particularly that signed at Westminster on the sixteenth day of January, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, and the convention of the eleventh of April, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-eight, are confirmed by the present convention of the eleventh of April, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-eight, in their whole tenor, as if they were herein inserted word for word. The king of Great Britain shall cause to be paid at London, to such person or persons as shall be authorized by the king of Prussia for that end, the sum of four millions of rixdollars, making six hundred and seventy thousand pounds sterling, at one payment, immediately on the exchange of the ratifications, if the king of Prussia shall so require. His Prussian majesty shall employ the said sum in supporting and augmenting his forces, which shall act in such manner as shall be of the greatest service to the common cause, and contribute most to the mutual defence and safety of their said majesties. The king of Great Britain, both as king and elector, and the king

New treaty
with the king
of Prussia.

* That the charge of disaffection to the king's person, which was so loudly trumpeted by former ministers and their adherents, against all those who had honesty and courage to oppose the measures of a weak and corrupt administration, was entirely false, and without foundation, appeared at this juncture, when in the midst of a cruel, oppressive, and continental war, maintained by the blood and treasure of Great Britain, all opposition ceased in both houses of parliament. The addresses of thanks to his majesty, which are always dictated by

the immediate servants of the crown, were unanimously adopted in both houses, and not only couched in terms of applause, but even inflated with expressions of rapture and admiration. They declared themselves sensible, that the operations of Great Britain, both by sea and in America, had received the most evident and important advantages from the maintenance of the war in Germany, and seemed eager to espouse any measure that might gratify the inclinations of the sovereign.

of

Ann. 1759. of Prussia, reciprocally bind themselves not to conclude, with the powers that have taken part in the present war, any treaty of peace, truce, or other such like convention, but by common advice and consent, each expressly including therein the other. The ratification of the present convention shall be exchanged within six weeks, or sooner, if possible.

In effect, this treaty was no other than a renewal of the subsidy from year to year, because it was not thought proper to stipulate in the first subsidiary convention an annual supply of such importance until the war should be terminated, lest the people of England should be alarmed at the prospect of such successive burdens, and the complaisance of the commons be in some future session exhausted. On the whole, this is perhaps the most extraordinary treaty that ever was concluded; for it contains no specification of articles, except the payment of the subsidy; and every other article is left to the interpretation of his P—— m——y.

Articles of
supply grant-
ed in parlia-
ment for the
year 1759.

The parliament, having performed the ceremony of addresses to the throne, immediately proceeded to the great work of the supply. The two committees in the house of commons were immediately established, and continued by adjournments to the month of May, by the twenty-third day of which all their resolutions were taken. They voted sixty thousand men, including fourteen thousand eight hundred and forty-five marines, for the service of the ensuing year; and for the operations by land, a body of troops amounting to fifty-two thousand five hundred and fifty-three effective men, besides the auxiliaries of Hanover, Hesse, Brunswick, Saxe-Gotha, and Buckebourg, to the number of fifty thousand, and five battalions on the Irish establishment, in actual service in America and Africa. For the maintenance of the sixty thousand men employed in the sea service, they granted three millions one hundred and twenty thousand pounds; for the land-forces, one million two hundred fifty-six thousand one hundred and thirty pounds fifteen shillings and two pence; for the charge of the additional five battalions, forty thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine pounds thirteen shillings and nine-pence; for the pay of the general and staff-officers, and hospitals of the land-forces, fifty-two thousand four hundred and eighty-four pounds one shilling and eight pence; for maintaining the garrisons in the plantations, Gibraltar, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Providence, Cape Breton, and Senegal, the sum of seven hundred and forty-two thousand five hundred and thirty-one pounds five shillings and seven pence; for the charge of ordnance for land service, two hundred and twenty thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine pounds eleven shillings and nine pence; for extraordinary service performed by the same office, and not provided for by parliament in the course of the preceding year, three hundred twenty-three thousand nine hundred and eighty-seven pounds thirteen shillings and three pence; for the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to sea-officers, two hundred and thirty-eight thousand four hundred and ninety-one pounds nine shillings and eight pence; towards the support of Greenwich-hospital, and for the out-pensioners of Chelsea-college, the sum of thirty-six thousand pounds. They allotted for one year's expence, incurred by the foreign troops in the pay of Great Britain, one million two hundred thirty-eight thousand one hundred and seventy-seven pounds nineteen shillings and ten pence, over and above sixty thou-

thousand pounds, for enabling his majesty to fulfil his engagements with the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, pursuant to the separate article of a new treaty concluded between them in the month of January of this current year, stipulating that this sum should be paid to his serene highness, in order to facilitate the means by which he might again fix his residence in his own dominions, and by his presence give fresh courage to his faithful subjects. Eighty thousand pounds were granted for enabling his majesty to discharge the like sum, raised in pursuance of an act passed in the preceding session, and charged upon the first aids or supplies to be granted in this session of parliament. The sum of two hundred thousand pounds was voted towards the building and repairing ships of war for the ensuing year. Fifteen thousand pounds were allowed for improving London bridge; and forty thousand on account for the Foundling-hospital. For the charge of transports to be employed in the course of the year, they assigned six hundred sixty-seven thousand seven hundred and twenty-one pounds nineteen shillings and seven pence: for maintaining the colonies of Nova Scotia and Georgia, they bestowed twenty-five thousand two hundred and thirty-eight pounds thirteen shillings and five pence. To replace sums taken from the sinking fund, thirty-three thousand two hundred and fifty-two pounds eighteen shillings and ten pence half-penny; for maintaining the British forts and settlements on the coast of Africa, ten thousand pounds; and for paying off the mortgage on an estate, devised for the endowment of a professorship in the university of Cambridge, the sum of twelve hundred and eighty pounds. For the expence of the militia they voted ninety thousand pounds: for extraordinary expences relating to the land-forces, incurred in the course of last year, and unprovided for by parliament, the sum of four hundred sixty-six thousand seven hundred and eighty-five pounds ten shilling five pence and three farthings. For the purchase of certain lands and hereditaments, in order to secure the king's docks at Portsmouth, Chatham, and Plymouth, they granted thirty-six thousand nine hundred and sixty-six pounds two shillings and ten pence. They voted two hundred thousand pounds for enabling his majesty to give proper compensations to the respective provinces in North America, for the expences they had incurred in levying and maintaining troops for the service of the public. They granted twenty thousand pounds to the East-India company, towards enabling them to defray the expence of a military force in their settlements; and the same sum was granted for carrying on the fortifications to secure the harbour of Milford. To make good several sums issued by his majesty, for indemnifying the innholders and victuallers of Hampshire, for the expences they had incurred by quartering the Hessian auxiliaries in England; for an addition to the salaries of judges, and other less considerable purposes, they allowed the sum of twenty-six thousand one hundred and seventy-eight pounds sixteen shillings and six pence. Finally, they voted one million, upon account, for enabling the king to defray any extraordinary expence of the war, incurred, or to be incurred, for the service of the current year; and to take all such measures as might be necessary to disappoint or defeat any enterprizes or designs of his enemies, as the exigency of affairs should require.

The

Ann. 1759.

The sum of all the grants voted by the committee of supply, amounted to twelve millions seven hundred sixty-one thousand three hundred and ten pounds nineteen shillings and five pence *.

* The funds allotted for raising this vast supply, consisted of the land-tax at four shillings in the pound, the malt-tax continued, and the following expedients. They resolved, that the annuities at three per centum, amounting to three millions one hundred thousand pounds, granted in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven, should be, with the consent of the several proprietors, added to the joint-stock of three per centum transferable annuities at the Bank of England, consolidated by the acts passed in the twenty-fifth, twenty-eighth, and twenty-ninth years of his majesty's reign, and the charges and expences thereof to be charged upon the sinking-fund until redemption by parliament; and that all such persons as should not, before the fifth of April next, signify their dissent, in books to be opened at the Bank for that purpose, should be deemed assenting to this proposal. They further resolved, that all the moneys which might arise, after the fifth day of January, from the produce of the additional stamp-duties on pamphlets, printed papers, coals exported, the surplus of the new duty on licences for retailing wine and spirituous liquors, which were constituted a fund for paying three per centum per annum at the Bank, on three millions borrowed, by virtue of an act passed in the thirtieth year of his majesty's reign, towards the supply of the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven; as also the annuities on single lives, payable at the receipt of the Exchequer, in respect of the same, should be added to the sinking-fund. They resolved, that six millions six hundred thousand pounds should be raised by transferable annuities, after the rate of three pounds per centum per annum; and that an additional capital of fifteen pounds should be added to every hundred pounds advanced; which additional capital should consist of ten pounds, given in a lottery-ticket to each subscriber, and of five pounds in like transferable annuities at three pounds per centum: the blanks and prizes of the lottery to be attended with like annuities, after the rate of three pounds per centum per annum, to commence from the fifth day of January in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty: that the sum of six millions six hundred thousand pounds, together with the said additional capital of five pounds per centum, amounting to three hundred and thirty thousand pounds, making in the whole six millions nine hundred and thirty thousand pounds, should bear interest after the

rate of three per centum, to commence on the fifth day of July next ensuing; that these annuities should be transferable at the Bank of England, and charged upon a fund established for that purpose in this session of parliament, for which the sinking-fund should be a collateral security, redeemable by parliament in the whole, or in part, by sums not less than five hundred thousand pounds at one time, six months notice having been first given of such payments respectively: that the lottery should consist of tickets valued at ten pounds each, in a proportion not exceeding eight blanks to a prize, each blank to be valued at six pounds. They resolved, that every subscriber should, on or before the thirteenth day of February, make a deposit of fifteen per centum, on such sum as he should chuse to subscribe towards raising the six millions six hundred thousand pounds with the cashiers of the Bank of England, as a security for his making the future payments on or before the times limited by the act: that the several sums so received should, by the cashiers, be payed into the receipt of his majesty's Exchequer, to be applied, from time to time, to such services as the commons should then have voted, and not for any other purpose: that any subscriber, paying the whole, or any part of his subscription, previous to the days appointed for the respective payments, should be allowed a discount, after the rate of three pounds per centum per annum, from the days of such respective payments to the times prescribed. They resolved, that a subsidy of one shilling in the pound should be imposed on all tobacco, foreign linens, sugar and other grocery, East-India commodities, foreign brandy, spirits, and paper imported into Great Britain, according to the value settled on each commodity by the several books of rates, or any acts of parliament, over and above the present duties charged upon these articles. They laid an additional inland duty of one shilling per pound upon all coffee sold in Great Britain, by wholesale or retail; and another of nine pence per pound upon chocolate, over and above the former inland duty, and all customs payed on its importation. They resolved, that such part of the hundred thousand pounds, granted in the last session, towards defraying the expence of the militia, as remained in the Exchequer, after satisfaction of that expence, should be issued and applied towards raising the supply granted in this session. That after the fifth day of July, in the current year, any person

The commons were still employed in deliberations on ways and means on Ann. 1759. the twenty-second day of May, when Mr. secretary Pitt communicated to King's mes- them a message from the king, couched in these terms: "His majesty, re- sage to the lying on the experienced zeal and affection of his faithful commons, and con- commons. sidering

person might trade in any goods or wares, in which the quantity of gold, in any one separate piece, should not exceed two penny weights, or the quantity of silver be under five penny weights, without being liable to take out a licence for that purpose; but that, from the same date, every person selling gold or silver plate, or goods in which gold or silver is manufactured, and the quantity of gold in one distinct piece should amount to two ounces or upwards, or the quantity of silver in one piece amounts to thirty ounces or upwards, should pay five pounds for an annual licence, instead of the forty shillings formerly payable for this purpose; and that all pawnbrokers, refiners, and others, trading in gold and silver plate, should be obliged to take out this new annual licence: the sums thus raised to be applied to the same uses and purposes, to which the sums charged on licences by an act of last session were applicable. They resolved, that the act to settle the trade to Africa, passed in the reign of William III. for allowing, during a limited time, a drawback of the duties upon the exportation of copper bars imported, with a proviso continued by several successive acts, and now near expiring, should be further protracted; that so much of an act, passed in the eighth year of George I. for encouraging the silk manufacture of the kingdom, as relates to this encouragement, and to taking off several duties on merchandize exported, should likewise be continued. They moreover voted the continuation of so much of an act passed in the second year of George II. for the better preservation of his majesty's woods in America, as related to the premium upon masts, yards, and bowsprits, tar, pitch, and turpentine. They resolved, that the act for encouraging the growth of coffee in the American plantations, and another for the more effectual securing the duties on foreign-made sail-cloth imported into the kingdom, should be continued. They determined, that the sums remaining in the receipt of the Exchequer, disposable by parliament, amounting to the sum of two hundred fifty-three thousand three hundred and eighty-four pounds eleven pence, should be applied towards making good the supply granted in this session. They resolved, that the duties payable upon raw short silk or capiton, and silk nubs or husks, should, after the fifth day of July, cease and determine; but in lieu thereof, that the same duties should be

payed upon the importation of these articles, as were payed upon raw long silk imported, and applied to the same purposes.

Towards the present supply they likewise allotted the sum of one hundred thousand pounds, repayed into the receipt of the Exchequer, being the sum which was granted in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, for enabling the king to fulfil his engagements with the empress of Russia. For defraying the expence incurred by the additional salaries granted to the judges, they imposed an additional stamp-duty of six-pence upon every piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which should be engrossed or written any affidavit used in any court of law or equity at Westminster, or in the courts of the great sessions in Wales, or county-palatine of Chester, except affidavits taken pursuant to several acts made in the thirtieth and thirty-second years of the reign of Charles II. for burying in woollen; and except such affidavits as should be taken before the officers of the customs, or any justice of the peace, or commissioners appointed by act of parliament for assessing or levying aids or duties granted to his majesty, which affidavits should be taken by the said officers of the customs, justices, or, by virtue of their authority, as justices of the peace, or commissioners, respectively. This additional stamp-duty was charged on all affidavits read and filed in the aforesaid courts of judicature; on all paper and vellum used for common bail, rules, or orders, copies of rules or orders, original writs, subpoenas, process or mandate that should issue from or pass the seals of any of the courts of Westminster, courts of the great sessions in Wales, courts in the counties-palatine, or any other court whatever holding plea, where the debt or damage amounts to forty shillings or above, or the thing demanded is of that value; excepting, however, writs of covenant for levying fines, writs of entry for suffering common recoveries, and writs of habeas corpus. They moreover established an additional stamp-duty of one penny upon every sheet of paper or piece of vellum, used for depositions taken in the court of Chancery, or other court of equity at Westminster, (except the paper-draughts of depositions taken by virtue of any commission before they are engrossed) for copies of bills, answers, pleas, demurrers, replications, rejoinders, interrogatories, depositions, or other proceed-

Ann. 1759. sidering that, in this critical conjuncture, emergencies may arise, which may be of the utmost importance, and be attended with the most pernicious consequences, if proper means should not immediately be applied to prevent or defeat them, is desirous that this house will enable him to defray any extraordinary expences of the war, incurred, or to be incurred, for the service of the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine, and to take all such measures as may be necessary to disappoint or defeat any enterprizes or designs of his enemies, and as the exigencies of affairs may require."

This message being read, a motion was made, and agreed to nemine contradicente, that it should be referred to the committee, who forthwith formed upon it the resolution, whereby one million was granted, to be raised by loans, or exchequer-bills, chargeable on the first aids that should be given in the next session. This produced a bill enabling his majesty to raise the sum of one million, for the uses and purposes therein mentioned, comprehending a clause, allowing the Bank of England to advance, on the credit of the loan therein mentioned, any sum not exceeding a million, notwithstanding the act of the fifth and sixth years in the reign of William and Mary, by which the Bank was established.

Bills relating
to the distil-
lery and ex-
portation of
corn.

The bills relating solely to the supply being discussed and expedited, the house proceeded as usual to enact other laws for the advantage of the community. Petitions having been presented by the cities of Bristol and New Sarum, alledging, that since the laws prohibiting the making of low wines and spirits from grain, meal, and flour, had been in force, the commonalty appeared more sober, healthy, and industrious; representing the ill consequences which they apprehended would attend the repeal of these laws, and therefore praying their continuance; a committee of the whole house resolved, that the prohibition to export corn should be continued to the twenty-fourth day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine; subject, nevertheless, to such provisions for shortening the said term of its continuance as should therefore be made by any act of that session, or by his majesty with the advice of his privy council, during the recess of parliament;

proceedings whatsoever, in this or any other court of judicature in England and Wales. The augmentation of salaries granted to the judges in Scotland was charged upon the duties and revenues collected in that part of Great Britain.

Finally, the commons resolved, that the sum of two millions two hundred and fifty thousand pounds should be issued out of the sinking-fund towards the supply of the current year; and one million raised by exchequer-bills, chargeable on the first aids to be granted in the next session of parliament.

On the whole, the provision made by the committee of ways and means amounted to twelve millions nine hundred ninety-one thousand two hundred and thirty-nine pounds; so that there was an excess of two hundred twenty-nine thousand nine hundred and twenty-eight pounds one shilling and four pence, be-

sides the uncertain sum arising from the overplus of what had been voted for the maintenance and cloathing of the militia. Nearly two millions of this supply was granted for the purpose of carrying on the war in Germany, exclusive of the extraordinary expence incurred by transporting and recruiting the national troops of Great Britain in actual service upon that continent, train of artillery, convoys, forage, hospitals, and other contingencies of a campaign. Indeed, the whole expence of maintaining these troops ought to be placed to the account of the German war, inasmuch as their absence from Great Britain laid the nation under the necessity of retaining the militia in actual service. The bills founded on these resolutions were passed with great unanimity, and received the sanction of the royal assent.

that

that the act for discontinuing the duties upon corn and flour imported, or brought in as prize, was not proper to be further continued; and that the prohibition to make low wines or spirits from any sort of grain, meal, or flour, should be continued to the twenty-fourth day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine.

Before the bill was formed on these resolutions, petitions arrived from Liverpool and Bath, to the same purport as were those of Bristol and Sarum; while, on the other hand, a remonstrance was presented by a great number of the malt-distillers of the city and suburbs of London, alledging, that it having been deemed expedient to prohibit the distilling of spirits from any sort of grain to the twenty-fourth day of December then instant, some of the petitioners had entirely ceased to carry on the business of distilling; while others, merely with a view to preserve their customers, the compound distillers, and employ some of their servants, horses, and utensils, had submitted to carry on the distillation of spirits from molasses and sugars under great disadvantages, in full hope that the said restraint would cease at the expiration of the limited time, or at least when the necessity which occasioned that restraint should be removed; that it was with great concern they observed a bill would be brought in for protracting the said prohibition, at a time when the price of all manner of grain, and particularly of wheat and barley, was considerably reduced, and, as they humbly conceived, at a reasonable medium. They expatiated on the great loss they, as well as many traders and artificers dependents upon them, must sustain, in case the said bill should be passed into a law. They prayed the house to take these circumstances into consideration, and either permit them to carry on the distillation from wheat, malt, and other grain, under such restrictions as should be judged necessary; or to grant them such other relief, in respect of their several losses and incumbrances, as to the house should seem reasonable and expedient.

This petition, though strenuously urged by a powerful and clamorous body without doors, did not meet with great encouragement within. It was ordered to lie upon the table, and an instruction was given to the committee, empowering them to receive a clause or clauses to allow the transportation of certain quantities of meal, flour, bread, and biscuit, to the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, for the sole use of the inhabitants; and another to prohibit the making of low wines and spirits from bran.

Much more attention was paid to a petition of several farmers in the county of Norfolk, representing, that their farms consisted chiefly of arable land, which produced much greater quantities of corn than could be consumed within that county; that in the last harvest there was a great and plentiful crop of all sorts of grain, the greatest part of which had, by unfavourable weather, been rendered unfit for sale at London, or other markets, for home consumption; that large quantities of malt were then lying at London, arising chiefly from the crops of barley growing in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven, the sale of which was stagnated; that the petitioners being informed the house had ordered in a bill to continue the prohibition of corn exported, they begged leave to observe, that, should it pass into a law, it would be extremely prejudicial to all, and ruin many farmers of that county, as they had offered their corn for sale at divers ports and markets of the said

Ann. 1759. county; but the merchants refused to buy it at any price, alledging its being unfit for the London market, the great quantity of corn with which that market was already overstocked, and their not being allowed either to export it; or make it into malt for exportation: they therefore prayed this prohibition might be removed, or they the petitioners indulged with some other kind of relief. Although this remonstrance was duly considered, the bill passed with the amendments, because of the proviso, by which his majesty in council was empowered to shorten the date of the prohibition, with respect to the exportation of corn, during the recess of parliament: but the temporary restraint laid upon distillation was made absolute, without any such condition, to the no small disappointment and mortification of the distillers, who had spared no pains and expence, by private sollicitation and strenuous dispute in the public papers, to recommend their cause to the favour of the community.

Arguments
used for
and against
the malt-di-
stillery.

They urged, that malt spirits, when used in moderation, far from being prejudicial to the health of individuals, were, in many damp and marshy parts of the kingdom, absolutely necessary for preserving the field-labourers from agues, and other distempers produced by the cold and moisture of the climate; that if they were debarred the use of malt-spirits, they would have recourse to French brandy, with which, as they generally resided near the sea-coast, the smugglers would provide them almost as cheap as the malt-spirits could be afforded: thus the increased consumption of French spirit would drain the nation of ready money to a considerable amount, and prejudice the king's revenue in the same proportion. They observed, that many distillers had already quitted that branch of trade, and disposed of their materials; that all of them would probably take the same resolution, should the bill pass into a law, as no man could foresee when the prohibition would cease, should it be continued at a time when all sorts of grain abounded in such plenty: that the very waste of materials by disuse, over and above the lying out the money, would be of great prejudice to the proprietor: thus the business of distilling, by which so many families were supported, would be banished from the kingdom entirely: especially as the expence of establishing a large distillery was so great, that no man would chuse to employ his money for this purpose, judging from experience, that some future accidental scarcity of corn might induce the legislature to interpose a ruinous delay in this branch of business. They affirmed, that, from the excessive use of malt-spirits, no good argument could be drawn against this branch of traffick, no more than against any other conveniency of life: that the excessive use of common beer or ale was prejudicial to the health and morals of the people, yet no person ever thought of putting an end to the practice of brewing, in order to prevent the abuse of brewed liquors. They urged, that in all parts of Great Britain there are some parcels of land that produce nothing to advantage, but a coarse kind of barley called big, which, though neither fit for brewing or for baking, may nevertheless be used in the distillery, and is accordingly purchased by those concerned in this branch at such an encouraging price, as enables many farmers to pay a higher rent to their landlords than they could otherwise afford: that there are every year some parcels of all sorts of grain so damaged by unseasonable weather, or other accidents, as to be rendered altogether unfit for bread or brewery, and would prove a very great misfortune to the farmer, if there was no distillery, for the use

of which he could sell this damaged commodity. They asserted, that malt-Ann. 1759.
spirits were absolutely necessary for prosecuting some branches of foreign commerce, particularly the trade to the coast of Africa, for which traffick no assortment could be made up without a large quantity of geneva, of which the natives are so fond, that they will not traffick with any merchant who has not a considerable quantity, not only for sale, but also for presents to their chiefs and rulers: that the merchants of Great Britain must either have this commodity of their own produce, or import it at a great national expence from Holland: that the charge of this importation, together with the duties payable upon it, some part of which is not to be drawn back on exportation, will render it impossible for the traders to sell it so cheap on the coast of Africa as it might be sold by the Dutch, who are the great rivals of Great Britain in this branch of commerce.

To these arguments, all of which were plausible, and some of them unanswerable, it was replied, that the malt-spirits might be considered as a fatal and bewitching poison, which had actually debauched the minds and enervated the bodies of the common people to a very deplorable degree; that, without entering further into a comparison between the use and abuse of the two liquors, beer and geneva, it would be sufficient to observe, that the use of beer and ale had produced none of those dreadful effects which were the consequences of drinking geneva; and since the prohibition of the distillery of malt-spirits had taken place, the common people were become apparently more sober, decent, healthy, and industrious: a circumstance sufficient to induce the legislature not only to intermit, but even totally to abolish the practice of distillation, which has ever been productive of such intoxication, riot, disorder, and distemper; among the lower class of the people, as might be deemed the greatest evils incident to a well-regulated commonwealth. Their assertion with respect to the coarse kind of barley, called big, was contradicted as a deviation from truth, inasmuch as it was used in making malt, as well as in making bread: and with respect to damaged corn, those who understood the nature of grain affirmed, that, if it was spoiled to such a degree as to be altogether unfit for either of these purposes, the distillers would not purchase it at such a price as would indemnify the farmer for the charge of threshing and carriage; for the distillers are very sensible, that their greatest profit is derived from their distilling the malt made from the best barley, so that the increase of the produce far exceeded in proportion the advance of the price. It was not, however, an easy matter to prove that the distillation of malt-spirits was not necessary to an advantageous prosecution of the commerce on the coast of Guinea, as well as among the Indians in some parts of North America. Certain it is, that in these branches of traffick the want of geneva may be supplied by spirits distilled from sugars and molasses.

After all, it must be owned, that the good and salutary effects of the prohibition were visible in every part of the kingdom, and no evil consequences ensued, except a diminution of the revenue in this article: a consideration which, at all times, ought to be sacrificed to the health and morals of the people: nor will this consideration be found of any great weight, when we reflect that the less the malt-spirit is drank, the greater quantity of beer and ale will be

Ann. 1759. be consumed, and the produce of the duties and excise upon the brewery be augmented accordingly.

Petition by
the justices of
Norfolk.

In the mean time, all sorts of grain continuing to fall in price, and great plenty appearing in every part of the kingdom, the justices of the peace, and of the grand juries assembled at the general quarter-sessions of the peace held for the county of Norfolk, composed and presented to the house of commons, in the beginning of February, a petition, representing, that the weather proving unfavourable in the harvest, great part of the barley raised in that county was much damaged, and rendered unfit for any other use than that of being made into malt for exportation; that, unless it should be speedily manufactured for that purpose, it would be intirely spoiled, and perish in the hands of the growers; a loss that must be very sensibly felt by the land-owners: they therefore intreated, that leave might be given for the exportation of malt; and that they might be favoured with such farther relief, as to the house should seem just and reasonable. In consequence of this petition, the house resolved itself into a committee, to deliberate upon the subject; and as it appeared, upon examination, that the price of grain was reduced very low, and great abundance diffused through the kingdom, they resolved, that the continuance of that part of the act, prohibiting the exportation of grain, ought to be abridged and shortened, and the exportation of these commodities allowed under proper regulations, with respect to the time of such exportation, and the allowance of bounties thereupon. A bill, being founded on these resolutions, was discussed, and underwent several amendments: at length, it was sent with a new title to the lords, who passed it without further alteration, and then it obtained the royal sanction.

Remarks on
the price of
corn.

The price of corn however, in the London-market, ought not alone to determine the deliberations of the legislature on this important article. The eastern counties, containing more arable land than is to be found in the western provinces, can easily supply the markets of the metropolis by sea-carriage; whereas the dealers of that part of the kingdom will rather export their corn to Holland, even without a bounty, than convey it to any western port in England, because the navigation to Holland being shorter, and less dangerous, the freight and insurance will be defrayed at a small expence. This being the case, the London-market is over-stocked with grain, when the western counties labour under a real scarcity. In order to remedy and remove this inconvenience, a law might be enacted, prohibiting the exportation of corn, except when the market-price throughout England remains at or under a certain standard or established rate, and determining this rate by the medium price at which corn shall have been sold for three market-days, at the chief weekly markets in two or three of the midland western counties, where all sorts of corn have for some years borne the highest price. This expedient would oblige the dealers in corn, residing in the eastern divisions, to convey their grain to the western ports rather than to Holland, notwithstanding the greater expence of the transportation, that the price of corn in those midland counties should not rise so high as to put a stop to the payment of the bounty, or the liberty of exporting. The expediency of some such regulation the reader will easily conceive, when he is informed, that about the time when this bill was ordered to be brought in, the best wheat was sold at two shillings per bushel in the county of Norfolk; whereas the same commodity was sold at that very period for three times the price

price in some parts of Wiltshire. It may so happen, that the best sort of wheat Ann. 1759. shall sell in some midland western counties at twelve shillings per bushel, and all other sorts of grain dear in proportion; while, at the same time, the same kind of wheat shall be sold for four shillings in Norfolk, and all other sorts of grain proportionably cheap. In such a case, it would be extremely absurd to permit an exportation from any port in the kingdom; and much more ridiculous still to encourage the exportation, by a bounty, from the ports of Norfolk; yet this case may happen, according to the law as it stands at present.

While this affair was under the deliberation of the committee, the commons Bill for the unanimously issued an order for leave to bring in a bill to continue, for a limited time, the act of last session, permitting the importation of salted beef from Ireland into Great Britain, with an instruction to receive a clause extending this permission to all sorts of salted pork, or hog-meat, as the officers of the custom-house had refused to admit hams from Ireland to an entry. The bill likewise received another considerable alteration, importing, That, instead of the duty of one shilling and three pence, charged by the former act on every hundred weight of salted beef or pork imported from Ireland, which was found not adequate to the duty payable for such a quantity of salt as is requisite to be used in curing and salting thereof; and to prevent as well the expence to the revenue, as the detriment and loss which would accrue to the owner and importer, from opening the casks in which the provision is generally deposited, with the pickle or brine proper for preserving the same, in order to ascertain the net weight of the provision liable to the said duties;—for these reasons it was enacted, That from and after the twenty-fourth day of last December, and during the continuance of this act, a duty of three shillings and four pence should be paid upon importation for every barrel or cask of salted beef or pork containing thirty-two gallons; and one shilling and three pence for every hundred weight of salted beef, called dried beef, dried neats tongues, or dried hog-meat, and so in proportion for any greater or lesser quantity.

From this clause it appears, the burthen which the navigation of Great Britain incurs by the duty of salt alone is computed to amount to thirteen per centum, on those articles of commerce in which it is used; consequently the freight of all ships victualled in this kingdom must be proportionably increased: therefore it is not at all surprising, that the trade to Hamburgh, and other ports, should be carried on in foreign ships, as far as the act of navigation will allow. Repeated complaints having been made to the government by neutral nations, especially the Dutch, that their ships had been plundered, and their crews maltreated, by some of the English privateers, the legislature resolved to provide effectually against any such outrageous practices for the future; and with this view the commons ordered a bill to be brought in, for amending and explaining an act of the twenty-ninth year of his late majesty's reign, intituled, An act for the encouragement of seamen, and more speedy and effectual manning of his majesty's navy.

While the committee was employed in perusing commissions and papers relating to private ships of war, that they might be fully acquainted with the nature of the subject, a considerable number of merchants and others, inhabiting the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, presented a petition to the house, alleging, Regulations with respect to privateers.

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ledging, that the inhabitants of those islands, which lie in the British channel within sight of the French coast, had now, as well as in former wars, embarked their fortunes in equipping small privateers, which used to run in close with the French shore, and being disguised like fishing-boats, had not only taken a considerable number of prizes, to the great annoyance of the enemy, but also obtained material intelligence of their designs, on many important occasions; that these services could not be performed by large vessels, which durst not approach so near the coast, and indeed could not appear without giving the alarm, which was communicated from place to place by appointed signals. Being informed that a bill was depending, in order to prohibit privateers of small burthen, they declared that such a law, if extended to privateers equipped in those islands, would ruin such as had invested their fortunes in small privateers; and not only deprive the kingdom of the before-mentioned advantages, but expose Great Britain to infinite prejudice from the small armed vessels of France, which the enemy in that case would pour abroad over the whole Channel, to the great annoyance of navigation and commerce. They prayed therefore that such privateers as belonged to the islands of Guernsey and Jersey might be wholly excepted from the penalties contained in the bill, or that they (the petitioners) might be heard by their counsel, and be indulged with such relief as the house should judge expedient.

This representation being referred to the consideration of the committee, produced divers amendments to the bill, which, at length, obtained the royal assent, and contained these regulations: that, after the first day of January in the present year, no commission should be granted to a privateer in Europe under the burden of one hundred tons, the force of ten carriage guns, being three pounders or above, with forty men at the least, unless the lords of the admiralty, or persons authorised by them, should think fit to grant the same to any ship of inferior force or burthen, the owners thereof giving such bail or security as should be prescribed: that the lords of the admiralty might at any time revoke, by an order in writing under their hands, any commission granted to a privateer; this revocation being subject to an appeal to his majesty in council, whose determination should be final: that, previous to the granting any commission, the persons proposing to be bound, and give security, should severally make oath of their being respectively worth more money than the sum for which they were then to be bound, over and above the payment of all their just debts: that persons applying for such commissions should make application in writing, and therein set forth a particular and exact description of the vessel, specifying the burthen, and the number and nature of the guns on board, to what place belonging, as well as the name or names of the principal owner or owners, and the number of men: these particulars to be inserted in the commission, and every commander to produce such commission to the custom-house officer, who should examine the vessel, and, finding her answer the description, give a certificate thereof gratis, to be deemed a necessary clearance, without which the commander should not depart: that if, after the first day of June, any captain of a privateer should agree for the ransom of any neutral vessel, or the cargo, or any part thereof, after it should have been taken as prize, and in pursuance of such agreement should actually discharge such prize, he should be deemed guilty of piracy; but that, with respect to

contraband

contraband merchandize, he might take it on board his own ship, with the Ann. 1759. consent of the commander of the neutral vessel, and then set her at liberty; and that no person should purloin or embezzle the said merchandize before condemnation: that no judge, or other person belonging to any court of admiralty, should be concerned in any privateer: that owners of vessels, not being under fifty, or above one hundred tons, whose commissions are declared void, should be indemnified for their loss by the public: that a court of oyer and terminer, and gaol delivery, for the tryal of offences committed within the jurisdiction of the admiralty, should be held twice a year in the Old Bailey at London, or in such other place within England as the board of admiralty should appoint: that the judge of any court of admiralty, after an appeal interposed as well as before, should, at the request of the captor or claimant, issue an order for appraising the capture, when the parties do not agree upon the value, and an inventory to be taken; then exact security for the full value, and cause the capture to be delivered to the person giving such security: but should objection be made to the taking such security, the judge should, at the request of either party, order such merchandize to be entered, landed, and sold at public auction, and the produce be deposited at the Bank, or in some public securities; and in case of security being given, the judge should grant a pass in favour of the capture. Finally, the force of this act was limited to the duration of the present war with France only.

This regulation very clearly demonstrated, that whatever violences might have been committed on the ships of neutral nations, they were by no means countenanced by the legislature, or the body of the people.

Every circumstance relating to the reformation of the marine must be an important object, to a nation whose wealth and power depend upon navigation and commerce: but a consideration of equal weight was the establishment of the militia, which, notwithstanding the repeated endeavours of the parliament, was found still incompleat, and in want of further assistance from the legislature. His majesty having, by the chancellor of the Exchequer, recommended to the house the making suitable provision for defraying the charges of the militia during the current year, the accounts of the expence already incurred by this establishment were referred to the committee of supply, who, after having duly perused them, resolved, that ninety thousand pounds should be granted on account, towards defraying the charges of pay and cloathing for the militia, from the last day of the last year to the twenty-fifth day of March in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty, and for repaying a sum advanced by the king for this service. Leave was given to bring in one bill pursuant to this resolution; and another to enforce the execution of the laws relating to the militia, remove certain difficulties, and prevent the inconveniencies, by which it might be attended. So intent were the majority on both sides upon this national measure, that they not only carried both bills to the throne, where they received the royal assent; but they presented an address to the king, desiring his majesty would give directions to his lieutenants of the several counties, ridings, and places in England, to use their utmost diligence and attention for carrying into execution the several acts of parliament relating to the militia.

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By this time all the individuals that constituted the representatives of the people, except such as actually served in the army, were become very well disposed towards this institution. Those who really wished well to their country, had always exerted themselves in its favour: and it was now likewise espoused by those who foresaw that the establishment of a national militia would enable the a——n to send the greater number of regular troops to fight the battles of G——y. Yet how zealous soever the legislature might be in promoting this institution, and notwithstanding the success with which many patriots exerted their endeavours through different parts of the kingdom in raising and disciplining the militia, it was found not only difficult, but almost impracticable to execute the intention of the parliament in some particular counties, where the gentlemen were indolent and enervated, or in those places where they looked upon their commander with contempt. Even Middlesex itself, where the king resides, was one of the last counties in which the militia could be arrayed. In allusion to this backwardness, the preamble or first clause in one of the present acts, imported, that certain counties, ridings, and places in England, had made some progress in establishing the militia, without compleating the same; and that in certain other counties little progress had been made therein, his majesty's lieutenants and the deputy lieutenants, and all others within such counties or districts, were therefore strictly required speedily and diligently to put these acts in execution. The truth is, some of these unwarlike commanders failed through ignorance and inactivity; others gave or offered commissions to such people as threw a ridicule and contempt upon the whole establishment, and consequently hindered many gentlemen of worth, spirit, and capacity, from engaging in the service.

The mutiny-bill, and that for the regulation of the marine-forces while on shore, passed through the usual forms, as annual measures, without any dispute or alteration*.

A com-

* The next bill that fell under the cognizance of the house related to a law-transaction, and was suggested by a petition presented in the name of the sheriffs, and grantees of post-fines under the crown of England. They enumerated and explained the difficulties under which they laboured, in raising and collecting these fines within their respective counties; particularly when the estate conveyed by fine was no more than a right of reversion, in which case they could not possibly levy the post-fine, unless the purchaser should obtain possession within the term of the sheriffalty, or pay it of his own free will, as they could not distrain while the lands were in the possession of the donee. They therefore proposed a method for raising these post-fines by a proper officer, to be appointed for that purpose; and prayed, that leave might be given to bring in a bill accordingly. This petition was seconded by a message from the king, importing, that his majesty, as far as his interest was concerned, gave his consent that the house might act in this affair as they should think proper.

The commons, in a committee of the whole house, having taken into consideration the merits of the petition, formed several resolutions; upon which a bill was founded for the more regular and easy collecting, accounting for, and paying of post-fines, which should be due to the crown, or to the grantees thereof under the crown, and for the ease of sheriffs in respect to the same. Before it passed into a law, however, it was opposed by a petition in favour of one William Daw, a lunatic, clerk of the king's silver-office, alledging, that, should the bill pass, it would deprive the said Daw and his successors of an ancient fee belonging to his office, on searches made for post-fines by the under-sheriffs of the several counties; therefore praying, that such provision might be made for the said lunatic as to the house should seem just and reasonable. This and divers other petitions, respecting the bill, being discussed in the committee, it underwent several amendments, and was enacted into a law; the particulars of which cannot be properly understood, without a previous explanation of this method of conveying

A committee having been appointed to inquire what laws were expired, or near expiring, and to report their opinion to the house touching the revival or continuation of these laws, they agreed to several resolutions; in consequence of which the following bills were brought in, and enacted into laws, namely, an act for regulating the lastage and ballastage of the river Thames; an act for continuing the law relating to the punishment of persons going armed or disguised; an act for continuing several laws near expiring; an act concerning the admeasurement of coals; and an act for the relief of debtors, with respect to the imprisonment of their persons. This last was almost totally metamorphosed by alterations, amendments, and additions, among which the most remarkable were these: that where more creditors than one shall charge any prisoner in execution, and desire to have him detained in prison, they shall only respectively pay him each such weekly sum, not exceeding one shilling and six-pence a week, as the court, at the time of his being remanded, shall direct: that if any prisoner, described by the act, shall remain in prison three months, after being committed, any creditor may compel him to give into court, upon oath, an account of his real and personal estate, to be disposed of for the benefit of his creditors, they consenting to his being discharged.

Why the humanity of this law was confined to those prisoners only, who are not charged in execution with any debt exceeding one hundred pounds, cannot easily be conceived. A man, who, through unavoidable misfortunes, hath sunk from affluence to misery and indigence, is generally a greater object of compassion than he who never knew the delicacies of life, nor ever enjoyed credit sufficient to contract debts to any considerable amount: yet the latter is by this law intitled to his discharge, or at least to a maintenance in prison; while the former is left to starve in gaol, or undergo perpetual imprisonment amidst all the horrors of misery, if he owes above one hundred pounds to a revengeful and unrelenting creditor. Wherefore, in a country, the people of which justly pique themselves upon charity and benevolence, an unhappy fellow-citizen, reduced to a state of bankruptcy by unforeseen losses in trade, should be subjected to a punishment, which, of all others, must be the most grievous to a free-born Briton, namely, the intire loss of liberty; a punishment which the most flagrant crime can hardly deserve, in a nation that disclaims the torture; for, doubtless, perpetual imprisonment must be a torture infinitely more severe than death, because protracted through a series of years spent in misery and despair, without one glimmering ray of hope, without the most distant prospect of deliverance? Wherefore the legislature should extend its humanity to those only who are the least sensible of the benefit, because the most able to struggle under misfortune; and wherefore many valuable individuals should, for no guilt of their own, be not only ruined to themselves, but lost to the community? are questions which we cannot resolve to the satisfaction of the reader. Of all imprisoned debtors, those who are confined for large sums may be deemed the most wretched and forlorn, because they have generally fallen from a sphere of life where they had little acquaintance with necessity, and

veying estates: a subject obscure in itself, of common sense, and consequently improper founded upon a seeming subterfuge of law, for the pen of an historian. scarce reconcileable with the common dictates

Ann. 1759. were altogether ignorant of the arts by which the severities of indigence are alleviated. On the other hand, those of the lower class of mankind, whose debts are small in proportion to the narrowness of their former credit, have not the same delicate feelings of calamity. They are inured to hardship, and accustomed to the labour of their hands, by which, even in a prison, they can earn a subsistence. Their reverse of fortune is not so great, nor the transition so affecting. Their sensations are not delicate; nor are they, like their betters in misfortune, cut off from hope, which is the wretch's last comfort. It is the man of sentiment and sensibility who, in this situation, is overwhelmed with a complication of misery and ineffable distress. The mortification of his pride, his ambition blasted, his family undone, himself deprived of liberty, reduced from opulence to extreme want, from the elegancies of life to the most squalid and frightful scenes of poverty and affliction; divested of comfort, destitute of hope, and doomed to linger out a wretched being in the midst of insult, violence, riot, and uproar: these are reflections so replete with horror, as to render him, in all respects, the most miserable object on the face of the earth. He, alas! though possessed of talents that might have essentially served, and even adorned society, while thus restrained in prison, and affected in mind, can exert no faculty, nor stoop to any condescension, by which the horrors of his fate might be asswaged. He scorns to execute the lowest offices of menial services, particularly in attending those who are the objects of contempt or abhorrence: he is incapable of exercising any mechanic art, which might afford a happy though a scanty independence. Shrunk within his dismal cell, surrounded by haggard poverty, and her gaunt attendants, hollow-eyed famine, shivering cold, and wan disease, he wildly casts his eyes around: he sees the tender partner of his heart weeping in silent woe; he hears his helpless babes clamorous for sustenance; he feels himself the importunate cravings of human nature, which he cannot satisfy; and groans with all the complicated pangs of internal anguish, horror, and despair.

These are not the fictions of idle fancy; but real pictures, drawn from nature, of which almost every prison in England will afford but too many originals: and it would well become a prince, whose distinguishing characteristic is humanity, with a parliament famed for patriotism, to stretch out the pitying hand of the legislature for the deliverance and preservation of such distressful objects.

Bills for the
importation
of Irish beef
and tallow.

Among other new measures, a successful attempt was made in favour of Ireland by a bill, permitting the free importation of cattle from that kingdom for a limited time. This, however, was not carried through both houses without considerable opposition, arising from the particular interest of certain counties and districts in several parts of Great Britain, from whence petitions against the bill were transmitted to the commons. Divers artifices were also used within doors to saddle the bill with such clauses as might overcharge the scheme, and render it odious or alarming to the public: but the promoters of it, being aware of the design, conducted it in such a manner as to frustrate all their views, and convey it safely to the throne, where it was enacted into a law.

The like success attended another effort in behalf of our fellow subjects of Ireland. The bill for the importation of Irish cattle was no sooner ordered to be

be brought in, than the house proceeded to take into consideration the duties Ann. 1759. then payable on the importation of tallow from the same kingdom; and several witnesses being examined, the committee agreed to a resolution, that these duties should cease and determine for a limited time. A bill being formed accordingly, passed through both houses without opposition; though in the preceding session a bill to the same purpose had miscarried among the peers: a miscarriage probably owing to their being unacquainted with the sentiments of his majesty, as some of the duties upon tallow constituted part of one of the branches appropriated for the civil list revenue.

This objection, however, was obviated in the case of the present bill, by the king's message to the house of commons, signifying his majesty's consent, as far as his interest was concerned in the affair. By this new act the free importation of Irish tallow was permitted for the term of five years, before the expiration of which the law, it is to be hoped, will be made perpetual. Indeed it is not a little surprising that the importation of this commodity, from one part of the British dominions to another, should have been ever encumbered with a duty equal to a prohibition, considering what a necessary article it is in so many manufactures and mechanical employments.

In the month of February the commons presented an address to his majesty, Act relating to Milford-haven. requesting that he would give directions for laying before the house an account of what had been done, since the beginning of last year, towards securing the harbour of Milford, in pursuance of any directions from his majesty. These accounts being perused, and the king having, by the chancellor of the Exchequer, exhorted them to make provision for fortifying the said harbour, a bill was brought in to explain, amend, and render more effectual, the act of the last session relating to this subject; and passing through both houses, received the royal assent, without opposition. By this act several engineers were added to the commissioners formerly appointed; and it was ordained, that fortifications should be erected at Peter-church-point, Westlanyon-point, and Neyland-point, as being the most proper and best situated places for fortifying the interior parts of the harbour. It was also enacted, that the commissioners should appoint proper secretaries, clerks, assistants, and other officers, for carrying the two acts into execution; and that an account of the application of the money should be laid before the parliament, within twenty days of the opening of every session.

What next attracted the attention of the house, was an affair of the utmost Bill restrain importance to the commerce of the kingdom, which equally affected the interest of the nation, and the character of the natives. In the latter end of February complaint was made to the house, that, since the commencement of the war, an infamous traffick had been set on foot, by some merchants of London, ing the im-
portation of
French cloths
into the ports
of the Levant. of importing French cloths into several ports of the Levant, on account of British subjects. Five persons were summoned to attend the house; and the fact was fully proved, not only by their evidence, but also by some papers submitted to the house by the Turkey company. A bill was immediately contrived for putting a stop to this scandalous practice, reciting in the preamble, that such traffick was not only a manifest discouragement and prejudice to the woollen manufactures of Great Britain, but also a relief to the enemy, in consequence

Ann. 1759. sequence of which they were enabled to maintain the war against these kingdoms*.

Bill relating to the duty upon pensions.

The next object that employed the attention of the commons was to explain and amend a law made in the last session for granting to his majesty several rates and duties upon officers and pensions. The directions specified in the former act for levying this imposition having been found inconvenient in many respects, new regulations were now established, importing that those deductions should be payed into the hands of receivers appointed by the king for that purpose; that all sums deducted under this act should be accounted for to such receivers, and the accounts audited and passed by them, and not by

* By this law it was enacted, That no woollen goods of the manufacture of France should directly, or indirectly, be imported into any port of the Levant, within the limits prescribed in the charter of the Turkey company, by or on the account of any member of the said company, or any subject of Great Britain; nor should any woollen goods of the British manufacture be imported within the limits of that charter, except directly from Great Britain, by or on account of any British subject, unless the importer should produce to his majesty's ambassador, or vice-consul, or other proper officer appointed by the Levant company, at the place where such goods should be imported, a certificate, upon oath, from the exporter or shipper at the last place of exportation, that the same were brought or received from Great Britain; which certificate should be attested by the British consul, or person acting as consul in his absence, residing at such last loading-port; and the shipper should also procure the bill of lading, made out upon shipping the said goods from Great Britain; and the consul should take notice in the attestation of the certificate, that the bill of lading was produced. It was moreover enacted, that all woollen goods imported, within the limits of the Levant company's charter, by or on account of any British subject, other than such as should be imported directly from Great Britain, should be deemed French property within the meaning of the act; and his majesty's ambassador, consul, or vice-consul, or other proper officer appointed by the Levant company, were required to cause the said merchandize to be seized and confiscated. Other clauses implied that the exporter of merchandize from Turkey, and the importer of them into Britain or Ireland, should make oath, that no part of it was, to their knowledge, purchased with the produce, or taken in barter or exchange, for any kind of French woollen manufacture, except such as had been condemned as lawful prize: that in case the certificate should be lost or mislaid, the exportation to Turkey of goods taken from the enemy, and condemned as legal prize, should be permitted,

on producing a copy of the sentence pronounced and signed by the judge, who condemned the said merchandize: that whoever might seize any raw silk, or mohair-yarn, as being unlawfully imported, should not release or abandon the same, or delay proceeding to judgement, without acquainting the Turkey company in writing of his intentions, and delivering a copy of the schedule of such seizure; and that if they should, within seven days, give or offer to give bond in the penal sum of one thousand pounds, conditioned to indemnify him against all costs and charges, in case the ship or cargo should not be declared forfeited, then such officer should, with all convenient speed, proceed to judgment, concerning the legality of the seizure. But the force of this regulation was limited to the duration of the present war with France.

It is surprising that no member from North Britain made any opposition to the clause enacting that all woollen goods imported into Turkey by British subjects, without a certificate, except those imported directly from England, should be deemed French commodity, as it precludes all merchants in Scotland from the benefit of this trade, although they are capable of being members of the Turkey company. The article restricting the importation of raw-silk and mohair-yarn is still more unaccountable, as it may easily be demonstrated that it would be for the interest of Great Britain to allow a free importation of these commodities from every part of the world. These are materials which may be highly improved in their value by the manufacturers of Great Britain, and this manufacture supports a number of poor people, who are unfit for any other sort of labour or industry. If the Turkey merchant who buys them at the first hand, and imports them directly from that country, does not sell them cheaper in England than they can be afforded by the Italian merchant, who buys them at second hand, certain it is the former insists upon too high a profit, which he is enabled to exact, by the restraint which the legislature hath laid upon the latter.

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the auditors of the imprests, or of the Exchequer; that all disputes relating to the collection of this duty should be finally, and in a summary way, determined by the barons of the Exchequer in England and Scotland respectively; that the commissioners of the land-tax should fix and ascertain the sum total or amount of the perquisites of every office and employment within their respective districts, distinct from the salary thereunto belonging, to be deducted under the said act, independently of any former valuation or assessment of the same to the land-tax; and should rate or assess all offices and employments whereof the perquisites should be found to exceed the sum of one hundred pounds per annum, at one shilling for every twenty thence arising; that the receivers should transmit to the commissioners in every district where any office or employment is to be assessed, an account of such offices and employments, that upon being certified of the truth of their amount they might be rated and assessed accordingly; that in all future assessments of the land-tax the said offices and employments should not be valued at higher rates than those at which they were assessed towards the land-tax of the thirty-first year of the present reign; that the word perquisite should be understood to mean such profits of offices and employments as arise from fees established by custom or authority, and payable either by the crown or the subjects, in consideration of business done in the course of executing such offices and employments; and that a commissioner possessed of any office or employment might not interfere in the execution of the said act, except in what might relate to his own employment. By the four last clauses several salaries are exempted from the payment of this duty.

The objections made without doors to this new law were the accession of pecuniary influence to the crown, by the creation of a new office and officers, whereas this duty might have been easily collected and received by the commissioners of the land-tax already appointed, and the inconsistency that appeared between the fifth and seventh clauses: in the former of these, the commissioners of the land-tax were vested with the power of assessing the perquisites of every office within their respective districts, independent of any former valuation or assessment of the same to the land-tax; and by the latter, they are restricted from assessing any office at a higher rate than that of the thirty-first year of the present reign.

In the beginning of March petitions were offered to the house by the merchants of Birmingham in Warwickshire and Sheffield in Yorkshire, specifying that the toy trade of these and many other towns consisted generally of articles in which gold and silver might be said to be manufactured, though in small proportion, inasmuch as the sale of them depended upon slight ornaments of gold and silver: that by a clause passed in the last session of parliament, obliging every person who should sell goods or wares in which any gold or silver was manufactured, to take out an annual licence of forty shillings, they the petitioners were laid under great difficulties and disadvantages: that not only the first seller, but every person through whose hands the goods or wares passed to the consumer, was required to take out the said licence; they therefore requested, that the house would take these hardships and inequalities into consideration, and indulge them with reasonable relief.

Act relating
to the duty
upon plate.

Ann. 1759.

The committee, to which this affair was referred, having resolved, that this imposition was found detrimental to the toy and cutlery trade of the kingdom; the house agreed to the resolution; and a bill being prepared, under the title of "An act to amend the act, made in the last session, for repealing the duty granted by an act of the sixth year in the reign of his late majesty on silver plate, and for granting a duty on licences to be taken out by all persons dealing in gold and silver plate," was enacted into a law by the royal sanction. By this new regulation, small quantities of gold and silver plate were allowed to be sold without licence. Instead of the duty before payable upon licences, another was granted to be taken out by certain dealers in gold and silver plate, pawnbrokers, and refiners.

Though the purpose of the legislature in passing this new act was to favour the manufacturer of cutlery-ware and toys, it will hardly exempt any of the traders from the expence of a licence; to which, in all probability, they will rather submit, than be restricted in the nature of their dealings, or run the risque of having disputes and law-suits with excisemen, to be determined by the commissioners of the excise, or annually by the commissioners of appeal.

This affair being discussed, the house took into consideration the claims of the proprietors of lands, purchased for the better securing of his majesty's docks, ships, and stores at Chatham, Portsmouth, and Plymouth; and for better fortifying the town of Portsmouth and citadel of Plymouth, in pursuance of an act passed in the last session. We have already specified the sum granted for this purpose, in consequence of a resolution of the house, upon which a bill being founded, soon passed into a law, without opposition*.

Cambrick
act.

In the month of April, a bill was brought in for the more effectual preventing the fraudulent importation of cambricks; and while it was under deliberation, several merchants and wholesale drapers of the city of London presented a petition, representing the grievances to which they and many thousands of other traders would be subjected, should the bill, as it then stood, be passed into a law. According to their request, they were heard by their counsel on the merits of this remonstrance, and some amendments were made to the bill in their favour. At length it received the royal assent, and became a law to the following effect: It enacted, that no cambricks, French lawns, or linens of this kind, usually entered under the denomination of cambricks, should be imported after the first day of next August, but in bales, cases, or boxes, co-

* The next bill, which was brought into the house, related to the summons issued by the commissioners of the excise, and justices of the peace, for the appearance of persons offending against, or for forfeitures incurred by the laws of excise. As some doubts had arisen with respect to the method of summoning in such cases, this bill, which obtained the royal assent in due course, enacted, that a summons left at the house, or usual place of residence, or with the wife, child, or menial servants of the person so summoned, should be held as legal notice, as well as the leaving such notice at the house, workhouse, warehouse, shop, cellar, vault, or usual place of residence of such person, directed

to him by his right or assumed name; and all dealers in coffee, tea, or chocolate, were subjected to the penalty of twenty pounds as often as they should neglect to attend the commissioners of excise, when summoned in this manner. This unnecessary rigour of the law enables the officers of the excise to oppress their fellow-subjects with impunity. A summoning officer, at enmity with any dealer, may leave the summons in some private part of his house or warehouse, and afterwards convey it away, without the knowledge of the trader, who may never receive the least intimation of his having been summoned, until an execution is brought into his house for the penalty.

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vered with sackcloth or canvas, containing each one hundred whole pieces, or two hundred half pieces, on penalty of forfeiting the whole: that cambricks and French lawns should be imported for exportation only, lodged in the king's warehouse, and delivered out under like security and restrictions as prohibited East-India merchandize; and, on importation, pay only the half subsidy: that all cambricks and French lawns in the custody of any persons should be deposited, by the first of August, in the king's warehouses, the bonds thereupon be delivered up, and the drawback on exportation payed; yet the goods should not be delivered out again but for exportation: that cambricks and French lawns exposed to sale, or found in possession of private persons, after the said day, should be forfeited, and liable to be searched for, and seized, in like manner as other prohibited and uncustomed goods are; and the offender should forfeit two hundred pounds over and above all other penalties and forfeitures inflicted by any former act: that if any doubt should arise concerning the species or quality of the goods, or the place where they were manufactured, the proof should lie on the owner: finally, that the penalty of five pounds inflicted by a former act, and payable to the informer, on any person that should wear any cambrick or French lawns, should still remain in force, and be recoverable, on conviction, by oath of one witness, before one justice of the peace. This rigorous law may be attended with some inconvenience, and even prove ineffectual in excluding the French manufacture, inasmuch as the fabrick of some Dutch and German lawns resembles that of the French manufacture so nearly, that it is sometimes impossible to distinguish the one from the other. The only method by which they were formerly distinguished, was the different manner of marking and package. But the French manufacture can easily counterfeit the manner of the Dutch or Germans in these particulars, and then send his goods to some place in Holland and Flanders, from whence they may be imported into England, as the fabrick of these countries. Perhaps the most effectual expedient for preventing the importation of French cambricks would be the granting a proper bounty on all home-made cambricks and lawns, payable on sight of a certificate from an excise-man and two parish officers who had seen the pieces, and measured them before they were cut from the loom.

The last successful bill which this session produced was that relating to the augmentation of the salaries of the judges in his majesty's superior courts of justice. A motion having been made for an instruction to the committee of supply, to consider of the said augmentation, the chancellor of the Exchequer acquainted the house that this augmentation was recommended to them by his majesty. Nevertheless, the motion was opposed, and a warm debate ensued. At length, however, being carried in the affirmative, the committee agreed to certain resolutions, on which a bill was founded.

While it remained under discussion, a motion was made for an instruction to the committee, that they should have power to receive a clause or clauses for restraining the judges, comprehended within the provisions of the bill, from receiving any fee, gift, present, or entertainment, from any city, town, borough, or corporation, or from any sheriff, gaoler, or other officer, upon their several respective circuits, and from taking any gratuity from any office or officer of any of the courts of law.

Ann. 1759. Another motion was made for a clause restraining such judges, barons, and justices, as were comprehended within the provisions of the bill, from interfering, otherwise than by giving their own votes, in any election of members to serve in parliament; but both these proposals, being put to the vote, were carried in the negative. These two motions being over-ruled by the majority, the bill underwent some amendments; and, having passed through both houses in the ordinary course, was enacted into a law by the royal sanction. With respect to the import of this act, it is no other than the establishment of the several stamp-duties, applied to the augmentation; and the appropriation of their produce in such a manner, that the crown cannot alter the application of the sums thus granted in parliament. But, on this occasion, no attempt was made in favour of the independency of the judges, which seems to have been invaded by a late interpretation of, or rather by a deviation from, the act of settlement; in which it is expressly ordained, that the commissions of the judges should continue in force *quam diu se bene gesserint*; that their salaries should be fixed, and none of them removeable but by an address of both houses of parliament. It was then, without all doubt, the intention of the legislature, that every judge should enjoy his office during life, unless convicted by legal trial of some misbehaviour, or unless both houses of parliament should concur in desiring his removal: but the doctrine now adopted imports, that no commission can continue in force longer than the life of the king by whom it was granted; that therefore the commissions of the judges must be renewed by a new king at his accession, who should have it in his power to employ either those whom he finds acting as judges at his accession, or confer their offices on others, with no other restraint than that the condition of the new commissions should be *quam diu se bene gesserint*. Thus the office of a judge is rendered more precarious, and the influence of the crown receives a considerable reinforcement.

Unsuccessful
bill concern-
ing methods
for manning
the navy.

Among the bills that miscarried in the course of this session, we may number a second attempt to carry into execution the scheme which was offered last year for the more effectual manning the navy, preventing desertion, and relieving and encouraging the seamen of Great Britain. A bill was accordingly brought in, couched in nearly the same terms which had been rejected in the last session; and it was supported by a considerable number of members, animated with a true spirit of patriotism: but to the trading part of the nation it appeared one of those plausible projects, which, though agreeable in speculation, can never be reduced into practice without a concomitancy of greater evils than those they were intended to remove. While the bill remained under the consideration of the house, petitions were presented against it by the merchants of Bristol, Scarborough, Whitby, Kingston upon Hull, and Lancaster, representing, That, by such a law, the trade of the kingdom, which is the nursery and support of seamen at all times, and that spirit of equipping private ships of war, which had been of distinguished service to the nation, would be laid under such difficulties as might cause a great stagnation in the former, and a total suppression of the latter; the bill therefore would be highly prejudicial to the marine of the kingdom, and altogether ineffectual for the purposes intended. A great number of books and papers, relating to trading ships and vessels, as well as to seamen, and other persons protected or pressed into

into the navy, and to expences occasioned by pressing men into the navy, were Ann. 1759. examined in a committee of the whole house, and the bill was improved with many amendments: nay, after it was printed and engrossed, several clauses were added by way of ryder; yet still the experiment seemed dangerous. The motion for its being passed was violently opposed; warm debates ensued; they were adjourned, and resumed; and the arguments against the bill appeared at length in such a striking light, that, when the question was put, the majority declared for the negative.

The regulations which had been made in parliament during the twenty-sixth, the twenty-eighth, and thirtieth years of the present reign, for the preservation of the public roads, being attended with some inconveniencies in certain parts of the kingdom, petitions were brought from some counties in Wales, as well as from the freeholders of Herefordshire, the farmers of Middlesex, and others, enumerating the difficulties attending the use of broad wheels in one case, and the limitation of horses used in drawing carriages with narrow wheels in the other. The matter of these remonstrances was considered in a committee of the whole house, which resolved, that the weight to be carried by all waggons and carts, travelling on the turnpike roads, should be limited. On this resolution a bill was framed for amending and reducing into one act of parliament the three acts before mentioned, for the preservation of the public highways: but some objections being started, and a petition interposed by the landowners of Suffolk and Norfolk, alledging, that the bill, if passed into a law, would render it impossible to bring fresh provisions from those counties to London, as the supply depended absolutely upon the quickness of conveyance; the further consideration of it was postponed to a longer day, and never resumed in the sequel: so that the attempt miscarried.

Miscarriage
of a bill re-
lating to
waggons and
carriages.

Of all the subjects which, in the course of this session, fell under the cognizance of parliament, there was none that more interested the humanity or challenged the redress of the legislature than did the case of the poor insolvent debtors, who languished under all the miseries of indigence and imprisonment. In the month of February a petition was offered to the commons in behalf of bankrupts, who represented, That having scrupulously conformed to the laws made concerning bankruptcy, by surrendering their all upon oath for the benefit of their creditors, they had nevertheless been refused their certificates, without any probability of relief; that by this cruel refusal, many bankrupts had been obliged to abscond, while others were immured in prison, and these unhappy sufferers groaned under the particular hardship of being excluded from the benefit of laws occasionally made for the relief of insolvent debtors; that the power vested in creditors of refusing certificates to their bankrupts was, as the petitioners conceived, founded upon a presumption that such power would be tenderly exercised, and never but in notorious cases; but the great increase in the number of bankrupts within two years past, and the small proportion of those who had been able to obtain their certificates, seemed to demonstrate, that the power had been used for cruel and unjust purposes, contrary to the intention of the legislature: that as the greater part of the petitioners, and their fellow-sufferers, must inevitably and speedily perish, with their distressed families, unless seasonably relieved by the interposition of parliament, they implored the compassion of the house, from which they hoped

Case of the
insolvent
debtors.

Ann. 1759. immediate favour and relief. This petition was accompanied with a printed case, explaining the nature of the laws relating to bankrupts, and pointing out their defects in point of policy as well as humanity; but little regard was seemingly payed to either remonstrance. Other petitions, however, being presented by insolvent debtors, imprisoned in different gaols within the kingdom, leave was given to bring in a bill for their relief, and a committee appointed to examine the laws relating to bankruptcy.

Case of captain Walker.

Among other petitionary remonstrances on this subject, the members were separately presented with the printed case of captain George Walker, a prisoner in the gaol of the King's Bench, who had been declared a bankrupt, and complained, that he had been subjected to some flagrant acts of injustice and oppression. The case contained such extraordinary allegations, and the captain's character was so remarkably fair and interesting, that the committee, which were empowered to send for persons, papers, and records, resolved to inquire into the particulars of his misfortune. A motion was made and agreed to, that the marshal of the prison should bring the captain before the committee, and the speaker's warrant was issued accordingly. The prisoner was produced, and examined at several sittings; and some of the members expressed a laudable eagerness to do him justice: but his antagonists were very powerful, and left no stone unturned to frustrate the purpose of the inquiry, which was dropped of course at the end of the session. Thus the unfortunate captain Walker, who had, in the late war, remarkably distinguished himself at sea by his courage and conduct, repeatedly signalized against the enemies of his country, was sent back, without redress, to the gloomy mansions of a gaol, where he had already pined for several years, useless to himself, and lost to the community, while he might have been profitably employed in retrieving his own fortune, and exerting his talents for the general advantage of the nation.

While this affair was in agitation, the bill for the relief of insolvent debtors was prepared, printed, and read a second time; but, when the motion was made for its being committed, a debate arose, and this was adjourned from time to time till the end of the session.

In the mean time the committee continued to deliberate upon the laws relating to bankruptcy; and in the beginning of June reported their resolution to the house, that, in their opinion, some amendments might be made to the laws concerning bankruptcy, to the advantage of creditors, and the relief of insolvents. Such was the notice vouchsafed to the cries of many British subjects, deprived of liberty, and destitute of the common necessities of life.

Remarks upon the laws relating to bankruptcy.

It would engage us in a long digressive discussion, were we to inquire how the spirit of the laws in England, so famed for lenity, has been exasperated into such severity against insolvent debtors; and why, among a people so distinguished for generosity and compassion, the gaols should be more filled with prisoners than they are in any other part of Christendom. Perhaps both these deviations from a general character, are violent efforts of a wary legislature made in behalf of trade, which cannot be too much cherished in a nation that principally depends upon commerce. The question is, whether this laudable aim may not be more effectually accomplished, without subjecting individuals

to oppression, arising from the cruelty and revenge of one another. As the laws are modelled at present, it cannot be denied that the debtor, in some cases, lies in a peculiar manner at the mercy of his creditor. By the original and common law of England, no man could be imprisoned for debt. The plaintiff, in any civil action, could have no execution upon his judgment against either the body or the lands of the defendant: even with respect to his goods and chattels, which were subject to execution, he was obliged to leave him such articles as were necessary for agriculture. But, in process of time, this indulgence being found prejudicial to commerce, a law was enacted, in the reign of the first Edward, allowing execution on the person of the debtor, provided his goods and chattels were not sufficient to pay the debt which he had contracted. This law was still attended with a very obvious inconvenience. The debtor, who possessed an estate in lands, was tempted to secrete his moveable effects, and live in concealment on the produce of his lands, while the sheriff connived at his retirement.

To remove this evil, a second statute was enacted in the same reign, granting immediate execution against the body, lands, and goods of the debtor; yet his effects could not be sold for the benefit of his creditor till the expiration of three months, during which he himself could dispose of them for ready money, in order to discharge his incumbrances. If the creditor was not satisfied in this manner, he continued in possession of the debtor's lands, and detained the debtor himself in prison, where he was obliged to supply him with bread and water for his support, until the debt was discharged. Other severe regulations were made in the sequel, particularly in the reign of the third Edward, which gave rise to the writ of *capias ad satisfaciendum*. This indeed rendered the preceding laws, called statute-merchant, and statute-staple, altogether unnecessary. Though the liberty of the subject, and the security of the landholder, were thus, in some measure, sacrificed to the advantage of commerce, an imprisoned debtor was not left entirely at the mercy of an inexorable creditor. If he made all the satisfaction in his power, and could shew that his insolvency was owing to real misfortunes, the court of Chancery interposed on his petition, and actually ordered him to be discharged from prison, when no good reason for detaining him could be assigned. This interposition, which seems naturally to belong to a court of equity, constituted with a view to mitigate the rigour of the common law, ceased, in all probability, after the restoration of the second Charles, and of consequence the prisons were filled with debtors. Then the legislature charged themselves with the extension of a power, which perhaps a chancellor no longer thought himself safe in exercising; and in the year one thousand six hundred and seventy, passed the first act for the relief of insolvent debtors, granting a release to all prisoners for debt, without distinction or inquiry. By this general indulgence, which has even in a great measure continued in all subsequent acts of the same kind, the lenity of the parliament may be sometimes misapplied, inasmuch as insolvency is often criminal, arising from profligacy and extravagance, which deserve to be severely punished. Yet, even for this species of insolvency, perpetual imprisonment, aggravated by the miseries of extreme indigence, and the danger of perishing through famine, may be deemed a punishment too severe. How cruel then must it be to leave the most innocent bankrupt exposed to this punishment, from the revenge or sinister

Ann. 1759. After design of a merciless creditor; a creditor, by whose fraud perhaps the prisoner became a bankrupt, and by whose craft he is detained in gaol, left by his discharge from prison, he should be enabled to seek that redress in Chancery, to which he is intitled on a fair account! The severity of the law was certainly intended against fraudulent bankrupts only; and the statute of bankruptcy is, doubtless, favourable to insolvents, as it discharges from all former debts those who obtain their certificates. As British subjects they are surely intitled to the same indulgence which is granted to other insolvents. They were always included in every act passed for the relief of insolvent debtors, till the sixth year of George I. when they were first excepted from this benefit. By a law enacted in the reign of queen Anne, relating to bankruptcy, any creditor was at liberty to object to the confirmation of the bankrupt's certificate; but the chancellor had power to judge whether the objection was frivolous or well founded: yet, by a later act, the chancellor is obliged to confirm the certificate, if it is agreeable to four-fifths in number and value of the creditors; whereas he cannot confirm it, should he be opposed, even without any reason assigned, by one creditor to whom the greatest part of the debt is owing. It might therefore deserve the consideration of parliament, whether, in extending their clemency to the poor, it should not be equally diffused to bankrupts and other insolvents; whether proper distinction ought not to be made between the innocent bankrupt, who fails through misfortunes in trade, and him who becomes insolvent from fraud or profligacy; and finally, whether the enquiry and trial of all such cases would not properly fall within the province of chancery, a tribunal instituted for the mitigation of common law?

The house of commons seems to have been determined on another measure, which, however, does not admit of explanation. An order was made in the month of February, that leave should be given to bring in a bill to explain, amend, and render effectual so much of an act, passed in the thirteenth year of George II. against the excessive increase of horse-races, and deceitful gaming, as related to that increase. The bill was accordingly presented, read, and printed, ordered to be committed to a committee of the whole house; but the order was delayed from time to time till the end of the session.

Committee
for taking in-
to considera-
tion the state
of the poor in
England and
Wales.

Some progress was likewise made in another affair of greater consequence to the community. A committee was appointed in the month of March, to take into consideration the state of the poor in England, as well as the laws enacted for their maintenance. The clerks of the peace belonging to all the counties, cities, and towns in England and Wales, were ordered to transmit, for the perusal of the house, an account of the annual expence of passing vagrants through their respective divisions and districts for four years; and the committee began to deliberate on this important subject. In the latter end of May the house was made acquainted with their resolutions, importing, that the present method of relieving the poor in the respective parishes, where no workhouses have been provided for their reception and employment, are, in general, very burthensome to the inhabitants, and tend to render the poor miserable to themselves, and useless to the community: that the present method of giving money out of the parochial rates, to persons capable of labour, in order to prevent them from claiming an entire subsistence for themselves and their families, is contrary to the spirit and intention of the laws for the relief of the poor, is a dangerous power in the hands of pa-
rochial

rochial officers, a misapplication of the public money, and a great encourage- Ann. 1759.
ment to idleness and intemperance: that the employment of the poor, under proper direction and management, in such works and manufactures as are suited to their respective capacities, would be of great utility to the public: that settling the poor in workhouses, to be provided in the several counties and ridings in England and Wales, under the direction and management of governors and trustees to be appointed for that purpose, would be the most effectual method of relieving such poor persons, as by age, infirmities, or diseases, are rendered incapable of supporting themselves by their labour; of employing the able and industrious, reforming the idle and profligate, and of educating poor children in religion and industry: that the poor in such workhouses would be better regulated and maintained, and managed with more advantage to the public, by guardians, governors, or trustees, to be specially appointed, or chosen for that purpose, and incorporated with such powers, and under such restrictions, as the legislature should deem proper, than by the annual parochial officers: that erecting workhouses upon waste lands, and appropriating a certain quantity of such lands to be cultivated, in order to produce provision for the poor in the said houses, would not only be a means of instructing and employing many of the said poor in agriculture, but lessen the expence of the public: that controversies and law-suits, concerning the settlements of poor persons, occasioned a very great, and, in general, an useless expence to the public, amounting to many thousand pounds per annum; and that often more money is expended in ascertaining such settlements, by each of the contending parishes, than would be sufficient to maintain the paupers: that should workhouses be established for the general reception of the poor, in the respective counties and ridings of England, the laws relating to the settlements of the poor, and the passing of vagrants, might be repealed: that while the present laws relating to the poor subsist, the compelling parish-officers to grant certificates to the poor, would, in all probability, prevent the hardships they now suffer, in being debarred gaining their livelihood, where they can do it most usefully to themselves and the public.

From these sensible resolutions, the reader may conceive some idea of the misconduct that attends the management of the poor in England, as well as of the grievous burthens intailed upon the people by the present laws, which constitute this branch of the legislature. The committee's resolves being read at the table, an order was made that they should be taken into consideration on a certain day, when the order was again put off, and in the interim the parliament was prorogued. While the committee deliberated upon this affair, leave was given to prepare a bill for preventing tenants, under a certain yearly rent, from gaining settlements in any particular parish, by being there rated in any land-tax assessment, and paying for the landlord the money so charged. This order was afterwards discharged; and another bill brought in to prevent any person from gaining a settlement, by being rated by virtue of an act of parliament for granting any aid to his majesty, by a land-tax, and paying the same. The bill was accordingly presented, read, committed, and passed the lower house; but among the lords it miscarried. It can never be expected that the poor will be managed with œconomy and integrity, while the execution of the laws relating to their maintenance is left in the hands of low tradesmen,

Remarks on
the resolutions
of the
committee.

Ann. 1759. men, who derive private advantage from supplying them with necessaries, and often favour the imposition of one another with the most scandalous collusion. This is an evil which will never be remedied, until persons of independent fortune, and unblemished integrity, actuated by a spirit of true patriotism, shall rescue their fellow-citizens from the power of such interested miscreants, by taking the poor into their own management and protection. Instead of multiplying laws with respect to the settlement and management of the poor, which serve only to puzzle and perplex the parish and peace officers, it would become the sagacity of the legislature to take some effectual precautions to prevent the increase of paupers and vagrants, which is become an intolerable nuisance to the commonwealth. Towards this salutary end, surely nothing would more contribute than a reformation of the police, that would abolish those infamous places of entertainment, which swarm in every corner of the metropolis, seducing people of all ranks to extravagance, profligacy, and ruin; that would restrict within due bounds the number of public houses, which are augmented to an enormous degree, affording so many asylums for riot and debauchery, and corrupting the morals of the common people to such a pitch of licentious indecency, as must be a reproach to every civilized nation. Let it not be affirmed, to the disgrace of Great Britain, that such receptacles of vice and impunity subsist under the connivance of the government, according to the narrow views and confined speculation of those shallow politicians, who imagine that the revenue is increased in proportion to the quantity of strong liquors consumed in such infamous recesses of intemperance. Were this in reality the case, that administration would deserve to be branded with eternal infamy, which could sacrifice, to such a base consideration, the health, the lives, and the morals of their fellow-creatures: but nothing can be more fallacious than the supposition, that the revenue of any government can be increased by the augmented intemperance of the people; for intemperance is the bane of industry, as well as of population; and what the government gains in the articles of the duty on malt, and the excise upon liquors, will always be greatly over-balanced by the loss in other articles, arising from the diminution of hands, and the neglect of labour.

Inquiry touching weights and measures.

Exclusive of the bills that were actually prepared, though they did not pass in the course of this session, the commons deliberated on other important subjects, which, however, were not finally discussed. In the beginning of the session, a committee being appointed to resume the inquiry touching the regulation of weights and measures, a subject we have mentioned in the history of the preceding session, the box which contained a Troy pound weight, locked up by order of the house, was again produced by the clerk in whose custody it had been deposited. This affair being carefully investigated, the committee agreed to fourteen * resolutions, upon which a future law may possibly be founded.

* As the curiosity of the reader may be interested in these resolutions, we shall here insert them for his satisfaction. The committee resolved, that the ell ought to contain one yard and one quarter, according to the yard mentioned in the third resolution of the former committee upon the subject

of weights and measures: that the pole, or perch, should contain in length five such yards and a half; the furlong two hundred and twenty; and the mile one thousand seven hundred and sixty: that the superficial perch should contain thirty square yards and a quarter; the rood one thousand

founded. In the mean time it was ordered, that all the weights, referred to Ann. 1759. in the report, should be delivered to the clerk of the house to be locked up, and brought forth again occasionally.

The

land two hundred and ten; and the acre four thousand eight hundred and forty: that, according to the fourth, fifth, and sixth resolutions of the former committee, upon the subject of weights and measures, agreed to by the house on the second day of June in the preceding year, the quart ought to contain seventy cubical inches and one half; the pint thirty-five and one quarter; the peck five hundred and sixty-four; and the bushel two thousand two hundred and fifty six. That the several parts of the pound, mentioned in the eighth resolution of the former committee, examined and adjusted in presence of this committee, viz. the half pound or six ounces, quarter of a pound or three ounces, two ounces, one ounce, two half ounces, the five penny weight, three penny weight, two penny weight, and one penny weight, the twelve grains, six grains, three grains, two grains, and two of one grain each, ought to be the models of the several parts of the said pound, and to be used for sizing or adjusting weights for the future. That all weights exceeding a pound should be of brass, copper, bell-metal, or cast iron; and all those of cast iron should be made in the form, and with a handle of hammered iron, such as the pattern herewith produced, having the mark of the weight cast in the iron; and all weights of a pound, or under, should be of gold, silver, brass, copper, or bell-metal. That all weights of cast iron should have the initial letters of the name of the maker upon the upper bar of the handle; and all other weights should have the same, together with the mark of the weight, according to this standard, upon some convenient part thereof. That the yard, mentioned in the second resolution of the former committee, upon the subject of weights and measures, agreed to by the house in the last session, being the standard of length, and the pound, mentioned in the eighth resolution, being the standard of weight, ought to be deposited in the court of the receipt of the Exchequer, and there safely kept under the seals of the chancellor of the said Exchequer, and of the chief baron, and the seal of office of the chamberlain of the Exchequer, and not to be opened but by the order and in the presence of the chancellor of the Exchequer, and chief baron, for the time being. That the most effectual means to ascertain uniformity in measures of length and weight, to be used throughout the realm, would be to appoint certain persons, at one particular office, with clerks and workmen under them, for the purpose only of sizing and adjusting, for the use of the subjects, all measures of length and all weights,

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being parts, multiples, or certain proportions of the standards to be used for the future. That a model or pattern of the said standard yard, mentioned in the second resolution of the former committee, and now in custody of the clerk of the house, and a model or pattern of the standard pound, mentioned in the eighth resolution of that committee, together with models or patterns of the parts of the said pound, now presented to the house, and also of the multiples of the said pound, mentioned in this report, (when the same are adjusted) should be kept in the said office, in custody of the said persons to be appointed for sizing weights and measures, under the seal of the chief baron of the Exchequer for the time being, to be opened only by order of the said chief baron, in his presence, or the presence of one of the barons of the Exchequer, on the application of the said persons for the purpose of correcting and adjusting, as occasion should require, the patterns or models used at the said office, for sizing measures of length and weight, delivered out to the subjects. That models or patterns of the said standard yard, and standard pound aforesaid, and also models or patterns of the parts and multiples aforesaid of the said pound, should be lodged in the said office for the sizing of such measures of length or weight, as, being parts, multiples, or proportions of the said standards, should hereafter be required by any of his majesty's subjects. That all measures of length and weight, sized at the said office, should be marked in some convenient part thereof with such marks as should be thought expedient, to shew the identity of the measures and weights sized at the said office, and to discover any frauds that may be committed therein. That the said office should be kept within a convenient distance of the court of Exchequer at Westminster; and that all measures of length and weight, within a certain distance of London, should be corrected and re-assized, as occasion should require, at the said office. That, in order to enforce uniformity in weights and measures, to be used for the future, all persons appointed by the crown to act as justices of the peace, in any county, city, or town corporate, being respectively counties within themselves, throughout the realm, should be empowered to hear and determine, and put the law in execution, in respect to weights and measures only, without any of them being obliged to sue out a *dedimus*, or to act in any other matter; and the said commissioners should be empowered to sue, imprison, inflict, or mitigate, such penalties as should be thought proper; and have

such

Ann. 1759.
Resolutions
touching the
Foundling-
hospital.

The house of commons, among other articles of domestic œconomy, bestowed some attention on the hospital for foundlings, which was now, more than ever, become a matter of national consideration. The accounts relating to this charity having been demanded, and subjected to the inspection of the members, were, together with the king's recommendation, referred to the committee of supply, where they produced the resolutions which we have already specified among the other grants of the year. The house afterwards resolved itself into a committee, to deliberate on the state of the hospital, and examine its accounts. On the third day of May their resolutions were reported to the following effect: That the appointing, by the governors and guardians of the said hospital, places in the several counties, ridings, or divisions in this kingdom, for the first reception of exposed and deserted young children, would be attended with many evil consequences; and that the conveying of children from the country to the said hospital is attended with many evil consequences, and ought to be prevented. A bill was ordered to be brought in, founded upon this last resolution; but never presented, therefore the inquiry produced no effect.

Notwithstanding the institution of this charity, for the support of which great sums are yearly levied on the public, it does not appear that the bills of mortality, respecting new-born children, are decreased, nor the shocking crime of infant-murder rendered less frequent than heretofore. It may therefore be not improperly stiled an heavy additional tax for the propagation of bastardy, and the encouragement of idleness, among the common people; besides the tendency it has to extinguish the feelings of the heart, and dissolve those family-ties of blood by which the charities are connected.

Order relating to the
gold and silver coin.

In the month of March leave was given to bring in a bill for the more effectual preventing of the melting down and exporting the gold and silver coin of the kingdom, and the persons were nominated to prepare it; but the bill never appeared, and no further inquiry was made about the matter. Perhaps it was supposed that such a measure might be thought an incroachment on the prerogative of the crown, which hath always exercised the power of fixing the standard and regulating the currency of the coin. Perhaps such a step was deferred on account of the war, during which a great quantity of gold and silver is necessarily exported to the continent, for the support of the allies and armies in the pay of Great Britain. The legislature, however, would do well to consider this eternal maxim in computation, that when a greater quantity of bullion is exported, in waste, than can be replaced by commerce, the nation must be hastening to a state of insolvency. If four millions are sent annually to the continent, from whence none returns, and the whole yearly profit arising to Great Britain from the ballance of her trade does not exceed three millions, it is very plain, that the nation must become the poorer, for this drain, at the rate of one million per year, and all the advantage

such other authorities as should be necessary for compelling the use of weights and measures, agreeable to the foresaid standards. That models or patterns of the said standard yard and pound, and of the parts and multiples thereof, before

mentioned, should be distributed in each county, in such a manner as to be readily used for evidence in all cases where measures and weights should be questioned before the said commissioners, and for adjusting the same in a proper manner.

that

that might be gained by one year's employment of this sum in trade and manufacture. The inference may perhaps appear more plain, from the comparison of a cistern furnished with two pipes, one of which discharges four gallons of the contents, while the other replaces no more than three: at this rate, the waste being greater than the supply, in the proportion of four to three, the reservoir must be soon run to the bottom. Ma- Ann. 1759.

Over and above these proceedings in this session of parliament, it may not be unnecessary to mention several messages which were sent by the king to the house of commons. That relating to the vote of credit we have already specified in our account of the supply. On the twenty-sixth day of April the chancellor of the Exchequer presented to the house two messages, signed by his majesty; one in favour of his subjects in North America, and the other in behalf of the East-India company: the former recommending to their consideration the zeal and vigour with which his faithful subjects in North America had exerted themselves, in defence of his just rights and possessions; desiring he might be enabled to give them a proper compensation for the expences incurred by the respective provinces in levying, cloathing, and paying the troops raised in that country, according as the active vigour and strenuous efforts of the several colonies should appear to merit. In the latter, he desired the house would empower him to assist the East-India company in defraying the expence of a military force in the East-Indies, to be maintained by them, in lieu of a battalion of regular troops withdrawn from thence, and returned to Ireland. Both these messages were referred to the committee of supply, and produced the resolutions upon each subject, which we have already explained. Messages from the king to the parliament.

The message relating to a projected invasion by the enemies of Great Britain, we shall particularize in its proper place, when we come to record the circumstances and miscarriage of that design. In the mean time, it may not be improper to observe, that the thanks of the house of commons were voted and given to admiral Boscawen and major-general Amherst, for the services they had done their king and country in North America; and the same compliment was payed to admiral Osborne, for the success of his cruize in the Mediterranean.

The session was closed on the second day of June with a speech to both houses, from the commissioners appointed by his majesty for that purpose. In this harangue the parliament was given to understand, that the king approved of their conduct, and returned them his thanks for their condescension; that the hopes he had conceived of their surmounting the difficulties which lay in their way, were founded on the wisdom, zeal, and affection of so good a parliament; and that his expectations were fully answered: that they had considered the war in all its parts, and, notwithstanding its long continuance, through the obstinacy of the enemy, had made such provision for the many different operations, as ought to convince the adversaries of Great Britain, that it would be for their interest, as well as for the ease and relief of all Europe, to embrace equitable and honourable terms of accommodation. They were told that, by their assistance, the combined army in Germany had been compleated; powerful squadrons, as well as numerous bodies of land-forces, were employed in America, in order to maintain the British rights and possessions, and annoy the enemy in the most sensible manner in that country: that, as France Session closed.

Ann. 1759. was making considerable preparations in her different ports, he had taken care to put his fleet at home in the best condition, both of strength and situation, to guard against and repel any attempts that might be meditated against his kingdoms: that all his measures had been directed to assert the honour of his crown; to preserve the essential interests of his faithful subjects; to support the cause of the protestant religion, and public liberty: he therefore trusted, that the uprightness of his intentions would draw down the blessing of heaven upon his endeavours. He expressed his hope, that the precautions they had taken to prevent and correct the excesses of the privateers, would produce the desired effect: a consideration which the king had much at heart; for, though sensible of the utility of that service, when under proper regulations, he was determined to do his utmost to prevent any injuries or hardships which might be sustained by the subjects of neutral powers, as far as might be practicable and consistent with his majesty's just right to hinder the trade of his enemies from being collusively and fraudulently covered. He not only thanked the commons, but applauded the firmness and vigour with which they had acted, as well as their prudence in judging, that, notwithstanding the present burdens, the making ample provision for carrying on the war was the most probable means to bring it to an honourable and happy conclusion. He assured them, that no attention should be wanting, on his part, for the faithful application of what had been granted. They were informed, he had nothing further to desire, but that they would carry down the same good dispositions, and propagate them in their several counties, which they had shewn in their proceedings during the session. These declarations being pronounced, the parliament was prorogued.

Spirit of the
people at this
juncture.

The people of England, provoked on one hand by the intrigues, the hostilities, and menaces of France, and animated on the other by the pride of triumph and success, which never fails to reconcile them to difficulties, howsoever great, and expence, however enormous, at this period breathed nothing but war, and discoursed about nothing but new plans of conquest. We have seen how liberally the parliament bestowed the nation's money; and the acquiescence of the subjects in general under the additional burdens which had been imposed, appeared in the remarkable eagerness with which they embarked in the subscription planned by the legislature, in the vigorous assistance they contributed towards manning the navy, recruiting the army, and levying additional forces; and the warlike spirit which began to diffuse itself through all ranks of the people. This was a spirit which the m—y carefully cherished and cultivated, for the support of the war, which, it must be owned, was prosecuted with an ardour and efficacy peculiar to the present administration. True it is, the German war had been for some time adopted as an object of importance by the British counsels, and a resolution was taken to maintain it without flinching: at the same time it must be allowed, that this consideration had not hitherto weakened the attention of the m—y to the operations in America, where alone the war may be said to have been carried on and prosecuted on British principles, so as to distress the enemy in their most tender part, and at the same time acquire the most substantial advantages to the subjects of Britain.

Preparations
for war.

For these two purposes, every preparation was made that sagacity could suggest, or vigour execute. The navy was repaired and augmented, and in order

order to man the different squadrons, the expedient of pressing, that disgrace Ann. 1759. to a British administration, was practised both by land and water with extraordinary rigour and vivacity. A proclamation was issued, offering a considerable bounty for every seaman and even landman that should, by a certain day, enter voluntarily into the service. As an additional encouragement to this class of people, the king promised his pardon to all seamen who had deserted from the respective ships to which they belonged, provided they should return to their duty by the third day of July; but at the same time he declared, that those who should neglect this opportunity at a time when their country so much required their service, would, upon being apprehended, incur the penalty of a court-martial, and, if convicted, be deemed unfit objects of the royal mercy. All justices of the peace, mayors, and magistrates of corporations throughout Great-Britain, were commanded to make particular search for straggling seamen fit for the service, and to send all that should be found to the nearest sea-port, that they might be sent on board by the sea-officer there commanding. Other methods more gentle and effectual were taken to levy and recruit the land-forces. New regiments were raised on his majesty's promise, that every man should be intitled to his discharge at the end of three years, and the premiums for enlistment were increased.

Over and above these indulgencies, considerable bounties were offered and Bounties given by cities, towns, corporations, and even by individuals, so universally given to volunteers. were the people possessed with a spirit of chivalry and adventure. The example was set by the metropolis, where the common-council resolved, that voluntary subscriptions should be received in the chamber of London, to be appropriated as bounty-money to such persons as should engage in his majesty's service. The city subscribed a considerable sum for that purpose; and a committee of aldermen and commoners was appointed to attend at Guildhall, to receive and apply the subscriptions. As a further encouragement to volunteers, they moreover resolved, that every person so entering should be intitled to the freedom of the city, at the expiration of three years, or sooner, if the war should be brought to a conclusion. These resolutions being communicated to the king, he was pleased to signify his approbation, and return his thanks to the city, in a letter from the secretary of state to the lord-mayor. Large sums were immediately subscribed by different companies, and some persons; and, in imitation of the capital, bounties were offered by many different communities in every quarter of the united kingdom. At the same time such care and diligence were used in disciplining the militia, that before the close of the year, the greater part of those truly constitutional battalions rivalled the regular troops in the perfection of their exercise, and seemed to be in all respects as fit for actual service.

Before we proceed to record the transactions of the campaign that succeeded these preparations, we shall take notice of some domestic events, which, though not very important in themselves, may nevertheless claim a place in the History of England. In the beginning of the year, the court of London was overwhelmed with affliction at the death of the princess dowager of Orange and Nassau, gouvernante of the United Provinces in the minority of her son the present stadtholder. She was the eldest daughter of his Britannic majesty, possessed of many personal accomplishments and exemplary virtues, pious,

Death of the princess of Orange, and of the princess Elizabeth Caroline.

Ann. 1759. pious, moderate, sensible, and circumspect. She had exercised her authority with equal sagacity and resolution, respected even by those who were no friends to the house of Orange, and died with great fortitude and resignation*. In her will she appointed the king her father, and the princess dowager of Orange, her mother-in-law, honorary tutors, and prince Louis of Brunswic, acting tutor to her children. In the morning after her decease, the States General and the states of Holland were extraordinarily assembled, and having received notice of this event, proceeded to confirm the regulations which had been made for the minority of the stadtholder. Prince Louis of Brunswic was invited to assist in the assembly of Holland, where he took the oaths as representing the captain-general of the union. Then he communicated to the assembly, the act by which the princess had appointed him guardian of her children. He was afterwards invited to the assembly of the States General, who agreed to the resolution of Holland with respect to his guardianship; and in the evening, the different colleges of the government sent formal deputations to the young stadtholder, and the princess Caroline his sister, in whose names and presence they were received, and answered by their guardian and representative. A formal intimation of the death of the princess was communicated to the king her father, in a pathetic letter, by the States General, who con-
 doled with him on the irreparable loss, which he as well as they had sustained by this melancholy event; and assured him they would employ all their care and attention in securing and defending the rights and interests of the young stadtholder, and the princess his sister, whom they considered as the children of the republic. The royal family of England suffered another disaster in the course of this year, by the decease of the princess Elizabeth-Caroline, second daughter of his late royal highness Frederic prince of Wales, a lady of the most amiable character, who died at Kew in the month of September, before she had attained the eighteenth year of her age.

Examples
made of
pirates.

Certain privateers continuing their excesses at sea, and rising neutral ships without distinction or authority, the government resolved to vindicate the honour of the nation, by making examples of those pirates, who, as fast as they could be detected and secured, were brought to trial, and upon conviction sacrificed to justice. While these steps were taken to rescue the nation from the reproach of violence and rapacity, which her neighbours had urged with such eagerness, equal spirit was exerted in convincing neutral powers that they should not, with impunity, contravene the law of nations, in favouring the enemies of Great Britain. A great number of causes was tried, relating to disputed captures, and many Dutch vessels, with their cargoes, were con-

* Feeling her end approaching, she delivered a key to one of her attendants, directing him to fetch two papers, which she signed with her own hand. One was a contract of marriage between her daughter and the prince of Nassau-Weilburg; the other was a letter to the States General, beseeching them to consent to this marriage, and preserve inviolate the regulations she had made, touching the education and tutelage of the young stadtholder.

These two papers being signed and sealed, she sent for her children, exhorted them to make proper improvements on the education they had received, and to live in harmony with each other. Then she implored heaven to shower its blessings on them both, and embraced them with the most affecting marks of maternal tenderness. She afterwards continued to converse calmly and deliberately with her friends, and in a few hours expired.

demned

demned after a fair hearing, notwithstanding the loud clamours of that people, Ann. 1759. and the repeated remonstrances of the States General.

The reputation of the English was not so much affected by the irregularities of her privateers, armed for rapine, as by the neglect of internal police, and an ingredient of savage ferocity, mingled in the national character, an ingredient that appeared but too conspicuous in the particulars of several shocking murders brought to light about this period. Detail of some atrocious murders.

One Halsey, who commanded a merchant ship in the voyage from Jamaica to England, having conceived some personal dislike to a poor sailor, insulted him with such abuse, exposed him to such hardships, and punished him with such wantonness of barbarity, that the poor wretch leaped overboard in despair. His inhuman tyrant envying him that death, which would have rescued a miserable object from his brutality, plunged into the sea after him, and brought him on board, declaring he should not so escape while there were any torments left to inflict. Accordingly he exercised his tyranny upon him with redoubled rigour, until the poor creature expired, in consequence of the inhuman treatment he had sustained. This savage ruffian was likewise indicted for the murder of another mariner, but being convicted on the first trial, the second was found unnecessary, and the criminal suffered death according to the law, which is perhaps too mild to malefactors convicted of such aggravated cruelty.

Another barbarous murder was perpetrated in the country near Birmingham, upon a sheriff's officer, by the sons of one Darby, whose effects the bailiff had seized on a distress for rent. The two young assassins, encouraged by the father, attacked the unhappy wretch with clubs, and mangled him in a terrible manner, so that he hardly retained any signs of life. Not contented with this cruel execution, they stripped him naked, and dragging him out of the house, scourged him with a waggoner's whip, until the flesh was cut from his bones. In this miserable condition he was found weltering in his blood, and conveyed to a neighbouring house, where he immediately expired. The three barbarians were apprehended, after having made a desperate resistance. They were tried, convicted, and executed: the sons were hung in chains, and the body of the father dissected.

The widow of a timber-merchant at Rotherhithe, being cruelly murdered in her own house, Mary Edmonson, a young woman her niece, ran out into the street with her own arms cut across, and gave the alarm, declaring her aunt had been assassinated by four men, who forced their way into the house, and that she (the niece) had received those wounds in attempting to defend her relation. According to the circumstances that appeared, this unnatural wretch had cut the throat of her aunt and benefactress with a case-knife, then dragged the body from the wash-house to the parlour; that she had stole a watch and some silver spoons, and concealed them, together with the knife and her own apron, which was soaked with the blood of her parent. After having acted this horrid tragedy, the bare recital of which the humane reader will not peruse without horror, she put on another apron, and wounded her own flesh, the better to conceal her guilt. Notwithstanding these precautions she was suspected, and committed to prison. Being brought to trial, she was convicted and condemned upon circumstantial evidence, and, finally, executed.

Ann. 1759. executed at Kennington-Common, though she denied the fact to the last moment of her life. At the place of execution she behaved with great composure, and, after having spent some minutes in devotion, protested she was innocent of the crime laid to her charge. What seemed to corroborate this protestation, was the condition and character of the young woman, who had been educated in a sphere above the vulgar, and maintained a reputation without reproach in the country, where she was actually betrothed to a clergyman. On the other hand, the circumstances that appeared against her, almost amounted to a certainty, though nothing weaker than proof positive ought to determine a jury in capital cases to give a verdict against the person accused. After all, this is one of those problematic events, which elude the force of all evidence, and serve to confound the pride of human reason.

A miscreant, whose name was Haines, having espoused the daughter of a farmer in the neighbourhood of Gloucester, who possessed a small estate, which he intended to divide among seven children, was so abandoned as to form the design of poisoning the whole family, that by virtue of his wife he might enjoy the whole inheritance. For the execution of this infernal scheme, he employed his own father to purchase a quantity of arsenic; part of which he administered to three of the children, who were immediately seized with the dreadful symptoms produced by this mineral, and the eldest expired. He afterwards mixed it with three apple-cakes, which he bought for the purpose, and presented to the other three children, who underwent the same violence of operation which had proved fatal to the eldest brother. The instantaneous effects of the poison, created a suspicion of Haines, who being examined, the whole scene of villany stood disclosed. Nevertheless, the villain found means to escape.

The uncommon spirit of assassination, which raged at this period, seemed to communicate itself even to foreigners who breathed the English air. Five French prisoners, confined on board the king's ship the Royal Oak, were convicted of having murdered one Jean de Manaux, their countryman and fellow-prisoner, in revenge for his having discovered that they had forged passes to facilitate their escape. Exasperated at this detection, they seized this unfortunate informer in the place of their confinement, gagged his mouth, stripped him naked, tied him with a strong cord to a ring-bolt, and scourged his body with the most brutal perseverance. By dint of struggling the poor wretch disengaged himself from the cord with which he had been tied; then they finished the tragedy by leaping and stamping on his breast, till the chest was broke, and he expired. They afterwards severed the body into small pieces, and these they conveyed at different times into the sea, through the funnel of a convenience to which they had access; but one of the other prisoners gave information of the murder, in consequence of which they were secured, brought to trial, condemned, and punished with death.

Nor were the instances of cruel assassination, which prevailed at this juncture, confined to Great Britain. At the latter end of the foregoing year, an atrocious massacre was perpetrated by two Genoese mariners upon the master and crew of an English vessel, among whom they were enrolled. These monsters of cruelty were in different watches, a circumstance that favoured the execution of the horrid plan they had concerted. When one of them retired

retired to rest with his fellows of the watch, consisting of the mate and two Ann. 1759. seamen, he waited till they were fast asleep, and then butchered them all with a knife. Having so far succeeded without discovery, he returned to the deck, and communicated the exploit to his associate: then they suddenly attacked the master of the vessel, and cleft his head with an hatchet, which they likewise used in murdering the man that stood at the helm; a third was likewise dispatched, and no Englishman remained alive but the master's son, a boy, who lamented his father's death with incessant tears and cries for three days, at the expiration of which he was likewise sacrificed, because the assassins were disturbed by his clamour. This barbarous scene was acted within sixty leagues of the rock of Lisbon; but the vessel was taken between the capes Ortugal and Finisterre, by the captain of a French privateer called La Favourite, who seeing the deck stained with blood, and finding all the papers of the ship destroyed, began to suspect that the master and crew had been murdered. He accordingly taxed them with the murder, and they confessed the particulars. The privateer touched at Vigo, where the captain imparted this detail to the English consul; but the prize, with the two villains on board, was sent to Bayonne in France, where it is to be hoped, for the honour of humanity, they were brought to condign punishment, notwithstanding the war that subsists between the two nations: for there are certain established rights of general justice and humanity, which no particular war can destroy.

We shall close this register of blood with the account of a murder, remarkable in all its circumstances, for which a person, called Eugene Aram, suffered murder by Eugene Aram. at York in the course of this year. This man, who exercised the profession of a schoolmaster at Knaresborough, had, as far back as the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-five, been concerned with one Houseman, in robbing and murdering Daniel Clarke, whom they had previously persuaded to borrow a considerable quantity of valuable effects from different persons in the neighbourhood, on false pretences, that he might retire with the booty. He had accordingly filled a sack with these particulars, and begun his retreat with his two perfidious associates, who suddenly fell upon him, deprived him of life, and, having buried the body in a cave, took possession of the plunder. Though Clarke disappeared at once in such a mysterious manner, no suspicion fell upon the assassins; and Aram, who was the chief contriver and agent in the murder, moved his habitation to another part of the country. In the summer of the present year, Houseman being employed, among other labourers, in repairing the public highway, they, in digging for gravel by the road side, discovered the skeleton of a human creature, which the majority supposed to be the bones of Daniel Clarke. This opinion was no sooner broached, than Houseman, as it were by some supernatural impulse which he could not resist, declared that it was not the skeleton of Clarke, inasmuch as his body had been interred in a place called St. Robert's Cave, where they would find it with the head turned to a certain corner. He was immediately apprehended, examined, admitted as evidence for the crown, and discovered the particulars of the murder. The skeleton of Clarke being found exactly in the place and manner he had described, Eugene Aram, who now acted as usher to a grammar-school in the county of Norfolk, was secured, and brought to trial at the York assizes. There, his own wife corroborating

Ann. 1759. the testimony of Housman, he was found guilty, and received sentence of death, notwithstanding a very artful and learned defence, in which he proved, from argument and example, the danger of convicting a man upon circumstantial evidence. Finding all his remonstrances ineffectual, he recommended himself in pathetic terms to the king's mercy; and if ever murder was intitled to indulgence, perhaps it might have been extended, not improperly, to this man, whose genius, in itself prodigious, might have exerted itself in works of general utility. He had, in spite of all the disadvantages attending low birth, and straitened circumstances, by the dint of his own capacity and inclination, made considerable progress in mathematics and philosophy, acquired all the languages antient and modern, and executed part of a Celtic dictionary, which, had he lived to finish it, might have thrown some essential light upon the origin and obscurities of the European History. Convinced, at last, that he had nothing to hope from the clemency of the government, he wrote a short poem in defence of suicide; and, on the day fixed for his execution, opened the veins of his left arm with a razor, which he had concealed for that purpose. Though he was much weakened by the effusion of blood, before this attempt was discovered; yet, as the instrument had missed the artery, he did not expire until he was carried to the gibbet, and underwent the sentence of the law. His body was conveyed to Knareborough-forest, and hung in chains, near the place where the murder was perpetrated.

These are some of the most remarkable that appeared among many other instances of homicide; a crime that prevails to a degree alike deplorable and surprising, even in a nation renowned for compassion and placability. But this will generally be the case among people whose passions, naturally impetuous, are ill restrained by laws and the regulations of civil society, which the licentious do not fear, and the wicked hope to evade.

Majority of
the prince of
Wales.

The prince of Wales having, in the beginning of June, entered the two and twentieth year of his age, the anniversary of his birth was celebrated with great rejoicings at court, and the king received compliments of congratulation on the majority of a prince, who seemed born to fulfill the hopes and compleat the happiness of Great-Britain. The city of London presented an address to the king on this occasion, replete with expressions of loyalty and affection, assuring his majesty, that no hostile threats could intimidate a people animated by the love of liberty, who, confiding in the Divine Providence, and in his majesty's experienced wisdom and vigorous councils, were resolved to exert their utmost efforts towards enabling their sovereign to repel the insults and defeat the attempts made by the ancient enemies of his crown and kingdom.

Congratulations of the same kind were offered by other cities, towns, corporations, and communities, who vied with each other in professions of attachment; and, indeed, there was not the least trace of disaffection perceivable at this juncture in any part of the island.

So little were the citizens of London distressed by the expence, or incommoded by the operations of the war, that they found leisure to plan and funds to execute magnificent works of art, for the ornament of the metropolis, and the convenience of commerce. They had obtained an act of parliament,
impowering

impowering them to build a new bridge over the Thames, from Black-friars Ann. 1759. to the opposite shore, about midway between those of London and Westminster. Resolutions Commissioners were appointed to put this act in execution; and, at a court of common council, it was resolved, that a sum not exceeding one hundred and forty-four thousand pounds should be forthwith raised, within the space of eight years, by instalments, not exceeding thirty thousand pounds in one year, to be payed into the chamber of London; that the persons advancing the money should have an interest at the rate of four pounds per centum per annum, to be paid half yearly by the chamberlain, yet redeemable at the expiration of the first ten years; and that the chamberlain should affix the city's seal to such instruments as the committee might think fit to give, for securing the payment of the said annuities. Such were the first effectual steps taken towards the execution of a laudable measure, which met with the most obstinate opposition in the sequel, from the narrow views of particular, as well as from the prejudice of party.

The spirit that now animated the citizens of London was such as small difficulties did not retard, and even considerable losses could not discourage. In the month of November the city was exposed to a dangerous conflagration, kindled in the night by accident in the neighbourhood of the Royal Exchange, which burned with great fury, notwithstanding the assistance of the firemen and engines, employed under the personal direction of the magistracy, consumed a good number of houses, and damaged many more. That whole quarter of the town was filled with consternation: some individuals were beggared; one or two perished in the flames, and some were buried in the ruin of the houses that sunk under the disaster.

The inhabitants of London must be always subject to such calamities, until the houses are rebuilt in a more substantial stile of architecture. Composed as they are at present of the worst materials, huddled together in the slightest manner, without beauty, order, strength, or uniformity, they totter as they stand, weakly supported by one another, without solidity to stand independent of that support, without walls of division to stop the progress of the flames in any accidental conflagration. Such are the dangers attending the practice of letting building leases to ignorant and mercenary tradesmen, who, without skill, or concern for the consequence, rear up those frail tenements for sale, and, to a sordid thirst of lucre, shamefully sacrifice the lives of their fellow-creatures. In other countries this is deemed a consideration of great importance, and in time, it is to be hoped, may engage the notice of the British legislature, among other evils arising from the spirit of jobbing, which seems to have diffused itself through every department of public and private œconomy.

The ferment of mind so peculiar to the natives of Great-Britain, excited by a strange mixture of genius and caprice, passion and philosophy, study and conjecture, produced at this period some flowers of improvement, in different arts and sciences, that seemed to promise fruit of public utility. Several persons invented methods for discovering the longitude at sea, that great desideratum in navigation, for the ascertainment of which so many nations have offered a public recompence, and in the investigation of which so many mathematical heads have been disordered. Some of those, who now

Conflagra-
tion in Lon-
don.

Method con-
trived to find
out the lon-
gitude at sea.

Ann. 1759. appeared candidates for the prize, deserved encouragement for the ingenuity of their several systems; but he who seemed to enjoy the pre-eminence, in the opinion and favour of the public, was Mr. Irwin, a native of Ireland, who contrived a chair so artfully poised, that a person, sitting in it, on board a ship, even in a rough sea, can, through a telescope, observe the immersion and emersion of Jupiter's satellities, without being interrupted or incommoded by the motion of the vessel. This gentleman was favoured with the assistance and protection of commodore lord Howe, in whose presence the experiment was tried in several ships at sea with such success, that he granted a certificate, signifying his approbation; and, in consequence of this, Mr. Irwin is said to have obtained a considerable reward from the board of admiralty.

Installation
at Oxford.

The people of England, happy in their situation, felt none of the storms of war and desolation which ravaged the neighbouring countries; but, enriched by a surprising augmentation of commerce, enjoyed all the security of peace, and all the pleasures of taste and affluence.

The university of Oxford having conferred the office of their chancellor, vacant by the death of the earl of Arran, upon another nobleman of equal honour and integrity, namely, the earl of Westmoreland, he made a public entrance into that celebrated seat of learning with great magnificence, and was installed amidst the encænia, which were celebrated with such classical elegance of pomp, as might have rivalled the chief Roman festival of the Augustan age. The chancellor elect was attended by a splendid train of the nobility and persons of distinction. The city of Oxford was filled with a vast concourse of strangers. The processions were contrived with taste, and conducted with decorum. The installation was performed with the most striking solemnity. The congratulatory verses, and public speeches, breathed the spirit of old Rome; and the ceremony was closed by Dr. King, that venerable sage of St. Mary Hall, who pronounced an oration in praise of the new chancellor with all the flow of Tully, animated by the fire of Demosthenes.

A deplorable
incident at
sea.

We shall conclude the remarkable incidents of this year*, that are detached from the prosecution of the war, with the detail of an event equally surprising and deplorable. A sloop called the Dolphin, bound from the Canaries to New-York, met with such unfavourable weather, that she was detained one hundred and sixty-five days in the passage, and the provision of the ship was altogether expended before the first fifty days were elapsed. The wretched

* In the spring of this year the liberal arts sustained a lamented loss in the death of George-Frederic Handel, the most celebrated master in music which this age had produced. He was by birth a German; but had studied in Italy, and afterwards settled in England, where he met with the most favourable reception, and resided above half a century, universally admired for his stupendous genius in the sublime parts of musical composition.

One would be apt to imagine that there was something in the constitution of the air at this period, which was particularly unfavourable to old age, inasmuch as, in the compass of a few months, the following persons, remarkable

for their longevity, died in the kingdom of Scotland. William Barnes, who had been above seventy years a servant in the family of Brodie, died there at the age of one hundred and nine. Katharine Mackenzie died in Ross-shire at the age of one hundred and eighteen. Janet Blair, deceased at Monemusk in the shire of Aberdeen, turned of one hundred and twelve. Alexander Stephens, in Bamfshire, at the age of one hundred and eight. Janet Harper, at Bains-hole, at the age of one hundred and seven. Daniel Cameron, in Rannach, married when he was turned of one hundred, and survived his marriage thirty years.

crew

crew had devoured their dog, cat, and all their shoes on board: at length Ann. 1759. being reduced to the utmost extremity, they agreed to cast lots for their lives, that the body of him upon whom the lot should fall, might serve for some time to support the survivors. The wretched victim was one Antonio Galatia, a Spanish gentleman and passenger. Him they shot with a musquet; and having cut off his head, threw it overboard; but the intrails, and the rest of the carcase, they greedily devoured. This horrid banquet having, as it were, fleshed the famished crew, they began to talk of another sacrifice, from which, however, they were diverted by the influence and remonstrances of their captain, who prevailed upon them to be satisfied with a miserable allowance to each per diem, cut from a pair of leathern breeches found in the cabin. Upon this calamitous pittance, reinforced with the grass which grew plentifully upon the deck, these poor objects made shift to subsist for twenty days, at the expiration of which they were relieved, and taken on board one captain Bradshaw, who chanced to fall in with them at sea. By this time the whole crew, consisting of seven men, were so squalid and emaciated, as to exhibit an appearance at once piteous and terrible; and so reduced in point of strength, that it was found necessary to use ropes and tackle for hoisting them from one ship to the other. The circumstance of the lot falling upon the Spaniard, who was the only foreigner on board, encourages a suspicion that foul play was offered to this unfortunate stranger; but the most remarkable part of this whole incident is, that the master and crew could not contrive some sort of tackle to catch fish, with which the sea every where abounds, and which, no doubt, might be caught with the help of a little ingenuity. If implements of this kind were provided in every ship, they would probably prevent all those tragical events at sea that are occasioned by famine.

Previous to the more capital operations in war, we shall particularize the Captures most remarkable captures that were made upon the enemy by single ships of made by war, during the course of this summer and autumn. In the month of separate. February a French privateer, belonging to Granville, called the Marquis de cruizers. Marigny, having on board near two hundred men, and mounted with twenty cannon, was taken by captain Parker, commander of his majesty's ship the Montague; who likewise made prize of a smaller armed vessel, from Dunkirk, of eight cannon and sixty men.

About the same period, captain Graves, of the Unicorn, brought in the Moras privateer of St. Malo, carrying two hundred men, and two-and-twenty cannon.

Two large merchant-ships, loaded on the French king's account, for Martinique, with provision, cloathing, and arms, for the troops on that island, were taken by captain Lendrick, commander of the Brilliant; and an English transport from St. John's, having four hundred French prisoners on board, perished near the Western Islands.

Within the circle of the same month, a large French ship from St. Domingo, richly laden, fell in with the Favourite ship of war, and was carried into Gibraltar.

In the month of February, captain Hood, of his majesty's frigate the Vestal, belonging to a small squadron commanded by admiral Holmes, who had sailed for the West-Indies in January, being advanced a considerable way Captain Hood takes the Bellona a-head.

Ann. 1759. a-head of the fleet, descried and gave chase to a sail, which proved to be a French frigate called the *Bellona*, of two hundred and twenty men, and two-and-thirty great guns, commanded by the count de Beauhonoire. Captain Hood, having made a signal to the admiral, continued the chase until he advanced within half musket-shot of the enemy, and then poured in a broad-side, which was immediately retorted. The engagement, thus begun, was maintained with great vigour on both sides for the space of four hours; at the expiration of which the *Bellona* struck, after having lost all her masts and rigging, together with about forty men killed in the action. Nor was the victor in a much better condition. Thirty men were killed and wounded on board of the *Vestal*. Immediately after the enemy submitted, all her rigging being destroyed by the shot, the topmasts fell overboard; and she was otherwise so damaged, that she could not proceed on her voyage. Captain Hood, therefore, returned with his prize to Spithead; and afterwards met with a gracious reception from his majesty, on account of the valour and conduct he had displayed on this occasion. The *Bellona* had sailed in January from the island of Martinique, along with the *Florissant*, and another French frigate, from which she had been separated in the passage.

Immediately after this exploit, captain Elliot of the *Æolus* frigate, accompanied by the *Isis*, made prize of a French ship, the *Mignonne*, of twenty guns, and one hundred and forty men, one of four frigates employed as convoy to a large fleet of merchant-ships, near the island of Rhée.

Captain
Gilchrist
wounded in
an engage-
ment at sea.

In the month of March, the English frigates the *Southampton* and *Melampe*, commanded by the captains Gilchrist and Hotham, being at sea to the northward on a cruize, fell in with the *Danae*, a French ship of forty cannon, and three hundred and thirty men, which was engaged by captain Hotham in a ship of half the force, who maintained the battle a considerable time with admirable gallantry, before his consort could come to his assistance. As they fought in the dark, captain Gilchrist was obliged to lie by for some time, because he could not distinguish the one from the other; but no sooner did the day appear than he bore down upon the *Danae* with his usual impetuosity, and soon compelled her to surrender: she did not strike, however, until thirty or forty of her men were slain: and the gallant captain Gilchrist received a grape-shot in his shoulder, which though it did not deprive him of life, yet rendered him incapable of future service: a misfortune the more to be lamented, as it happened to a brave officer in the vigour of his age, and in the midst of a sanguinary war, which might have afforded him many other opportunities of signalizing his courage for the honour and advantage of his country.

The Count
de St. Flo-
rentin taken
by captain
Barrington.

Another remarkable exploit was about the same juncture atchieved by captain Barrington, commander of the ship *Achilles*, mounted with sixty cannon, who, to the westward of Cape Finisterre, encountered a French ship of equal force, called the *Count de St. Florentin*, bound from Cape François on the island of Hispaniola to Rochfort, under the command of the *Sieur de Montay*, who was obliged to strike after a close and obstinate engagement, in which he himself was mortally wounded, a great number of his men slain, and his ship so damaged, that she was with difficulty brought into Falmouth. Captain Barrington obtained the victory at the expence of about five-and-twenty men killed

killed and wounded, and all his rigging, which the enemy's shot rendered Ann. 1759. useless.

Two small privateers from Dunkirk were also taken, one called the Marquis de Bareil, by the Brilliant, which carried her into Kinsale in Ireland; the other called the Carillonneur, which struck to the Grace cutter, assisted by the boats of the ship Rochester, commanded by captain Duff, who sent her into the Downs.

About the latter end of March, captain Samuel Falkner, in the ship Windsor, of sixty guns, cruising to the westward, discovered four large ships to leeward, which, when he approached them, formed the line of battle a-head, in order to give them a warm reception. He accordingly closed with the sternmost ship, which sustained his fire about an hour: then the other three bearing away with all the sail they could carry, she struck her colours, and was conducted to Lisbon. She proved to be the Duc de Chartres, pierced for sixty cannon, though at that time carrying no more than four-and-twenty, with a complement of three hundred men, about thirty of whom were killed in the action. She belonged, with the other three that escaped, to the French East-India company, was loaded with gunpowder and naval stores, and bound for Pondicherry.

Two privateers, called La Chasseur and Le Conquerant, the one from Dunkirk, and the other from Cherbourg, were taken and carried into Plymouth by captain Hughs, of his majesty's frigate the Tamer. A third, called the Dispatch, from Morlaix, was brought into Penzance by the Diligence sloop, under the command of captain Eastwood. A fourth, called the Basque, from Bayonne, furnished with two-and-twenty guns, and above two hundred men, fell into the hands of captain Parker of the Brilliant, who conveyed her into Plymouth. Captain Antrobus, of the Surprise, took the Vieux, a privateer of Bourdeaux: and a fifth from Dunkirk, struck to captain Knight, of the Liverpool, off Yarmouth.

In the month of May a French frigate, called the Arethusa, mounted with two-and-thirty cannon, manned with a large complement of hands, under the command of the Marquis de Vaudrieul, submitted to two British frigates, the Venus and the Thames, commanded by the captains Harrison and Colby, after a warm engagement, in which sixty men were killed and wounded, on the side of the enemy.

In the beginning of June an armed ship, belonging to Dunkirk, was brought into the Downs, by captain Angel, of the Stag; and a privateer of force, called the Countess de la Serre, was subdued and taken, after an obstinate action, by captain Moore, of his majesty's ship the Adventure.

Several armed ships of the enemy, and rich prizes, were taken in the West-Indies, particularly two French frigates, and two Dutch ships with French commodities, all richly laden, by some of the ships of the Squadron which vice-admiral Cotes commanded in the Jamaica station. A fifth, called the Velour, from St. Domingo, with a valuable cargo on board, being fortified with twenty cannon, and above one hundred men, fell in with the Favourite sloop of war, under the command of captain Edwards, who, after an obstinate dispute, carried her in triumph to Gibraltar.

At

Ann. 1759.

At St. Christopher's, in the West Indies, captain Collingwood, commander of the king's ship the *Crescent*, attacked two French frigates, the *Amethyste* and *Berkeley*; the former of which escaped, after a warm engagement, in which the *Crescent's* rigging was so much damaged, that she could not pursue: but the other was taken, and conveyed into the harbour of *Basse-terre*.

Notwithstanding the vigilance and courage of the English cruizers in those seas, the French privateers swarmed to such a degree, that, in the course of this year, they took above two hundred sail of British ships, valued at six hundred thousand pounds sterling. This their success is the more remarkable, as by this time the island of *Guadalupe* was in possession of the English, and commodore *Moore* commanded a numerous squadron in those very latitudes.

Engagement
between the
Hercules and
the *Florissant*.

In the beginning of October, the *Hercules* ship of war, mounted with seventy-four guns, under the command of captain *Porter*, cruising in the chops of the Channel, descried to windward a large ship, which proved to be the *Florissant* of the same force with the *Hercules*. Her commander, perceiving the English ship giving chase, did not seem to decline the action; but bore down upon her in a slanting direction, and the engagement began with great fury. In a little time, the *Hercules*, having lost her top-mast, and all her rigging being shot away, the enemy took advantage of this disaster, made the best of his way, and was pursued till eight o'clock next morning, when he escaped behind the isle of *Oleron*. Captain *Porter* was wounded in the head with a grape-shot, and lost the use of one leg in the engagement.

Havre de
Grace bom-
barded by
rear-admiral
Rodney.

Having taken notice of all the remarkable captures and exploits that were made and achieved by single ships, since the commencement of the present year, we shall now proceed to describe the actions that were performed in this period by the different squadrons that constituted the naval power of Great-Britain.

Intelligence having been received that the enemy meditated an invasion upon some of the British territories, and that a number of flat-bottomed boats were prepared at *Havre de Grace*, for the purpose of disembarking troops, rear-admiral *Rodney* was, in the beginning of July, detached with a small squadron of ships and bombs to annoy and overawe that part of the coast of France. He accordingly anchored in the road of *Havre*, and made a disposition to execute the instructions he had received. The bomb vessels being placed in the narrow channel of the river leading to *Honfleur*, began to throw their shells, and continued the bombardment for two-and-fifty hours, without intermission, during which a numerous body of French troops was employed in throwing up entrenchments, erecting new batteries, and firing both with shot and shells upon the assailants. The town was set on fire in several places, and burned with great fury; some of the boats were overturned, and a few of them reduced to ashes, while the inhabitants forsook the place in the utmost consternation: nevertheless, the damage done to the enemy was too inconsiderable to make amends for the expence of the armament, and the loss of nineteen hundred shells and eleven hundred carcasses, which were expended on this expedition. Bombardments of this kind are at best but expensive and unprofitable operations, and may be deemed a barbarous method of

of prosecuting war, inasmuch as the damage falls upon the wretched Ann. 1759. inhabitants, who have given no cause of offence, and who are generally spared by a humane enemy, unless they have committed some particular act of provocation.

The honour of the British flag was much more effectually asserted by the gallant admiral Boscawen, who, as we have already observed, was entrusted with the conduct of a squadron in the Mediterranean. It must be owned, however, that his first attempt favoured of temerity. Having in vain displayed the British flag in sight of Toulon, by way of defiance to the French fleet that there lay at anchor, he ordered three ships of the line, commanded by the captains Smith, Harland, and Barker, to advance and burn two ships that lay close to the mouth of the harbour. They accordingly approached with great intrepidity, and met with a very warm reception from divers batteries which they had not before perceived. Two small forts they attempted to destroy, and cannonaded for some time with great fury; but being over-matched by superior force, and the wind subsiding into a calm, they sustained considerable damage, and were towed off with great difficulty, in a very shattered condition. The admiral seeing three of his best ships so roughly handled in this enterprize, returned to Gibraltar in order to refit; and M. de la Clue, the French commander of the squadron at Toulon, seized this opportunity of sailing, in hope of passing the Streights mouth unobserved, his fleet consisting of twelve large ships and three frigates. Admiral Boscawen, who commanded fourteen sail of the line, with two frigates, and as many fire-ships, having refitted his squadron, detached one frigate to cruise off Malaga, and another to hover between Estepona and Ceuta-point; with a view to keep a good look-out, and give timely notice in case the enemy should approach. On the seventeenth day of August, at eight in the evening, the Gibraltar frigate made a signal that fourteen sail appeared on the Barbary shore to the eastward of Ceuta; upon which the English admiral immediately heaved up his anchors and went to sea: at day-light he descried seven large ships lying to; but when the English squadron forbore to answer their signal, they discovered their mistake, set all their sails, and made the best of their way. This was the greater part of the French squadron commanded by Mr. de la Clue, from whom five of his large ships and three frigates had separated in the night. Even now perhaps he might have escaped, had he not been obliged to wait for the *Souveraine*, which was a heavy sailer. At noon the wind, which had blown a fresh gale, died away; and although admiral Boscawen had made signal to chase and engage in a line of battle a-head, it was not till half an hour after two that some of his headmost ships could close with the rear of the enemy; which, though greatly outnumbered, fought with uncommon bravery. The English admiral, without waiting to return the fire of the sternmost, which he received as he passed, used all his endeavours to come up with the *Océan*, which Mr. de la Clue commanded in person; and about four o'clock in the afternoon running athwart her hawse, poured into her a furious broadside: thus the engagement began with equal vigour on both sides. This dispute however was of short duration. In about half an hour admiral Boscawen's mizen mast and topsail-yards were shot away; and the enemy hoisted all

Ann. 1759. the sail they could carry. Mr. Boscawen having shifted his flag from the *Namur* to the *Newark*, joined some other ships in attacking the *Centaur* of seventy-four cannon, which, being thus overpowered, was obliged to surrender. The British admiral pursued them all night, during which the *Souveraine*, and the *Guerrier*, altered their course, and deserted their commander. At day-break, Mr. de la Clue, whose left leg had been broke in the engagement, perceiving the English squadron crowding all their sails to come up with him, and finding himself on the coast of Portugal, determined to burn his ships rather than they should fall into the hands of the victors. The *Ocean* was run ashore two leagues from Lagos, near the fort of Almadana, the commander of which fired three shot at the English: another captain of the French squadron followed the example of his commander; and both endeavoured to disembark their men: but the sea being rough, this proved a very tedious and difficult attempt. The captains of the *Temeraire* and *Modeste*, instead of destroying their ships, anchored as near as they could to the forts *Xavier* and *Lagres*, in hopes of enjoying their protection; but in this hope they were disappointed. Mr. de la Clue had been landed, and the command of the *Ocean* was left to the Count de Carne, who having received one broadside from the *America*, struck his colours, and the English took possession of this noble prize, the best ship in the French navy, mounted with eighty cannon. Captain Bentley of the *Warspight*, who had remarkably signalized himself by his courage during the action of the preceding day, attacked the *Temeraire* of seventy-four guns, and brought her off with little damage. Vice-admiral Broderick, the second in command, advancing with his division, burned the *Redoutable* of seventy-four guns, which was bulged, and abandoned by her men and officers; but they made prize of the *Modeste*, carrying sixty-four guns, which had not been much injured in the engagement.

This victory was obtained by the English admiral at a very small expence of men; the whole number of the killed and wounded not exceeding two hundred and fifty on board of the British squadron; though the carnage among the enemy must have been much more considerable, as Mr. de la Clue, in his letter to the French ambassador at Lisbon, owns, that on board of his own ship the *Ocean*, one hundred men were killed on the spot, and seventy dangerously wounded: but the most severe circumstance of this disaster was the loss of four capital ships, two of which were destroyed, and the other two brought in triumph to England, to be numbered among the best bottoms of the British navy. What augmented the good fortune of the victors, was, that not one officer lost his life in the engagement. Captain Bentley, whom the admiral dispatched to England, with the tidings of his success, met with a gracious reception from the king, who knighted him for his gallantry.

Preparations
made by
France for an
invasion of
Great Bri-
tain.

As we propose to throw together all the naval transactions of the year, especially those that happened in the European seas, that they may be comprehended as it were in one view; we must now, without regarding the order of time, postpone many previous events of importance, and record the last action by sea, that in the course of this year distinguished the flag of Great Britain.

The court of Versailles, in order to embarrass the British ministry, and divert their attention from all external expeditions, had in the winter projected a plan for invading some part of the British dominions; and in the beginning of

of the year had actually begun to make preparations on different parts of their coast, for carrying this design into execution. Even as far back as the latter end of May, messages from the king to both houses of parliament were delivered by the earl of Holderness and Mr. Pitt, the two secretaries of state, signifying that his majesty had received advices of preparations making by the French court, with a design to invade Great Britain: that though persuaded by the universal zeal and affection of his people, any such attempt must, under the blessing of God, end in the destruction of those who engaged in it; yet he apprehended he should not act consistent with that paternal care and concern which he had always shewn for the safety and preservation of his subjects, if he omitted any means in his power, which might be necessary for their defence: he therefore acquainted the parliament with his having received repeated intelligence of the enemy's preparations, to the end that his majesty might, if he should think proper, in pursuance of the late act of parliament, cause the militia, or such part thereof as should be necessary, to be drawn out and embodied, in order to march as occasion should require.

These messages were no sooner read, than each house separately resolved to present an address, thanking his majesty for having communicated this intelligence; assuring him that they would, with their lives and fortunes, support him against all attempts whatever: that warmed with affection and zeal for his person and government, and animated by indignation at the daring designs of an enemy whose fleet had hitherto shunned the terror of the British navy, they would cheerfully exert their utmost efforts to repel all insults, and effectually enable their sovereign, not only to disappoint the attempts of France, but, by the blessing of God, turn them to their own confusion. The commons at the same time resolved upon another address, desiring his majesty would give directions to his lieutenants of the several counties, ridings, and places within South Britain, to use their utmost diligence and attention in executing the several acts of parliament made for the better ordering the militia.

These and other precautionary steps were accordingly taken: but the administration wisely placed their chief dependence upon the strength of the navy, part of which was so divided and stationed, as to block up all the harbours of France, in which the enemy were known to make any naval armament of consequence. We have seen in what manner rear-admiral Rodney visited the town and harbour of Havre de Grace, and scoured that part of the coast in successive cruises: we have also recorded the expedition and victory of admiral Boscawen over the squadron of La Clue, which was equipped at Toulon, with design to assist in the projected invasion. Notwithstanding this disaster, the French ministry persisted in their design; towards the execution of which, they had prepared another considerable fleet, at the harbours of Rochfort, Brest, and Port-Louis, to be commanded by Mr. de Conflans, and reinforced by a considerable body of troops, which were actually assembled under the duc d'Aiguillon, at Vannes in Lower Bretagne. Flat-bottomed boats, and transports to be used in this expedition, were prepared in different ports on the coast of France; and a small squadron was equipped at Dunkirk, under the command of an enterprising adventurer called Thurot, who had in the course of the preceding year signalized his courage and conduct in a large privateer called the Belleisle, which had scoured the North Seas,

Account of
Thurot.

Ann. 1759. taken a number of ships, and at one time maintained an obstinate battle against two English frigates, which were obliged to desist, after having received considerable damage.

This man's name became a terror to the merchants of Great Britain; for his valour was not more remarkable in battle than his conduct in eluding the pursuit of the British cruisers, who were successively detached in quest of him, through every part of the German Ocean and North Sea, as far as the island of Orkneys. It must be likewise owned, for the honour of human nature, that this bold mariner, though destitute of the advantages of birth and education, was remarkably distinguished by his generosity and compassion to those who had the misfortune to fall under his power; and that his deportment in every respect intitled him to a much more honourable rank in the service of his country. The court of Versailles were not insensible to his merit. He obtained a commission from the French king, and was vested with the command of the small armament now fitting out in the harbour of Dunkirk.

Squadrons
stationed on
the coast of
France.

The British government, being apprised of all these particulars, took such measures to defeat the purposed invasion, as must have conveyed a very high idea of the power of Great Britain to those who considered, that, exclusive of the force opposed to this design, they at the same time carried on the most vigorous and important operations of war in Germany, America, the East and West Indies. Thurot's armament at Dunkirk was watched by an English squadron in the Downs, commanded by commodore Boys; the port of Havre was guarded by rear-admiral Rodney; Mr. Boscawen had been stationed off Toulon; and the coast of Vannes was scoured by a small squadron detached from Sir Edward Hawke, who had during the summer blocked up the harbour of Brest, where Conflans lay with his fleet, in order to be joined by the other divisions of the armament. These different squadrons of the British navy were connected by a chain of separate cruisers; so that the whole coast of France, from Dunkirk to the extremity of Bretagne, were distressed by an actual blockade.

Preparations
on the coasts
of France.

The French ministry being thus hampered, forbore their attempt upon Britain; and the projected invasion seemed to hang in suspense, till the month of August, in the beginning of which their army in Germany was defeated at Minden. Their designs in that country being baffled by this disaster, they seemed to convert their chief attention to their sea-armament; the preparations were resumed with redoubled vigour; and even after the defeat of La Clue, they resolved to try their fortune in a descent. They now proposed to disembark a body of troops in Ireland. Thurot received orders to sail from Dunkirk with the first opportunity, and shape his course round the northern parts of Scotland, that he might alarm the coast of Ireland, and make a diversion from that part where Conflans intended to effectuate the disembarkation of his forces. The transports and ships of war were assembled at Brest and Rochfort, having on board a train of artillery, with saddles, and other accoutrements for cavalry, to be mounted in Ireland; and a body of French troops, including part of the Irish Brigade, was kept in readiness to embark.

The French
fleet sails
from Brest.

The execution of this scheme was, however, prevented by the vigilance of Sir Edward Hawke, who blocked up the harbour of Brest with a fleet of twenty-three capital ships; while another squadron of smaller ships and frigates,

gates, under the command of captain Duff, continued to cruise along the French coast from port L'Orient in Bretagne to the point of St. Gilles in Poitou. At length however, in the beginning of November, the British squadron, commanded by Sir Edward Hawke, Sir Charles Hardy, and rear-admiral Geary, were driven from the coast of France by stress of weather, and on the ninth day of the month anchored in Torbay. The French admiral Conflans snatched this opportunity of sailing from Brest, with one-and-twenty sail of the line and four frigates, in hope of being able to destroy the English squadron commanded by captain Duff, before the larger fleet could return from the coast of England. Sir Edward Hawke having received intelligence that the French fleet had sailed from Brest, immediately stood to sea, in order to pursue them; and in the mean time, the government issued orders for guarding all those parts of the coast that were thought the most exposed to a descent. The land-forces were put in motion, and quartered along the shore of Kent and Sussex: all the ships of war in the different harbours, even those that had just arrived from America, were ordered to put to sea, and every step was taken to disconcert the designs of the enemy.

While these measures were taken with equal vigour and deliberation, Sir Edward Hawke steered his course directly for Quiberon, on the coast of Bretagne, which he supposed would be the rendezvous of the French squadron: but notwithstanding his utmost efforts, he was driven by a hard gale considerably to the westward, where he was joined by two frigates, the Maidstone and Coventry. These he directed to keep a-head of the squadron. The weather growing more moderate, the former made the signal for seeing a fleet, on the twentieth day of November, at half an hour past eight o'clock in the morning, and in an hour afterwards discovered them to be the enemy's squadron. They were at that time in chase of captain Duff's squadron, which now joined the large fleet, after having run some risque of being taken. Sir Edward Hawke, who, when the Maidstone gave the first notice, had formed the line a-breast, now perceiving that the French admiral endeavoured to escape with all the sail he could carry, threw out a signal for seven of his ships that were nearest the enemy to chase, and endeavour to detain them, until they could be reinforced by the rest of the squadron, which were ordered to form into a line of battle a-head, as they chased, that no time might be lost in the pursuit. Considering the roughness of the weather, which was extremely tempestuous; the nature of the coast, which is in this place rendered very hazardous by a great number of sand-banks, shoals, rocks, and islands, as entirely unknown to the British sailors, as they were familiar to the French navigators; the dangers of a short day, dark night, and lee-shore; it required extraordinary resolution in the English admiral to attempt hostilities on this occasion: but Sir Edward Hawke, steeled with the integrity and fortitude of his own heart, animated by a warm love for his country, and well acquainted with the importance of the stake on which the safety of that country in great measure depended, was resolved to run extraordinary risques in his endeavours to frustrate at once a boasted scheme projected for the annoyance of his fellow-subjects. With respect to his ships of the line, he had but the advantage of one in point of number, and no superiority in men or metal, consequently Mr. de Conflans might have hazarded a fair battle on the open sea, without any imputation of temerity.

Sir Edward
Hawke falls
in with the
French admiral.

Ann. 1759. temerity: but he thought proper to play a more artful game, though it did not succeed according to his expectation. He kept his fleet in a body, and retired close in shore, with a view to draw the English Squadron among the shoals and islands, on which he hoped they would pay dear for their rashness and impetuosity, while he and his officers, who were perfectly acquainted with the navigation, could either stay, and take advantage of the disaster, or, if hard pressed, retire through channels unknown to the British pilots.

Over whom
he obtains a
complete vic-
tory.

At half an hour after two, the van of the English fleet began the engagement with the rear of the enemy, in the neighbourhood of Belleisle. Every ship as she advanced poured in a broad-side on the sternmost of the French, and bore down upon their van, leaving the rear to those that came after. Sir Edward Hawke, in the Royal George of one hundred and ten guns, reserved his fire in passing through the rear of the enemy, and ordered his master to bring him along-side of the French admiral, who commanded in person on board of the Soleil Royal, a ship mounted with eighty cannon, and provided with a complement of twelve hundred men. When the pilot remonstrated that he could not obey his command, without the most imminent risque of running upon a shoal, the brave veteran replied, "You have done your duty in shewing the danger; now you are to comply with my order, and lay me along-side the Soleil Royal." His wish was gratified: the Royal George ranged up with the French admiral. The Thesée, another large ship of the enemy, running up between the two commanders, sustained the fire that was reserved for the Soleil Royal; but in returning the first broadside foundered, in consequence of the high sea that entered her lower deck-ports, and filled her with water. Notwithstanding the boisterous weather, a good number of ships on both sides fought with equal fury and dubious success, till about four in the afternoon, when the Formidable struck her colours. The Superbe shared the fate of the Thesée in going to the bottom. The Heros hauled down her colours in token of submission, and dropped anchor; but the wind was so high, that no boat could be sent to take possession. By this time day-light began to fail, and the greater part of the French fleet escaped under cover of the darkness.

Night approaching, the wind blowing with augmented violence on a lee-shore, and the British Squadron being intangled among unknown shoals and islands, Sir Edward Hawke made the signal for anchoring to the westward of the small island Dumet; and here the fleet remained all night in a very dangerous riding, alarmed by the fury of the storm, and the incessant firing of guns of distress, without their knowing whether it proceeded from friend or enemy. The Soleil Royal had, under favour of the night, anchored also in the midst of the British Squadron; but at day-break Mr. de Conflans ordered her cable to be cut, and she drove ashore to the westward of Crozie. The English admiral immediately made signal to the Essex to slip cable, and pursue her; and, in obeying this order, she ran unfortunately on a sand-bank, called Lefour, where the Resolution, another ship of the British Squadron, was already grounded. Here they were both irrecoverably lost, in spite of all the assistance that could be given: but all their men, and part of their stores, were saved, and the wreck set on fire by order of the admiral. He likewise detached the Portland, Chatham, and Vengeance, to destroy the Soleil Royal, which was burned by her own people, before the English ships could approach; but they

they arrived time enough to reduce the *Heros* to ashes on the *Lefour*, where she had been also stranded; and the *Juste*, another of their great ships, perished in the mouth of the *Loire*. Ann. 1759.

The admiral, perceiving seven large ships of the enemy riding at anchor between *Point Penvas* and the mouth of the river *Vilaine*, made the signal to weigh, in order to attack them; but the fury of the storm increased to such a degree, that he was obliged to remain at anchor, and even order the top-gallant-masts to be struck.

In the mean time, the French ships being lightened of their cannon, their officers took advantage of the flood, and a more moderate gale under the land, to enter the *Vilaine*, where they lay within half a mile of the entrance, protected by some occasional batteries erected on the shore, and by two large frigates, moored across the mouth of the harbour. Thus they were effectually secured from any attempts of small vessels; and as for large ships, there was not water sufficient to float them within fighting distance of the enemy.

On the whole, this battle, in which a very inconsiderable number of lives was lost, may be considered as one of the most perilous and important actions that ever happened in any war between the two nations: for it not only defeated the projected invasion, which had hung menacing so long over the apprehensions of Great Britain; but it gave the finishing blow to the naval power of France, which was totally disabled from undertaking any thing of consequence in the sequel *.

By this time, indeed, *Thurot* had escaped from *Dunkirk*, and directed his course to the North Sea, whither he was followed by commodore *Boys*, who nevertheless was disappointed in his pursuit; but the fate of that enterprising adventurer falls under the annals of the ensuing year, among the transactions of which it shall be recorded.

As for Sir *Edward Hawke*, he continued cruising off the coast of *Bretagne* for a considerable time after the victory he had obtained, taking particular care to block up the mouth of the river *Vilaine*, that the seven French ships might not escape, and join Mr. *Conflans*, who made shift to reach *Rochfort* with the shattered remains of his squadron. Indeed, this service became such a considerable object in the eyes of the British ministry that a large fleet was maintained upon this coast, apparently for no other purpose, during a whole year; and, after all, the enemy eluded their vigilance.

Sir *Edward Hawke*, having undergone a long and dangerous conflict with tempestuous weather, was at length recalled, and presented to his sovereign, who gratified him with a considerable pension, for the courage and conduct he had so often and so long displayed in the service of the country; and his extraordinary merit was afterwards honoured with the approbation of the parliament.

* During the present war, the English had already taken and destroyed twenty-seven French ships of the line, and thirty-one frigates: two of their great ships and four frigates perished: so that their whole loss, in this particular, amounted to sixty-four; whereas

the loss of Great Britain did not exceed seven sail of the line, and five frigates. It may be easily conceived how the French marine, at first greatly inferior to the naval power of Britain, must have been affected by this dreadful ballance to its prejudice.

Ann. 1759. The people of France were so dispirited by the defeat of their army at Minden, and the disaster of their squadron at Lagos, that the ministry of Versailles thought proper to conceal the extent of their last misfortune under a palliating detail published in the Gazette of Paris, as a letter from Mr. Conflans to the count de St. Florentin, secretary of the marine. In this partial misrepresentation their admiral was made to affirm, that the British fleet consisted of forty ships of the line of battle, besides frigates; that the Soleil Royal had obliged the Royal George to sheer off; that the seven ships which retreated into the river Vilaine, had received very little damage, and would be soon repaired; and that, by the junction of Bompard's squadron, he should be soon able to give a good account of the English admiral. These tumid assertions, so void of truth, are not to be imputed to an illiberal spirit of vain-glory, so much as to a political design of extenuating the national calamity, and supporting the spirit of the people.

Proceedings
of the Irish
parliament.

The alarm of the French invasion, which was thus so happily frustrated, not only disturbed the quiet of Great Britain, but also diffused itself to the kingdom of Ireland, where it was productive of some public disorder. In the latter end of October the two houses of parliament, assembled at Dublin, received a formal message from the duke of Bedford, lord lieutenant of that kingdom, to the following effect: That, by a letter from the secretary of state, written by his majesty's express command, it appeared that France, far from resigning her plan of invasion, on account of the disaster that befel her Toulon squadron, was more and more confirmed in her purpose, and even instigated by despair itself, to attempt, at all hazards, the only resource she seemed to have left, for thwarting, by a diversion at home, the measures of England abroad, in prosecuting a war which hitherto opened, in all parts of the world, so unfavourable a prospect to the views of French ambition: that in case the body of French troops, amounting to eighteen thousand men, under the command of the duc d'Aiguillon, assembled at Vannes, where also a sufficient number of transports was prepared, should be able to elude the British squadron, Ireland would, in all probability, be one of their chief objects; his grace thought it therefore incumbent upon him, in a matter of such high importance to the welfare of that kingdom, to communicate this intelligence to the Irish parliament. He told them, his majesty would make no doubt but that the zeal of his faithful protestant subjects in that kingdom, had been already sufficiently quickened by the repeated accounts received of the enemy's dangerous designs, and actual preparations made, at a vast expence, in order to invade the several parts of the British dominions. He gave them to understand, he had received his sovereign's commands to use his utmost endeavours to animate and excite his loyal people of Ireland to exert their well-known zeal and spirit in support of his majesty's government, and in defence of all that was dear to them, by timely preparation to resist and frustrate any attempts of the enemy to disturb the quiet, and shake the security of this kingdom: he therefore, in the strongest manner, recommended it to them to manifest, upon this occasion, that zeal for the present happy establishment, and that affection for his majesty's person and government, by which the parliament of that nation had been so often distinguished.

Immediately

Immediately after this message was communicated, the house of commons Ann. 1759. unanimously resolved to present an address to the lord lieutenant, thanking his grace for the care and concern he had shewn for the safety of Ireland, in having imparted intelligence of so great importance; desiring him to make use of such means as should appear to him the most effectual for the security and defence of the kingdom; and assuring him, that the house would make good whatever expence should be necessarily incurred for that purpose.

This intimation, and the steps that were taken, in consequence of it, for the defence of Ireland, produced such apprehensions and distraction among the people of that kingdom, as had well nigh proved fatal to the public credit. In the first transports of popular fear, there was such an extraordinary run upon the banks of Dublin, that several considerable bankers were obliged to stop payment; and the circulation was in danger of being suddenly stagnated, when the lord lieutenant, the members of both houses of parliament, the lord mayor, aldermen, merchants, and principal traders of Dublin, engaged in an association to support public credit, by taking the notes of bankers in payment: a resolution which effectually answered the purpose intended.

Howsoever the court of Versailles might have flattered itself, that their invading army would in Ireland be joined by a great number of the natives, in all probability it would have been disappointed in this hope, had their purposed descent even been carried into execution; for no signs of disaffection to the reigning family appeared at this juncture. On the contrary, the wealthy individuals of the Romish persuasion offered to accommodate the government with large sums of money, in case of necessity, to support the present establishment against all its enemies; and the Roman catholics of the city of Cork, in a body, presented an address to the lord lieutenant, expressing their loyalty in the warmest terms of assurance. After having congratulated his grace on the unparalleled successes which had attended his majesty's arms, and expressed their sense of the king's paternal tenderness for his kingdom of Ireland, they acknowledged, with the deepest sense of gratitude, that protection and indulgence they had enjoyed under his majesty's mild and auspicious reign. They professed the warmest indignation at the threatened invasion of the kingdom by an enemy, who, grown desperate from repeated defeats, might possibly make that attempt as a last effort, vainly flattered with the imaginary hope of assistance in Ireland, from the former attachments of their deluded predecessors. They assured his grace, in the most solemn manner, that such schemes were altogether inconsistent with their principles and intentions: that they would, to the utmost exertion of their abilities, with their lives and fortunes, join in the defence and support of his majesty's royal person and government against all invaders whatsoever: that they should be always ready to concur in such measures, and to act such parts in defence of the kingdom, in common with the rest of his majesty's subjects, as his grace in his great wisdom should be pleased to appoint; and think themselves particularly happy to be under the direction and command of so known an assertor of liberty, such an important and distinguished governor. Finally, they expressed the most earnest wish, that his majesty's arms might be crowned with such a

Loyalty of
the catho-
licks of Ire-
land.

Ann. 1759. continuance of success, as should enable him to defeat the devices of all his enemies, and obtain a speedy and honourable peace.

This cordial address, which was transmitted to the earl of Shannon, and by him presented to the duke of Bedford, must have been very agreeable to the government at such a critical conjuncture.

Dangerous
insurrection
in Dublin.

Although no traces of disaffection to his majesty's family appeared on this trying occasion, it must nevertheless be acknowledged that a spirit of dissatisfaction broke out with extraordinary violence among the populace of Dublin. The present lord l——t was not remarkably popular in his administration. He had bestowed one place of considerable importance upon a gentleman whose person was obnoxious to many people in that kingdom, and perhaps failed in that affability and condescension which a free and ferocious nation expects to find in the character of him to whose rule they are subjected. Whether the offence taken at his deportment had created enemies to his person, or the nation in general began to entertain doubts and jealousies of the government's designs; certain it is, great pains were taken to propagate a belief among the lower sort of people, that an union would soon be effected between Great Britain and Ireland; in which case this last kingdom would be deprived of its parliament and independency, and be subjected to the same taxes that are levied upon the people of England. This notion inflamed the populace to such a degree, that they assembled in a prodigious multitude, broke into the house of lords, insulted the peers, seated an old woman on the throne, and searched for the journals, which, had they been found, they would have committed to the flames. Not content with this outrage, they compelled the members of both houses whom they met in the streets to take an oath that they would never consent to such an union, or give any vote contrary to the true interest of Ireland. Divers coaches belonging to obnoxious persons were destroyed, and their horses killed; and a gibbet was erected for one gentleman in particular, who narrowly escaped the ungovernable rage of those riotous insurgents. A body of horse and infantry were drawn out on this occasion, in order to overawe the multitude, which at night dispersed of itself. Next day addresses to the lord-lieutenant were agreed to by both houses of parliament, and a committee of inquiry appointed, that the ring-leaders of the tumult might be discovered and brought to condign punishment.

Alarm of a
descent in
Scotland.

When the ministry of England received the first advice, that Mr. Thurot had escaped from Dunkirk with a small squadron of armed ships, having on board a body of land-troops, designed for a private expedition on the coast of Scotland or Ireland, expresses were immediately dispatched to the commanding officers of the forces in North Britain, with orders to put the forts along the coast of that kingdom in the best posture of defence; and to hold every thing in readiness to repel the enemy in case they should attempt a descent. In consequence of these instructions, beacons were erected for the immediate communication of intelligence; places of rendezvous appointed for the regular troops and militia; and strict orders issued that no officer should absent himself from his duty, on any pretence whatever. The greatest encomium that can be given to the character of this partizan, is an account of the alarm which the sailing of his party's armament spread through the whole extent of such a powerful kingdom, whose fleets covered the ocean. Perhaps Thurot's career

reer would have been sooner stopped, had commodore Boys been victualled Ann. 1759. for a longer cruise; but this commander was obliged to put in at Leith for a supply of provisions, at the very time when Thurot was seen hovering upon the coast near Aberdeen; and before the English squadron was provided for a prosecution of the cruise, the other had taken shelter at Gottenburg in Sweden.

Having finished the detail of the actions atchieved in the European seas by the naval force of Great Britain, within the compass of the present year, we shall now proceed to record the exploits of the British arms within the tropics, and particularly the expedition to Martinique and Guadalupe, which is said to have succeeded even beyond the expectation of the ministry. State of the island of Martinique,

A plan had been formed for improving the success of the preceding year in North America, by carrying the British arms up the river St. Laurence, and besieging Quebec, the capital of Canada. The armament employed against the French islands of Martinique and Guadalupe, constituted part of this design; inasmuch as the troops embarked on that expedition were, in case of a miscarriage at Martinique, intended to reinforce the British army in North America, which was justly considered as the chief seat of the war. What hope of success the administration conceived from an attempt upon Martinique, may be guessed from the state of that island, as it appeared in a memorial presented by the French king's lieutenants of its several districts, to the general of the French islands, in consequence of an order issued in November, for holding them in readiness to march and defend the island from the English, of whose design they were apprised. They represented, that the trade with the Dutch was become their sole dependance: that they could expect no succour from Europe, by which they had been abandoned ever since the commencement of the war: that the traders vested with the privilege of trafficking among them, had abused the intention of the general, and, instead of being of service to the colony, had fixed an arbitrary price for all the provisions which they brought in, as well as for the commodities which they exported; of consequence the former was valued at as high a price as their avarice could exact, and the latter sunk as low in value as their own selfish hearts could conceive: that the colony for two months had been destitute of all kinds of provision; the commodities of the planters lay upon their hands; and their negroes were in danger of perishing through hunger; a circumstance that excited the apprehension of the most dreadful consequences. As to slaves half-starved, all kinds of bondage were equal; and people reduced to such a situation were often driven to despair, seeking in anarchy and confusion a remedy from the evils by which they were oppressed: that the best provided of the inhabitants laboured under the want of the common necessities of life; and others had not so much as a grain of salt in their houses: that there was an irreparable scarcity of slaves to cultivate their land; and the planters were reduced to the necessity of killing their cattle to support the lives of those who remained alive; so that the mills were no longer worked, and the inhabitants consumed beforehand what ought to be reserved for their sustenance, in case of being blocked up by the enemy. They desired, therefore, that the general would suppress the permissions granted to particular merchants, and admit neutral vessels freely into their ports, that they might trade with the colonists unmolested and unrestrained. They observed, that the ci-

Ann. 1759. tadel of Port Royal seemed the principal object on which the safety and defence of the country depended; as the loss of it would be necessarily attended with the reduction of the whole island: they therefore advised that this fort should be properly provided with every thing necessary for its safety and defence; and that magazines of provision as well as ammunition should be established in different quarters of the island.

This remonstrance plainly proves that the island was wholly unprepared to repel the meditated invasion, and justifies the plan adopted by the ministry of Great Britain. The regular troops of Martinique consisted of about twenty independent companies greatly defective in point of number. The militia was composed of burghers and planters distressed and dissatisfied, mingled with a parcel of wretched negroe slaves, groaning under the most intolerable misery, from whence they could have no hope of deliverance but by a speedy change of masters; their magazines were empty, and their fortifications out of repair.

Captain
Hughes sails
from St. He-
len's for Bar-
badoes, where
he joins com-
modore
Moore.

Such was the state of Martinique, when the inhabitants every day expected a visit from the British armament, whose progress we shall now relate. On the twelfth day of November, in the preceding year, captain Hughes sailed from St. Helen's, with eight sail of the line, one frigate, four bomb-ketches, and a fleet of transports, having on board six regiments of infantry, and a detachment of artillery, besides eight hundred marines distributed among the ships of war, this whole force being under the command of major-general Hopson, an old experienced officer, assisted by major-general Barrington, the colonels Armiger and Haldane, the lieutenant-colonels Trapaud and Clavering, acting in the capacity of brigadiers. After a voyage of seven weeks and three days, the fleet arrived at Barbadoes, and anchored in Carlisle-bay, where they joined commodore Moore, appointed by his majesty to command the united squadrons, amounting to ten ships of the line, besides frigates and bomb-ketches.

The arma-
ment sails to
Martinique.

Ten days were employed in supplying the fleet with wood and water, in waiting for the hospital ship, in reviews, re-embarkations, councils of war, assemblies of the council belonging to the island, in issuing proclamations, and beating up for volunteers. At length, every great ship being reinforced with forty negroes, to be employed in drawing the artillery; and the troops, which did not exceed five thousand eight hundred men, being joined by two hundred Highlanders, belonging to the second battalion of the regiment commanded by lord John Murray in North America, who were brought as recruits from Scotland, under convoy of the ship Ludlow-castle, the whole armament sailed from Carlisle-bay on the thirteenth day of January: but by this time the troops, unaccustomed to a hot climate, were considerably weakened and reduced by fevers, diarrhoeas, the scurvy, and the small pox; which last disease had unhappily broke out amongst the transports. Next morning the squadron discovered the island of Martinique, which was the place of its destination.

The chief fortification of Martinique was the citadel of Port Royal, a regular fort, garrisoned by four companies that did not exceed the number of one hundred and fifty men, thirty-six bombardiers, eighty Swiss, and fourteen officers. One hundred barrels of beef constituted their whole store of provi-

provision; but they were destitute of all other necessaries. They were almost wholly unprovided with water in the cisterns, with spare carriages for their cannon, match, wadding, and langrage: they had but a small stock of other ammunition, and the walls were in many parts decayed. The only preparations they had made for receiving the English, were some paultry intrenchments thrown up at St. Pierre, and a place called Casdenavires, where they imagined the descent would probably be attempted. On the fifteenth day of the month the British Squadron entered the great bay of Port Royal, some of the ships being exposed to the shot of a battery erected on the Isle de Ranieres, a little island about half way up the bay. At their first appearance, the *Florissant*, of seventy-four guns, which had been so roughly handled by captain Tyrrel in the *Buckingham*, then lying under the guns of Fort Negro, along with two frigates, turned up under the Citadel, and came to an anchor in the Carenage, behind the fortification. One frigate, called the *Vestal*, under favour of the night, made her escape through the transports, and directed her course for Europe; where she was taken by captain Hood, as we have already related.

Next day three ships of the line were ordered to attack Fort Negro, a battery at the distance of three miles from the Citadel, which, being mounted with seven guns only, was soon silenced, and immediately possessed by a detachment of marines and sailors; who, being landed in flat-bottomed boats, clambered up the rock, and entered through the embrasures with their bayonets fixed: here, however, they met with no resistance. The enemy had abandoned the fort with precipitation. The British colours were immediately hoisted, and centinels of marines posted upon the parapet. Their next care was to spike and disable the cannon, break the carriages, and destroy the powder which they found in the magazine: nevertheless the detachment was ordered to keep possession of the battery.

This service being successfully performed, three ships were sent to reduce the other battery at Casdenavires, which consisted only of four guns, and these were soon rendered unserviceable.

The French troops, reinforced with militia, which had been detached from the Citadel to oppose the disembarkation, perceiving the whole British Squadron, and all the transports, already within the bay, and Fort Negro occupied by the marines, retired to Port Royal, leaving the beach open; so that the English troops were landed without opposition, and, being formed, advanced into the country towards Fort Negro, in the neighbourhood of which they lay all night upon their arms; while the fleet, which had been galled by bomb-shells from the Citadel, shifted their station, and stood farther up the bay.

By ten next day the English officers had brought up some field-pieces to an eminence, and scoured the woods, from whence the troops had been greatly annoyed by the small shot of the enemy during the best part of the night, and all that morning. At noon the British forces advanced, in order, towards the hill that overlooked the town and citadel of Port Royal, and sustained a troublesome fire from enemies they could not see; for the French militia were intirely covered by the woods and bushes. This eminence, called the *Morne Tortueson*, though the most important post of the whole island, was neglected by

Ann. 1759. by the general of Martinique, who had also resolved to blow up the fortifications of the Citadel: but, luckily for the islanders, he had not prepared the materials for this operation, which must have been attended with the immediate reduction of the capital, and indeed of the whole country. Some of the inferior officers, knowing the importance of the Morne Tortueſon, resolved to defend that poſt with a body of the militia, which was reinforced by the garrisons of Fort Negro and Caſdenavires, as well as by ſome ſoldiers detached from the Floriſſant: but notwithſtanding all their endeavours, as they were intirely unprovided with cannon, extremely defective in point of diſcipline, diſpirited by the puſillanimity of their governor, and in a great meaſure diſconcerted by the general conſternation that prevailed among the inhabitants, in all probability they could not have withſtood a ſpirited and well-conducted attack by regular forces. About two o'clock general Hopſon thought proper to peſiſt from his attempt. He gave the commodore to underſtand, that he could not maintain his ground, unleſs the ſquadron would ſupply him with heavy cannon, landed near the town of Port Royal, at a ſavannah where the boats muſt have been greatly expoſed to the fire of the enemy, or aſſiſt him in attacking the Citadel by ſea, while he ſhould make his approaches by land. Both theſe expedients * being deemed impracticable by a council of war, the troops were recalled from their advanced poſts, and reimbarkeed in the evening, without any conſiderable moleſtation from the enemy. Their attempt on the Morne Tortueſon had coſt them ſeveral men, including two officers, killed or wounded in the attack; and in revenge for this loſs, they burned the ſugar-canes, and deſolated the country, in their retreat. The inhabitants of Martinique could hardly credit the teſtimony of their own ſenſes, when they ſaw themſelves thus delivered from all their fears, at a time when they were overwhelmed with terror and confuſion; when the principal individuals among them had reſigned all thought of further reſiſtance, and were actually aſſembled at the public hall in Port Royal, to ſend deputies to the Engliſh general with propoſals of capitulation and ſurrender.

The troops
are reimbarke-
ed.

Another at-
tempt upon
St. Pierre.

The majority of the Britiſh officers, who conſtituted a council of war held for this † purpoſe, having given their opinion, that it might be for his ma- jeſty's ſervice to make an attack upon St. Pierre, the fleet proceeded to that part of the iſland, and entered the bay on the nineteenth. The commodore told the general, that he made no doubt of being able to reduce the town of St. Pierre; but as the ſhips might be diſabled in the attack, ſo as not to be in a condition to proceed immediately on any other material ſervice; as the troops might alſo be reduced in their numbers, ſo as to be incapable of future attacks; and as the reduction of the iſland of Guadalupe would be of great

* The commodore offered to land the cannon on the other ſide of Point Negro, at a place equally near the road from the Engliſh army to fort Royal, and even cauſe them to be drawn up by the ſeamen without giving the troops the leaſt trouble. But this offer was not accepted. General Hopſon afterwards declared, that he did not underſtand Mr. Moore's meſſage in the ſenſe which it was meant to imply.

† The commodore did not attend at this council: it was convoked to deliberate upon the opinion of the chief engineer, who thought they ſhould make another landing to the ſouthward of the Carenage. In this caſe, the pilots declared it would be extremely difficult, if not impracticable, for the fleet to keep up a communication with the army.

benefit to the sugar colonies, Mr. Moore proposed that the armament Ann. 1759. should immediately proceed to this island; and the general agreed to the proposal.

The reasons produced on this occasion, are, we apprehend, such as may be urged against every operation of war. Certain it is, no conquest can be attempted, either by sea or land, without exposing the ships and troops to a possibility of being disabled and diminished; and the same possibility militated as strongly against an attempt upon Guadalupe, as it could possibly discourage the attack of St. Pierre. Besides, Martinique was an object of greater * importance than Guadalupe; as being the principal place possessed by the French in those seas, and that to which the operations of the armament were expressly limited by the instructions received from the m——y.

St. Pierre is a place of considerable commerce; and at this very juncture, above forty sail of merchant-ships lay at anchor in the bay. The town is defended by a citadel regularly fortified, but at present poorly garrisoned; and so situated as to be accessible to the fire of the whole squadron: for the shore was bold, and the water sufficient to float any ship of the line. Before the resolution of proceeding to Guadalupe was taken, the commodore had ordered the bay to be sounded, and directed the Rippon to advance, and silence a battery situated a mile and a half to the northward of St. Pierre. Accordingly captain Jekyll, who commanded that ship, stood in, and anchoring close to the shore, attacked it with such impetuosity, that in a few minutes it was abandoned. At the same time the Rippon was exposed to the fire of three other batteries, from which she received considerable damage both in her hull and rigging; and was in great danger of running aground, when orders were given to tow her out of danger.

The whole armament having abandoned the design on Martinique, directed The fleet sails to Guadalupe. their course to Guadalupe, another of the Caribbee islands, lying at the distance of thirty leagues to the westward, about fifteen leagues in length, and twelve in breadth; divided into two parts by a small channel, which the inhabitants cross in a ferry-boat. The western division is known by the name of Basseterre; and here the metropolis stands, defended by the citadel and other fortifications. The eastern part, called Grand-terre, is destitute of fresh water, which abounds in the other division, and is defended by Fort Louis, with a redoubt, which commands the road in the district of Gosier. The gut, or canal, that separates the two parts, is distinguished by the appellation of the Salt River, having a road or bay at each end; namely, the great Cul de Sac, and the small Cul de Sac. Guadalupe is incumbered with high mountains and precipices, to which the inhabitants used to convey their valuable effects in time of danger: but here are also beautiful plains, watered by brooks and rivers, which fertilize the soil, enabling it to produce a great quantity of sugar, cotton, indigo, tobacco, and cassia; besides plenty of rice, potatoes, all kinds of pulse, and fruit peculiar to the island. The country is populous and flourishing, and the government comprehends two smaller islands, called All

* Only as being the seat of government; for privateers, with the assistance of the Dutch of Guadalupe makes a much greater quantity of St. Eustatia, situated in its neighbourhood. sugar, and equipped a much greater number of

Ann. 1759. Saints, and Deseada, which appear at a small distance from the coast, on the eastern side of the island.

The town, citadel, and batteries at Basseterre cannonaded.

The British squadron having arrived at Basseterre, it was resolved to make a general attack by sea upon the citadel, the town, and other batteries by which it was defended. A disposition being made for this purpose, the large ships took their respective stations next morning, which was the twenty-third day of January. At nine, the *Lion*, commanded by captain Trelawney, began the engagement against a battery of nine guns; and the rest of the fleet continued to place themselves a-breast of the other batteries and the citadel, which mounted forty-six cannon, besides two mortars. The action in a little time became general, and was maintained on both sides for several hours with great vivacity, while the commodore, who had shifted his pendant into the *Woolwich* frigate, kept aloof without gun-shot, that he might be the more disengaged to view the state of the battle*, and give his orders with the greater deliberation.

This expedient of an admiral's removing his flag, and retiring from the action while his own ship is engaged, however consonant to reason, we do not remember to have seen practised upon any other occasion, except in one instance at Carthage, where Sir Chaloner Ogle quitted his own ship, when she was ordered to stand in and cannonade the fort of Boca Chica.

In this present attack, all the sea-commanders behaved with extraordinary spirit and resolution, particularly the captains Leslie, Burnet, Gayton, Jekyll, Trelawney, and Shuldham; who, in the hottest tumult of the action, distinguished themselves equally by their courage, impetuosity, and deliberation. About five in the afternoon, the fire of the citadel slackened. The *Burford* and *Berwick* were driven out to sea; so that captain Shuldham in the *Panther* was unsustained; and two batteries played upon the *Rippon*, captain Jekyll, who, by two in the afternoon, silenced the guns of one, called the *Morne-rouge*; but at the same time could not prevent his ship from running a-ground. The enemy perceiving her disaster, assembled in great numbers on the hill, and lined the trenches, from whence they poured in a severe fire of musquetry. The militia afterwards brought up a cannon of eighteen pound ball, and for two hours raked her fore and aft with considerable effect: nevertheless, captain Jekyll returned the fire with equal courage and perseverance, though his people dropt on every side, until all his grape shot and wadding was expended, and all his rigging cut to pieces: to crown his misfortune, a box, containing nine hundred cartridges, blew up on the poop, and set the ship on fire; which, however, was soon extinguished. In the mean time, the captain threw out † a signal of distress; to which no regard was payed, till captain Leslie of the *Bristol* coming from sea, and observing his situation, ran in between the *Rippon* and the battery; and engaged with such impetuosity, as made an immediate diversion in favour of captain Jekyll, whose ship remained a-ground, not-

* He shifted his broad pendant on board the *Woolwich*, as well to direct and keep the transports together in a proper posture for the landing of the troops, as to cover the disembarkation, and also to consult proper measures with the general, who saw the necessity of Mr. Moor's being with him; and requested that he,

with the other general officers and engineers, might be admitted on board the *Woolwich*, in order to consult, and take the earliest opportunity of landing the troops, as the service necessarily required.

† In all probability it was not perceived by the commodore.

withstanding all the assistance that could be given, till mid-night, when she floated, and escaped from the very jaws of destruction. At seven in the evening, all the other large ships having silenced the guns to which they had been respectively opposed, he joined the rest of the fleet. The four bombs being anchored near the shore, began to ply the town with shells and carcasses; so that in a little time the houses were in flames, the magazines of gunpowder blew up with the most terrible explosion; and about ten o'clock the whole place blazed out in one general conflagration.

Next day, at two in the afternoon, the fleet came to an anchor in the road of Basse-terre, where they found the hulls of divers ships which the enemy had set on fire at their approach: several ships turned out and endeavoured to escape; but were intercepted and taken by the English squadron. At five the troops landed without opposition, and took possession of the town and citadel, which they found intirely abandoned. They learned from a Genoese deserter, that the regular troops of the island consisted of five companies only, the number of the whole not exceeding one hundred men; and that they had laid a train to blow up the powder magazine in the citadel; but had been obliged to retreat with such precipitation, as did not permit them to execute this design. The train was immediately cut off, and the magazine secured. The nails with which they had spiked up their cannon, were drilled out by the matrosses; and in the mean time, the British colours were hoisted on the parapet. Part of the troops took possession of an advantageous post on an eminence, and part entered the town, which still continued burning with great violence.

In the morning, at day-break, the enemy appeared, to the number of two thousand, about four miles from the town, as if they intended to throw up intrenchments in the neighbourhood of a house where the governor had fixed his head-quarters, declaring he would maintain his ground to the last extremity. To this resolution indeed he was encouraged by the nature of the ground, and the neighbourhood of a pass called the Dos d'Ane, a cleft through a mountainous ridge, opening a communication with Capesterre, a more level and beautiful part of the island. The ascent from Basse-terre to this pass was so very steep, and the way so broken and interrupted by rocks and gullies, that there was no prospect of attacking it with success, except at the first landing, when the inhabitants were under the dominion of a panic. They very soon recovered their spirits and recollection, assembled and fortified themselves among the hills, armed and arrayed their negroes, and affected to hold the invaders at defiance. A flag of truce being sent with offers of terms to their governor, the chevalier d'Etreil, he rejected them in a letter, with which his subsequent conduct but ill agreed*. Indeed from the beginning his deportment had been such as gave a very unfavourable impression of his character. When the British squadron advanced to the attack, instead of visiting in person the citadel and the batteries, in order to encourage and animate his people

The troops land.

Governor of Guadalupe refuses to capitulate.

* The letter was to this effect:

"Gentlemen,

To their Excellencies Mess. Hopson and Moore, General Officers of his Britannic Majesty, at Basse-terre.

Vol. I.

"I have received the letter which your Excellencies have done me the honour to write of the twenty-fifth. You make me proposals which

Ann. 1759. by his exhortation and example, he retired out of the reach of danger to a distant plantation, where he remained a tame spectator of the destruction in which his principal town and citadel were involved. Next morning, when he ought to have exerted himself in preventing the disembarkation of the English troops, who had a difficult shore and violent surf to surmount, and when he might have defended the intrenchments and lines which had been made to oppose their landing; he abandoned all these advantages, and took shelter among the mountains that were deemed inaccessible.

Skirmishes
with the
islanders.

But howsoever deficient the governor might have been in the article of courage, certain it is the inhabitants behaved with great spirit and activity in defence of their country. They continually harassed the scouring detachments, by firing upon them from woods and sugar plantations, which last the English burned about their ears in resentment. Their armed negroes were very expert in this kind of bush-fighting. The natives or militia appeared in considerable parties, and even encountered detached bodies of the British army. A lady of masculine courage, whose name was Ducharme, having armed her slaves, they made several bold attempts upon an advanced post, occupied by major Melville, and threw up intrenchments upon a hill opposite to the station of this officer, who had all along signalized himself by his uncommon intrepidity, vigilance, and conduct. At length the works of this virago were stormed by a regular detachment, which, after an obstinate and dangerous conflict, entered the intrenchment sword in hand, and burned the houses and plantations. Some of the enemy were killed, and a good number taken. Of the English detachment twelve soldiers were slain, and thirty wounded, including three subaltern officers, one of whom lost his arm. The greatest body of the enemy always appeared at the governor's head-quarters, where they had raised a redoubt, and thrown up intrenchments. From these a considerable detachment advanced on the sixth day of February, in the morning, towards the citadel, and fell in with an English party, whom they engaged with great vivacity; but after a short, though warm dispute, they were obliged to retire with some loss. Without all doubt the inhabitants of Guadalupe pursued the most sensible plan that could possibly have been projected for their own safety. Instead of hazarding a general engagement against regular troops, in which they could have no prospect of success, they resolved to weary them out, by maintaining a kind of petty war in separate parties, to alarm and harass the English with hard duty in a sultry climate, where they were but indifferently supplied with provision and refreshment. Nor were

which could arise from nothing but the facility with which you have got possession of the little town and citadel of Basle-terre; for otherwise you ought to do me the justice to believe they could not be received. You have strength sufficient to subdue the exteriors of the island; but with respect to the interiors, the match between us is equal. As to the consequences that may attend my refusal, I am persuaded they will be no other than such as are prescribed by the laws of war. Should we be disappointed in this particular, we have a master powerful enough to revenge any injury we may sustain.

I am with respect, gentlemen, your most obedient servant,

Nadau d'Etreil."

It is pretty remarkable, that the apprehension of cruel usage from the English, who are undoubtedly the most generous and humane enemies under the sun, not only prevailed among the common French soldiery throughout this whole war, but even infected officers of distinction, who ought to have been exempted from these prejudices, by a better acquaintance with life, and a more liberal turn of thinking.

their

their hopes in this particular disappointed. Both the army and the navy were Ann. 1759. invaded with fevers and other diseases, epidemical in those hot countries; and the regimental hospitals were so crowded, that it was judged convenient to send five hundred sick men to the island of Antigua, where they might be properly attended.

In the mean time, the reduction of the islanders on the side of Guadalupe appearing more and more impracticable, the general resolved to transfer the seat of war to the eastern and more fertile part of the island, called Grand-terre, which, as we have already observed, was defended by a strong battery, called Fort Louis. In pursuance of this determination, the great ships were sent round to Grand-terre, in order to reduce this fortification, which they accordingly attacked on the thirteenth day of February. After a severe cannonading, which lasted six hours, a body of marines being landed, with the Highlanders*, they drove the enemy from their intrenchments sword in hand, and, taking possession of the fort, hoisted the English colours. Fort Louis reduced.

In a few days after this exploit, general Hopson dying at Basse-terre, the chief command devolved to general Barrington, who resolved to prosecute the final reduction of the island with vigour and dispatch. As one step towards this conquest, the commodore ordered two ships of war to cruise off the islands of St. Eustatia, and prevent the Dutch traders from assisting the natives of Guadalupe; whom they had hitherto constantly supplied with provisions, since they retired to the mountains. General Barrington, on the very first day of his command, ordered the troops, who were encamped, to strike their tents and huts, that the enemy might imagine he intended to remain in this quarter; but in a few days, the batteries in and about Basse-terre were blown up and destroyed, the detachments recalled from the advanced posts, and the whole army reembarked, except one regiment, with a detachment of artillery, left in garrison at the citadel; the command of which was bestowed on colonel Debrisay, an accomplished officer of great experience. The enemy no sooner perceived the coast clear than they descended from the hills, and endeavoured to take possession of the town, from which however they were driven by the fire of the Citadel. They afterwards erected a battery, from whence they annoyed this fortification both with shot and shells, and even threatened a regular attack; but, as often as they approached the place, they were repulsed by sallies from the castle†. In the midst of these hostilities, the gallant Debrisay, together with major Trollop, one lieutenant, two bombardiers, and several common soldiers, were blown up, and perished by the explosion of a powder-magazine at the flanked angle of the south-east bastion. The confusion necessarily produced by such an unfortunate accident encouraged the enemy to come pouring down from the hills, in order to make their advantage of the disaster; but they were soon repulsed by the fire of the garrison. The general, being made acquainted with the fate of colonel Debrisay, conferred the government of the fort upon major Melvil, and sent thither the chief engineer to repair and improve the fortifications. The troops embarked at Basse-terre.

* A reinforcement of two or three hundred Highlanders had joined the fleet immediately before the troops landed on Guadalupe.

† The battery which they had raised, was attacked at noon, taken and destroyed by captain Blomer of the sixty-first regiment.

Ann. 1759. In the mean time, commodore Moore having received certain intelligence that mons. de Bompert had arrived at Martinique with a squadron, consisting of eight sail of the line and three frigates, having on board a whole battalion of Swifs, and some other troops, to reinforce the garrisons of the island, he called in his cruisers, and sailed immediately to the bay of Dominique, an island to the windward, at the distance of nine leagues from Guadalupe, whence he could always sail to oppose any designs which the French commander might form against the operations of the British armaments. For what reason Mr. Moore did not sail immediately to the bay of Port Royal in Martinique, where he knew the French squadron lay at anchor, we shall not pretend to determine. Had he taken that step, Mr. Bompert must either have given him battle, or retired into the Carenage, behind the Citadel; in which last case, the English commander might have anchored between Pigeon-island and Fort Negro, and thus blocked him up effectually. By retiring to Dominique, he left the sea open to French privateers, who roved along the coasts of these islands, and in a very little time carried into Martinique above fourscore merchant-ships belonging to the subjects of Great Britain. These continual depredations, committed under the nose of the E—c—e, irritated the planters of the English islands, some of whom are said to have circulated unfavourable reports of that gentleman's character*.

General Barrington, being left with no more than one ship of forty guns for the protection of the transports, formed a plan of prosecuting the war in Guadalupe by detachments, and the success fully answered his expectation. He determined to make a descent on the division of the island called Grand-terre, and for that purpose allotted six hundred men; who, under the command of colonel Crump, landed between the towns of St. Anne and St. François, and destroyed some batteries of the enemy, from whom he sustained very little opposition.

While he was thus employed, a detachment of three hundred men attacked the town of Gosier, which, notwithstanding a severe fire, they took by storm, drove the garrison into the woods, set fire to the place, and demolished the battery and intrenchment raised for its defence.

This service being happily performed, the detachment was ordered to force their way to Fort Louis, while the garrison of that castle was directed to make two sallies, in order to favour their irruption. They accordingly penetrated

* The reasons assigned by the commodore for his conduct in this particular, are these. The bay of Dominique was the only place in which he could rendezvous and unite his squadron. Here he refreshed his men, who were grown sickly in consequence of subsisting on salt provision. Here he supplied his ships with plenty of fresh water. Here he had intercourse once or twice every day with general Barrington, by means of small vessels which passed and repassed from one island to the other. By remaining in this situation, he likewise maintained a communication with the English Leeward islands, which being in a defenceless condition, their inhabitants were constantly soliciting the

commodore's protection; and here he supported the army, the commander of which was unwilling that he should remove to a greater distance. Had he sailed to Port Royal, he would have found the enemy's squadron so disposed that he could not have attacked them, unless Mr. de Bompert had been inclined to hazard an action. Had he anchored in the bay, all his cruisers must have been employed in conveying provisions and stores to the squadron. There he could not have procured either fresh provisions or water; nor could he have had any communication with, nor intelligence from, the army, in the Leeward islands, in less than eight or ten days.

with

with some loss, sustained in forcing a strong pass, and took possession of a battery, which the enemy had raised against the English camp, in the neighbourhood of Fort Louis. Ann. 1759.

The general, having hitherto succeeded in his designs, formed the scheme of surprising at one time the three towns of Petit-bourg, Gonoyave, and St. Mary, situated on the Basse-terre side of the little Cul de Sac, and committed the execution of it to the colonels Crump and Clavering: but the night appointed for the service, proved exceeding dark and tempestuous, and the Negro conductors were so frightened, that they ran several of the flat-bottomed boats on the shoals that skirt this part of the island. Colonel Clavering landed with about eighty men; but found himself so entangled with mangrove trees, and the mud so impassably deep, that he was obliged to reembark, though not before the enemy had discovered his design.

This project having miscarried, the general detached the same commanders, whose gallantry and conduct cannot be sufficiently applauded, with a detachment of fifteen hundred men, including one hundred and fifty volunteers from Antigua, to land in a bay not far from the town of Arnonville, at the bottom of the little Cul de Sac, under the protection of his majesty's ship the Woolwich. The enemy made no opposition to their landing; but retreated, as the English advanced, to a strong intrenchment thrown up behind the river Licorne, a post of the utmost importance, as it covered the whole country as far as the bay Mahaut, where provisions and supplies of all sorts were landed from St. Eustatia. The river was rendered inaccessible by a morass, covered with mangroves, except at two narrow passes, which they had fortified with a redoubt, and intrenchments well pallisaded, mounted with cannon, and defended by a numerous militia: besides, the narrow roads, through which only they could be attacked, were intersected with deep and wide ditches. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, the English commanders determined to hazard an assault. While four field-pieces and two howitzers maintained a constant fire upon the top of the intrenchments, the regiment of Duroure and the Highlanders advanced under this cover, firing by platoons with the utmost regularity. The enemy, intimidated by their cool and resolute behaviour, began to abandon the first intrenchment on the left. Then the Highlanders, drawing their swords, and sustained by part of the regiment, threw themselves in with their usual impetuosity, and followed the fugitives pell-mell into the redoubt, of which they took possession: but they still maintained their ground within the intrenchments on the right, from whence they annoyed the assailants both with musquetry and cannon. In half an hour, an occasional bridge being made, the English troops passed the river, in order to attack this post, which the enemy abandoned with precipitation: notwithstanding all their haste, however, about seventy were taken prisoners, and among these some of the most considerable inhabitants of the island. This advantage cost the English two officers and thirteen men killed, and above fifty wounded.

The English form the difficult post of Licorne.

The roads being mended for the passage of the artillery, the troops advanced towards Petit-bourg, harrassed in their march by flying bodies of the enemy, and arrived late at night on the banks of the river Lizarde, the only ford of which the French had fortified with strong intrenchments, protected by a battery of four cannon, erected on a rising-ground in their rear. Colonel Claver-

They take Petit-bourg, and St. Mary's.

Ann. 1759. Clavering, while he amused them all night at this place by a constant fire into their lines, transported in two canoes, which he launched about a mile and a half farther down the river, a sufficient number of troops, by day-break, to attack them on the other side in flank, while he advanced in front at the head of his little army; but they did not think proper to sustain the assault. On the contrary, they no sooner perceived his intention, than they forsook the post, and fled without order. Colonel Clavering, having passed the river, pursued them to Petit-bourg, which they had also fortified; and here he found captain Uvedale, of the Grenada bomb-ketch, throwing shells into the redoubt. He forthwith sent detachments to occupy the neighbouring heights; a circumstance which the enemy no sooner observed, than they deserted the place, and retired with great expedition. On the fifteenth day of April captain Steel destroyed a battery at Gonoyave, a strong post, which, though it might have been defended against an army, the French abandoned at his approach, after having made a hasty discharge of their artillery. At the same time colonel Crump was detached with seven hundred men to the bay of Mahaut, where he burned the town and batteries, which he found abandoned, together with a vast quantity of provisions, which had been brought from the island of St. Eustatia.

Colonel Clavering, having left a small garrison at Petit-bourg, began his march on the twentieth day of the month towards St. Mary's, where he understood the enemy had collected their whole force, thrown up intrenchments, and raised barricadoes; but they had left their rear unguarded. The English commander immediately detached colonel Barlow with a body of troops to attack them from that quarter, while he himself advanced against the front of their intrenchment. They stood but one cannon-shot, and fled to their lines and batteries at St. Mary's, the flanks of which were covered with woods and precipices. When they perceived the English troops endeavouring to surmount these difficulties, and turn their lines, they quitted them, in order to oppose the design; and were immediately attacked with such vivacity, in the face of a severe fire of musquetry and cannon, that they abandoned their ground, and fled in the utmost confusion, leaving the field and all their artillery to the victors, who took up their quarters for the night at St. Mary's.

Next day they entered the charming country of Capesterre, where eight hundred and seventy negroes, belonging to one planter, surrendered at discretion. Here colonel Clavering was met by messieurs de Clainvilliers and Duqueruy, deputed by the principal inhabitants of the island, to know what capitulation would be granted. These he conducted to Petit-bourg, where they were presented to general Barrington, who, considering the absence of the fleet, the small number of his forces, daily diminishing, the difficulty of the country, and the possibility of the enemy's being reinforced from Martinique, wisely took the advantage of their present panic, and settled terms of * capitulation with-

The island
surrender on
capitulation.

* *Articles of Capitulation between their Excellencies the Hon. Major-General Barrington, and John Moore, Esq; Commanders in Chief of his Britannic Majesty's Land and Sea Forces in these Seas, and M. Nadau Dutreil, Governor for his Most Christian Majesty, of Guadaluze, Grande Terre, Desseada, and the Saintes.*

Art. I. We the governor, staff and other officers, of the regular troops, shall march out of our posts, with one mortar, two field-pieces of brass cannon, with ten rounds for each piece,

without delay. The sanity of this resolution soon appeared. The inhabitants Ann. 1759. had just signed the agreement, when a messenger arrived in their camp with information, that Mr. de Beauharnois, the general of the French islands, had landed at St. Anne's, to the windward, with a reinforcement from Martinique, consisting of six hundred regulars from Europe, about fifteen hundred volun-

piece, arms, baggage, and the honours of war. Granted, except the mortar; and as for the cannon, we will allow only four rounds for each piece; and on condition that the troops of his Britannic majesty shall take possession of the different posts at the three rivers, and the hospital to-morrow morning, the second of May, at eight o'clock; and that all magazines of provisions, ammunition, and implements of war, as well as all papers relating to the revenue, be delivered into the possession of a commissary to be named by us for that purpose.

II. That we shall be sent to Martinico, in a good vessel, well provided, and by the shortest passage. Granted.

III. That the commissary-general, officers of justice, admiralty, and all such as have the king's commission, shall likewise be sent to Martinico in a good vessel, and well provided, and by the shortest passage. Granted only for the commissary-general, and to the officers of the admiralty, and refused to the others.

IV. That the staff and other officers shall have leave to take with them their wives and children to Martinico; and shall have a good vessel well provided to carry them by the shortest passage. Granted.

V. That the staff and other officers shall have the same number of servants granted them, as were allowed by the most christian king, viz. To the governor 24; to the commissary-general 24; to the lieutenant-governor 18; to the fort-major 15; to the captains 12 each; to the lieutenants eight each; and to the ensigns six each. Granted.

VI. That it shall be allowed to all the officers who have estates in this colony (except me the governor, unless the king permits me also) to appoint attorneys to act for them until the peace; and if the island is not then ceded, the above-mentioned officers shall have leave to sell their estates, and carry off the produce. Granted.

VII. That a good vessel shall be allowed to the lady of M. Duclieu, lieutenant-governor-general of the islands, and captain of one of the king's ships, to carry her to Martinico, with her equipage, furniture, and plate, and servants, suitable to her rank: and also to the governor's lady, and the wives and widows of the staff officers of this island. Granted: one vessel for all the ladies.

VIII. That M. de Folleville, lieutenant-governor of Martinico, shall have a good vessel to carry him and his volunteers thither, by the shortest passage, with only such arms, baggage, and servants, as they brought with them. Granted.

IX. That the Sieur Avril of Dominico, and his detachment, shall be sent thither with their arms and baggage. Granted.

X. That the prisoners, soldiers, and sailors, shall be mutually exchanged. Granted.

XI. That all the negroes who are enlisted and continued till the last day of the attack, in the companies of Bolonge, Petit, Dumolier, and Ruby, agreeable to the list that will be given in of them, shall have their freedom at the expence of the colony, as by agreement. Granted, upon condition that they are immediately sent out of the island.

XII. That the men belonging to the privateers, who desire to go to Martinico, shall have a vessel to carry them thither. Granted.

XIII. That there shall be a reasonable time allowed for removing the furniture, effects, and cloaths, that are in the reduit, or other places, belonging to the persons who are to be sent to Martinico; and that his excellency general Barrington shall grant his protection for the safe conveyance of the above-mentioned effects to the place of embarkation. Granted.

XIV. That there shall be an hospital ship provided for the wounded and sick that are in a condition to be removed; and the rest shall be taken care of and sent with a flag of truce to Martinico, as soon as they are recovered. Granted. Those that remain here shall be taken care of, at the expence of his most christian majesty.

XV. That the subjects formerly belonging to the king of Great Britain, who for crimes were forced to fly their country, and have carried arms in this island, shall be pardoned, and allowed to remain in the island as inhabitants. They must go out of the island.

XVI. That the same honours and conditions shall be granted to the king's troops in the Grande Terre, as are given to those in Guadalupe. They have neither mortar nor cannon.

XVII. That the troops at the head of the reduit, as well as those at the three rivers, shall march to the post of the camp de la Carde, and

Ann. 1759. volunteers, besides a great number of the militia draughted from the companies of Martinique, with a great supply of arms and ammunition, mortars and artillery, under convoy of the squadron commanded by Mr. de Bompard, who

and remain there until the day of embarkation

The transport ships shall be at the great bay to-morrow morning to receive the troops of the

garrison, the privateers men, and those who are to pass to Martinico.

John Moore. J. Barrington.
Nadau Dutreil.

Articles of Capitulation between their Excellencies the Hon. Major-General Barrington, and John Moore, Esq; Commanders in Chief of his Britannic Majesty's Land and Sea Forces in those Seas, and the Inhabitants of the Island of Guadalupe, represented by Messrs. Debourg, De Clainvilliers, and Duqueruy, by virtue of full Powers to them given for that Purpose, and authorised by Monsieur Dutreil, Knight of the noble Military Order of St. Louis, Governor of the Island.

Art. I. The inhabitants shall march out of their posts, with all the honours of war, viz. with two field-pieces, their arms, colours flying, drums beating, and lighted match. Granted, in consideration of the brave defence which the inhabitants have made, during an attack of three months, upon condition that they lay down their arms, so soon as they have marched by our troops, and that all the forts, posts, batteries, cannon, mortars, firelocks, and bayonets, with all kind of ammunition, and implements of war, be delivered to a commissary to be named by us; and that we shall have a power of fixing garrisons in all such places as we shall think proper.

II. The inhabitants of the islands of Martinico, Marigalante, and Dominico, who came to the assistance of this island, shall have leave to retire, with their arms and baggage, and a ship shall be provided to carry them, and the servants they brought with them, to their respective islands, with provisions for their passage. Granted, excepting those from Marigalante, who shall be sent to Martinico.

III. The inhabitants shall be allowed the free and public exercise of their religion; the priests and religious shall be preserved in their parishes, convents, and all other possessions; and the superiors of the several orders shall be permitted to send for such as they think necessary, from France, and the neighbouring islands; but all letters wrote upon this occasion shall be transmitted by the governor appointed by his Britannic majesty. Granted.

IV. They shall observe a strict neutrality, and not be forced to take up arms against his most christian majesty, or against any other power. Granted, on condition that they take an oath within a month, or sooner, if possible, to maintain all the clauses of the capitulation, as well as to remain exactly faithful and neuter.

V. They shall be allowed their civil government, their laws, customs, and ordinances;

justice shall be administered by the same persons who are now in office; and what relates to the interior police of the island, shall be settled between his Britannic majesty's governor and the inhabitants. And in case this island should be ceded to the king of Great Britain, at the peace, the inhabitants shall have their choice, either to keep their own political government, or to accept that which is established at Antigua and St. Christopher's. Granted; but when any vacancies happen in the seats of justice, the superior council of the island is to name proper persons to fill up those vacancies, who must receive their commissions from his Britannic majesty; and all acts of justice whatsoever, are to be in his name. But in regard to any change in the political government, we grant it, if agreeable to his majesty's pleasure.

VI. The inhabitants, as well as the religious orders, shall be maintained in the property and enjoyment of their possessions, goods moveable and immoveable, noble and ignoble, of what nature soever they be; and shall be preserved in their privileges, rights, honours, and exemptions; and the free negroes and mulattoes in their liberty. Granted.

VII. They shall pay no other duties to his Britannic majesty, but such as they have hitherto paid to his most christian majesty, without any charge or imposts; the expences attending the administration of justice, the pensions to curates, and other customary charges, shall be paid out of the revenue of his Britannic majesty, in the same manner as under the government of his most christian majesty. Granted; but if this island is ceded to his Britannic majesty at the peace, it shall be subject to the same duties and imposts as the English Leeward islands, the most favoured.

VIII. All prisoners taken during the attack of this island, shall be mutually exchanged. Granted.

IX. The

who no sooner learned that the capitulation was signed, than he reembarked Ann. 1759. the troops and stores with all possible expedition, and returned to Martinique.

Thus we see that the conquest of this important island, which is said to produce a greater quantity of sugar than is made in any of the English plantations, was as much owing to accident as to the valour of the troops, and the

IX. The free mulattoes and negroes, who have been taken, shall be considered as prisoners of war, and not treated as slaves. Granted.

X. The subjects of Great Britain, who have taken refuge in this island, whether criminals or debtors, shall have leave to retire. Granted.

XI. No other but the inhabitants actually residing in this island shall possess any lands or houses, by purchase, grant or otherwise, before a peace; but if at the peace this island should be ceded to the king of Great Britain, then such of the inhabitants as do not chuse to live under the English government, shall be permitted to sell their possessions, moveable and immoveable, to whom they will, and retire wherever they please; for which purpose there shall be a reasonable time allowed. Granted; but such of the inhabitants as chuse to retire, shall have leave to sell to none but subjects of Great Britain.

XII. In case there should be any exchange at the peace, their Britannic and most christian majesties are desired to give the preference to this island. This will depend on his majesty's pleasure.

XIII. The inhabitants shall have free liberty to send their children to be educated in France, and to send for them back; and to make remittances to them whilst there. Granted.

XIV. The absent inhabitants, and such as are in the service of his most christian majesty, shall be maintained in the enjoyment and property of their estates, which shall be managed for them by attorneys. Granted.

XV. The wives of officers and others, who are out of the island, shall have leave to retire with their effects, and a number of servants suitable to their rank. Granted.

XVI. The English government shall procure for the inhabitants an exportation for such commodities as the island produces, and are not permitted to be imported into England. Granted; as the island produces nothing but what may be imported into England.

XVII. The inhabitants shall not be obliged to furnish quarters for the troops, nor slaves to work on the fortifications. Granted; but barracks will be provided as soon as possible, for the lodgment of the troops; and such negroes, who shall be employed, with the con-

sent of their masters, in public works, shall be paid for their labour.

XVIII. The widows, and other inhabitants, who through illness, absence, or any other impediment, cannot immediately sign the capitulation, shall have a limited time allowed them to accede to it. Granted; but all the inhabitants, who chuse to partake of the advantage of the capitulation, shall be obliged to sign it within a month from the date hereof, or to quit the island.

XIX. The men belonging to the privateers, and others who have no property in the island, and are desirous to leave it, shall have vessels to carry them to Martinico or to Dominico (at their option) and shall be furnished with provisions for the passage. Nevertheless those persons who have any debts with the inhabitants of the island, shall be obliged to settle their accounts with them before they leave the island. Granted.

XX. The inhabitants shall have leave to give freedom to such negroes as they have promised it to, for the defence of this island. Granted, on consideration they are immediately sent off the island.

XXI. The inhabitants and merchants of this island, included in the present capitulation, shall enjoy all the privileges of trade, and upon the same conditions as are granted to his Britannic majesty's subjects throughout the extent of his dominions. Granted; but without affecting the privileges of particular companies established in England, or the laws of the kingdom, which prohibit the carrying on the trade in any other than English bottoms.

XXII. The deputies of the Grand-terre, not having a sufficient power to sign the capitulation, though the colony adheres to the conditions of it, under the authority of M. Nadau, may sign it when they have their full powers, and they will be comprehended in all the clauses. Granted.

Given at the head quarters in the Capsterre, Guadaloupe, the 1st day of May, 1759.

J. Barrington.

Nadau Dutreil.

John Moore.

D. de Clairvilliers.

Duqueruy.

Ann. 1759. duct of the general: for, had the reinforcement arrived an hour sooner than it actually landed, in all probability the English would have found it impracticable to finish the reduction of Guadalupe. Be that as it may, the natives certainly deserved great commendation, not only for persevering so gallantly in defence of their country, but also for their fortitude in bearing every species of distress. They now quitted the Dos d'Ane, and all their other posts, and returned to their respective habitations.

The town of Basse-terre being reduced to a heap of ashes, the inhabitants began to clear away the rubbish, and erect occasional sheds, where they resumed their several occupations with that good humour so peculiar to the French nation; and general Barrington humanely indulged them with all the assistance in his power.

The small islands, Deseada, Los Santos, and Petit-terre, were comprised in the capitulation of Guadalupe. The inhabitants of Marigalante, which lies about three leagues to the south-east of Grande-terre, extending twenty miles in length, fifteen in breadth, flat, and fertile, but poorly watered, and ill fortified; having refused to submit when summoned by the squadron to surrender, general Barrington resolved to reduce them by force. He embarked a body of troops on board of transports, which sailed thither under convoy of three ships of war and two bomb-vessels from Prince Rupert's Bay; and at their appearance the islanders submitting, received an English garrison.

Before this period, commodore Moore having received intelligence that Mr. de Bompert had sailed from Martinique, with design to land a reinforcement on Guadalupe, and that his squadron was seen at seven leagues to windward of Marigalante, he sailed from Prince Rupert's Bay, and turned to windward. After having been beaten about for five days, to very little purpose, he received notice from one of his cruisers, that the French admiral had returned to Martinique; upon which information he retired quietly to his former station in the bay of Dominique; the people of which were so insolent as to affirm, in derision, that the English squadron sailed on one side of the island, and the French upon the other, that they might be sure of not meeting: but this, without doubt, was an impudent calumny*.

General Barrington, having happily finished the conquest of Guadalupe, gave notice to the commodore, that he intended to send back part of the troops with the transports to England, about the beginning of July. In consequence of this intimation, Mr. Moore sailed with his squadron to Basse-terre road, where he was next day joined by two ships of the line from England, which rendered him greatly superior in strength to the commander of the French squadron, who had retired to the island of Granada, lying about eight leagues from Guadalupe. Here he was discovered by the ship Rippon, whose captain

* The commodore declares that he carried a press-sail night and day, in order to come up with the French squadron, and took every step that could be devised for that purpose. He says, if he had pursued any other course, the French commander might have run into the road of St. Kitt's, and destroyed or taken a great number of merchant ships, which were then loading with sugars for England.

He says he tried every stratagem he could contrive for bringing Mr. de Bompert to action. He even sent away part of his squadron out of sight of the inhabitants of Dominique, that they might represent to their friends at Martinique his force much inferior to what it really was: but this expedient had no effect upon Mr. de Bompert, who made the best of his way to Cape François on the island of Hispaniola.

returned

returned immediately to Basse-terre, to make the commodore acquainted with this circumstance: but, before he could weigh anchor, a frigate arrived with information that Bompert had quitted Granada, and was supposed to have directed his course to Hispaniola. The commodore immediately dispatched the Ludlow-castle with this intelligence to admiral Cotes, who commanded the squadron at Jamaica. Ann. 1759.

General Barrington having made a tour of the island, in order to visit and repair such fortifications as he thought necessary to be maintained, and the affairs relating to the inhabitants being intirely settled, he sent the Highlanders, with a body of draughts, to North America, under convoy: he garrisoned the principal strengths of the island, and left the chief command to colonel Crump, who had for some time acted as brigadier-general, colonel Clavering having been sent home to England with the account of the capitulation. Colonel Melville, who had signalized himself in a remarkable manner ever since their first landing, continued governor of the citadel at Basse-terre; and the command at Grande-terre was conferred on colonel Delgarno. Three compleat regiments were allotted as a sufficient guard for the whole island, and the other three were embarked for England. General Barrington himself went on board the Roebuck in the latter end of June, and took his departure for England. About a month after, the transports, under convoy of captain Hughes with a small squadron, set sail for Great Britain; while commodore Moore, with his large fleet, directed his course to Antigua. General Barrington returns to England.

While this armament had been employed in the conquest of Guadalupe, North America exhibited still more sanguinary scenes of war and devastation, which, in order properly to introduce, it will be necessary to explain the steps that were taken on this continent, previous to this campaign.

In October of the preceding year, a grand assembly was held at Easton, about ninety miles from Philadelphia; and there peace was established, by a formal treaty, between Great Britain and the several nations of Indians inhabiting the country between the Apalachian mountains and the lakes. The Twightwees, however, settled between the river Ohio and the lakes, did not assist at this treaty, though some steps had been taken towards an alliance with that people. The conferences were managed by the governors of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, accompanied by Sir William Johnson's deputy for Indian affairs, four members of the council of Pennsylvania, six members of the assembly, two agents for the province of New Jersey, a great number of planters, and citizens of Philadelphia, chiefly quakers. They were met by the deputies and chiefs of the Mohawks, Oneidoes, Onondagoes, Cayugas, Senecas, Tuscaroras, Nanticoques, and Conoys, the Tuteloes, Chugnues, Delawares, and Unamies, the Minisinks, Mohicons, and Wappingers; the whole number, including their women and children, amounting to five hundred. Treaty with the Indians in North America.

Some of the Six Nations, thinking themselves aggrieved by the British colonists, who had imprisoned certain individuals of their nation, and had killed a few, and treated others with contempt, did not fail to express their resentment, which had been artfully fomented by the French emissaries, even into an open rupture. The Delawares and Minisinks, in particular, complained that the English had encroached upon their lands, and on that account were

Ann. 1759. provoked to hostilities: but their chief, Teedyuscung, had made overtures of peace; and, in the character of ambassador from all the ten nations, had been very instrumental in forming this assembly. The chiefs of the Six Nations, though very well disposed to peace, took umbrage at the importance assumed by one of the Delawares, over whom, as their descendants, they exercise a kind of parental authority; and on this occasion they made no scruple to disclose their dissatisfaction. The business therefore of the English governors, at this congress, was to ascertain the limits of the lands in dispute, reconcile the Six Nations with their nephews the Delawares, remove every cause of misunderstanding between the English and the Indians, detach these savages intirely from the French interest, establish a firm peace, and induce them to exert their influence in persuading the Twightwees to accede to this treaty.

Those Indians, though possessed of few ideas, circumscribed in their mental faculties, stupid, brutal, and ferocious, conduct themselves nevertheless, in matters of importance to the community, by the general maxims of reason and justice; and their treaties are always founded upon good sense, conveyed in a very ridiculous manner. Their language is guttural, harsh, and polysyllabical; and their speech consists of hyperbolical metaphors and similes, which invest it with an air of dignity, and heighten the expression. They manage their conferences by means of wampum, a kind of bead, formed of hard shell, either in single strings, or sewed in broad belts of different dimensions, according to the importance of the subject. Every proposition is offered, every answer made, every promise corroborated, every declaration attested, and every treaty confirmed, by producing and interchanging these belts of wampum*.

The

* The reader will conceive an idea of these people, and their customs, by a few extracts from the journal of their conferences. When the governor of Philadelphia and his council arrived at Easton, they were welcomed by Teedyuscung, chief of the Delawares, with the following compliment.

‘ Brother, you desire me to hollow loud, and give notice to all the Indians round about. I have raised my voice, and all the Indians have heard me as far as the Twightwees, and have regarded my voice, and are now to come to this place. I bid you welcome, and entreat you to join with me in casting up our eyes to heaven, and praying the blessing of the supreme being on our endeavours. According to our usual custom, I with this string wipe the dust and sweat off your face, and clear your eyes, and pick the briars out of your legs; and desire you will pick the briars out of the legs of the Indians that are come here, and anoint one of them with your healing oil, and I will anoint the other.’

A string.

In the subsequent conferences, Tokaais, chief of the Cayugas, spoke to the following effect.

‘ A road has been opened for us to this council fire; but by some misfortune, blood has lately been spilt upon that road. By these strings we wash that blood away, and take the hatchet out of your heads. *Three strings.*

Brethren, I now speak only for my own nation, I will hide nothing from you; the French, like a thief in the night, have stolen some of our young men, and corrupted them to do mischief. Our chiefs held them fast, but the French artfully unloosed them; we take out of your heads the hatchet with which they have struck you, and are sorry for what they have done.’

A belt of ten rows.

The Mohawk chiefs having finished their speech, as counsellors, their warriors spoke by the mouth of Thomas King:

‘ Brethren, you have been desirous to know the true cause of the war, and of the bitterness of our hearts. Look well about you, and you will find you gave the first offence. In time

of

The conferences were continued from the eighth to the twenty-sixth day of Ann. 1759. October, when every article was settled to the mutual satisfaction of all parties. The Indian deputies were gratified with a valuable present, consisting of looking-glasses, knives, tobacco-boxes, sleeve-buttons, thimbles, sheers, gunlocks,

of profound peace, some of the Shawanese passing through S. Carolina to go to war with their enemies, as their yearly custom is, were persuaded in a friendly manner into your houses, deceitfully and unjustifiably dragged to prison, where one, who was a head man, lost his life, and the others were severely used. This first raised ill-will in the minds of the Shawanese; the French aggravated the offence; put the hatchet into their hands to revenge the blood of their brother; they besought the Delawares to join them to make the blow fall the heavier; and by degrees the young men among us were stirred to vengeance.

Brethren, this was the case of the Shawanese. Another of the like nature happened about three years ago to the Senecas, when eight of their warriors were returning from war, with seven prisoners and scalps with them, through Virginia; these, at a place called Green Briar, met a party of soldiers, not less than 150, who kindly invited them to a certain store, and said, they would supply them with provisions; two days they travelled with them in a friendly manner, but when they came to the house on the third, they began to disarm them; the head-man cried out, here is death, defend yourselves; two of them were killed on the spot, and one a boy, was taken prisoner. As this was upon the warriors road in time of profound peace, judge ye of the degree of provocation. Brethren, you have justly demanded your prisoners; it is right so to do; and, if this unhappy boy is alive, as we have reason to think he is, we desire you may return him. If he is dead, we are content. His name is Squissatago.

Six strings of wampum.

Brethren, the cause why the Indians at Ohio left you was owing to yourselves; when we heard of the French coming there, we desired the governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania to supply us with implements and necessaries for war, and we would defend our lands; but these governors disregarded our message; the French came to us; traded with our people; used them kindly; and gained their affections. The governor of Virginia settled on our lands for his own benefit; but when we wanted his assistance, he forsook us.

A belt.

Brother, [addressing himself to the governor of Jersey] our cousins the Minisinks tell us, they were wronged of a great deal of land, and pushed back by the English settling so fast upon them, so as not to know whether they have

any lands or no. You deal hardly with us; you claim all the wild creatures, and will not let us come on your lands so much as to hunt after them; you will not let us peel a single tree. Surely, this is hard. You take of us what lands you please, and the cattle you raise on them are your own; but those that are wild are still ours, and should be common to both; for our nephews, when they sold the land, did not purpose to deprive themselves of hunting the wild deer, or using a stick of wood. We desire you, the governor, to take this matter into your care, and see justice done to the Minisinks.

Two strings of wampum.

Addressing himself to the governor of Pennsylvania, he said, 'Brother, we must put you in mind, that four years ago, you bought at Albany a large tract of land, for a part of which that was settled, the proprietaries agents then paid a 1000 pieces of eight. We acknowledge the receipt of that money, and the validity of so much of the purchase; but for the other part that was not paid for, that we reclaim. Our warriors, our hunters, when they heard of this vast sale, disapproved our conduct in council; in the deed our hunting grounds are included, and without them we must perish.'

Three strings.

[The Six Nation chiefs being asked if they had any thing farther to say, answered, they had done.]

Teedyuscung.] 'About three years ago, nine of my countrymen were killed near Goshan in time of peace, for no other reason than because they were hunting upon that land; one of their brethren assures me, that he then went with tears in his eyes to George Freeland, and presented him with three belts to have the matter cleared up; but has never received an answer to this day. I give you this string to enquire what is become of these belts.

Three strings of white wampum.

Brethren, I have already acquainted you with my grievances. I told you that the proprietaries had wronged me, and I referred my cause to the great king; now I desire to know if king George has yet decided that matter between you and me. I do not mention my uncle's lands; only what we the Delawares own as far as the heads of the Delaware.'

A belt.

Teedyuscung then took up another belt, intending to speak to his uncles the United Nations; but whilst he was speaking, as above, the chiefs had one after another left the council.

Ann. 1759. locks, ivory combs, shirts, shoes, stockings, hats, caps, handkerchiefs, thread, cloaths, blankets, gartering, ferges, watch-coats, and a few suits of laced cloaths for their chieftains. To crown their happiness, the stores of rum were opened: they drank themselves into a state of brutal intoxication, and next day returned in peace to their respective places of habitation.

This

cil, seemingly much displeased; he therefore held his peace.

Thursday, Oct. 19. At a private council Gov. Bernard, after reciting the request of the United Nations to take the case of the Minisinks under his care, said, that as the people of New Jersey declared, they had bought all the Minisinks lands, and the Minisinks said they had a great deal unfold, he could not tell which was in the right; but would suppose the Minisinks; he therefore desired the mediation of the United Nations, and left it to them to propose a reasonable sum by way of satisfaction, of which he desired they would consider and give an answer. The United Nations said it was a kind proposal, and recommended it to the consideration of the Minisinks.

Teedyuscung waited on Gov. Denny at his house, and acquainted him, that his nation did not claim lands high up the Delaware river; those, he said, belonged to his uncles; of which he desired the governor to take notice, that no misunderstanding might arise from what had been said at the public council.

Friday, Oct. 20. Gov. Denny desired to know of Teedyuscung, if he proposed to speak, as the abrupt departure of the Six Nation chiefs had interrupted his discourse the day before.

Teedyuscung.] 'Uncles, according to the ancient custom, we used to speak one to another at home; but now I must speak to you in the presence of the English governors. You may remember that you have placed us at Wyomink and Shamokin, places where Indians have lived before. Now I hear since, that you have sold that land to our brethren the English; let this matter be now cleared up. I sit like a bird on a bough. I look about and do not know where I may be driven to. Let me therefore come down upon the ground, and make that my own by a deed, and I shall have a home for ever; for if you, my uncles, or I die, our brethren the English will say they have bought it from you, and so wrong my posterity out of it.'

A belt.

Governor Denny having satisfied them for the lands in dispute, by the payment of one thousand dollars, and every objection to the general peace being happily removed, Tagahata, a Mohawk chief, rose up, and addressing himself to the Delawares, said,

'Nephews, now you must remember the friendship between you and your brethren the English, and transmit it to your children; and make them acquainted with the transactions of this day; it should seem that your grandfathers forgot the treaties they used to make with their brethren, and buried them with them in the grave. Give over all further thoughts of your lands; and take care, that your young men do no more violence to their brethren the English.'

Then Egohowen (the Minisink chief) addressed himself to the governor, and said, 'We are now satisfied, and we still retain a friendship for the English; and we desire that if we should come into your province to see our old friends, and should have occasion for the bark of a tree to cover a cabin, or a little refreshment, that we should not be denied, but be treated as brethren; and that your people may not look on the wild beasts of the forest, or fish of the waters, as their sole property, but that we may be admitted to an equal use of them.'

The governor answered, that as soon as he got home, he should notify the peace thro' all the provinces by proclamation; but desired the Indians might not go into those parts where they had so lately committed hostilities, till the passions of the people were cooled; for that he could not answer for his people's behaviour, while their sufferings were fresh upon their minds.

This day, at a meeting of the United Nations with the Delawares, their nephews, about settling the deed in dispute, the members of the Pennsylvanian council were invited to be present; when Teedyuscung rose up, and said, 'We have seen the deeds for the lands beyond the Kittochtinny hills, and acknowledge its validity; our chief, Nutimus, remembers it, and received forty-four dollars for his share of the purchase money; but this is not the land that I have disputed with my brethren the English; that land lies between Tohiccon Creek, and the Kittochtinny hills.'

A string.

Tokaaio and the Six Nation chief stood up and said, 'Cousin, I thank you for your openness and honesty in freely acknowledging the truth. I wish the governors of Pennsylvania, Virginia, Carolina, and Jersey, were so honest

This treaty with the Indians, who had been debauched from the interest of Ann. 1759. Great Britain, auspiciously paved the way for those operations which had been projected against the French settlements in Canada.

Instead of employing the whole strength of the British arms in North America against one object, the ministry proposed to divide the forces, and make impressions on three different parts at once, that the enemy might be divided, distracted, and weakened, and the conquest of Canada compleated in one campaign. That the success might be the more certain, the different expeditions were planned in such a manner as to co-operate with each other, and even join occasionally; so practicable was it thought for them to maintain such a correspondence as would admit of a junction of this nature. The project of this campaign imported, that general Wolfe, who had distinguished himself so eminently in the siege of Louisbourg, should proceed up the river St. Lawrence, as soon as the navigation should be clear of ice, with a body of eight thousand men, and a considerable squadron of ships from England, to undertake the siege of Quebec, the capital of Canada: that general Amherst, who commanded in chief, should, with another army of regular troops and pro-

Plan of the campaign on that continent.

nest and precise. They have called us down to a council fire, to brighten the chain of friendship; but our time is taken up in a fruitless dispute about lands, *without coming to the main point.* The English first began to do mischief; we told them so. They only thanked us for our frankness; but they healed no wounds. In short, when they speak to us, they do it with a shorter belt and string, than that which we speak to them with, though they can make wampum, and we cannot. They ought not thus to treat with Indians in council affairs. Several of our strong belts are lost in their hands. I fear they speak only from their mouth, and not from the heart.

Sunday, Oct. 22. The Six Nation chiefs held a private council, and named two of their people to send to the Ohio. Frederic Post arrived with the news from general Forbes, that a large body of French and Indians having attacked his advanced post at Loyal Hanning, were repulsed with great loss, which loss he communicated to the Indians.

Monday, Oct. 23. Governor Denny.] Brethren, by this belt we heal your wounds; we remove your grief; we take the hatchet out of your heads; we make a deep hole in the earth, and bury the hatchet so low, that nobody shall be able to dig it up again. *A belt.*

Brethren, now we have healed your wounds: we by this belt renew all our treaties; we brighten the chain of friendship; we return to our first affection; we confirm our ancient union; we put fresh earth to the roots of the tree of peace, that it may bear up against every storm that can blow, and live and flourish to the end of time whilst the sun shines, and the rivers run. And we desire you to publish this

to all the nations, your friends and allies.

A large peace belt.

Brethren, we now open a road to the council fire at Philadelphia, and be assured, we shall always be glad to see you there. *A belt.*

Brethren, this treaty will convince all our enemies, that we are now united in the firmest band of amity, and while we join our strength together, it will not be in their power to hurt either you or us. *A belt.*

Brethren, as a token of our love, we present you with a quantity of goods, and desire your acceptance of them; sensible of the approaching season, and of the many difficulties you live under from the present war, we give it with a hearty good will.

Brother Teedyuscung, you put me mind of your having referred your dispute to the great king, and you desired to know if he has decided it; you may depend upon it, that as soon as his answer can be obtained, it shall be communicated to you. *A belt.*

Then Governor Barnard, requesting the attention of the Indians, acquainted them, that in consequence of their advice, he had come to a full agreement with the Minisinks, for all the lands in dispute on the part of his province, to which he desired they would pay a particular regard, that the remembrance of it might never be forgotten. *A belt.*

Then addressing himself to Teedyuscung, he said, the nine men killed at Goshan, of which he had justly complained, were not in his province; the three belts he would make enquiry about of the governor of New York, and would send him an answer. He added, that the fact had been blamed by all good and wise men. *A string.*

Vincia s,

Ann. 1759. vinctuals, amounting to twelve thousand men, reduce Ticonderoga and Crown-point, cross the lake Champlain, and, proceeding along the river Richelieu to the banks of the river St. Laurence, join general Wolf in the siege of Quebec: that brigadier-general Prideaux, with a third body, reinforced with a considerable number of friendly Indians, assembled by the influence and under the command of Sir William Johnson, should invest the French fort, erected by the fall or cataract of Niagara, which was certainly the most important post of all French America, as it in a manner commands all the interior parts of that vast continent. It overawes the whole country of the Six Nations, who were cajoled into a tame acquiescence in its being built on their territory: it secures all the inland trade, the navigation of the great lakes, the communication between Canada and Louisiana, and opens a passage for inroads into the colonies of Great Britain. It was proposed, that the British forces, having reduced Niagara, should be embarked on the lake Ontario, fall down the river St. Laurence, besiege and take Montreal, and then join or co-operate with Amherst's army. Besides these larger armaments, colonel Stanwix commanded a smaller detachment for reducing smaller forts, and scouring the banks of the lake Ontario.

Animadversions on that plan.

How far this project was founded on reason and military knowledge, may be judged by the following particulars, of which the projectors were not ignorant. The navigation of the river St. Laurence is dangerous and uncertain. The city of Quebec was remarkably strong, from situation and fortification, from the bravery of the inhabitants, and the number of the garrison. Monsieur de Montcalm, an officer of great courage and activity, kept the field between Montreal and Quebec with a body of eight, or ten thousand men, consisting of regular troops and disciplined militia, reinforced by a considerable number of armed Indians; and another body of reserve hovered in the neighbourhood of Montreal, which was the residence of monsieur de Vaudreuil, governor-general of Canada. The garrison of Niagara consisted of above six hundred men; the march to it was tedious and embarrassed; and monsieur de Levi scoured the country with a flying detachment, well acquainted with all the woods and passes. With respect to general Amherst's share of the plan, the forts of Ticonderoga and Crown point stood in his way. The enemy were masters of the lake Champlain, and possessed the strong fort of Chambly, by the fall of the river Richelieu, which defended the pass to the river St. Lawrence. Even had these obstacles been removed, it was hardly possible that he and Mr. Wolfe should arrive at Quebec in the same instant of time. The first that reached it, far from being in a condition to undertake the siege of Quebec, would have run the risque of being engaged and defeated by the covering army; in which case, the other body must have been exposed to the most imminent hazard of destruction, in the midst of an enemy's country, far distant from any place of safety to which it could retreat. Had these disasters happened, and, according to the experience of war, they were the natural consequences of the scheme, the troops at Niagara would in all probability have fallen an easy sacrifice, unless they had been so fortunate as to receive intelligence time enough to accomplish their retreat before they could be intercepted. The design would, we apprehend, have been more justifiable, or at least not so liable to objection, had Mr. Amherst left two or three regiments to protect the frontiers of New York, and joining

joining Mr. Wolfe with the rest, sailed up the river St. Laurence to besiege Ann. 1759. Quebec. Even in that case, the whole number of his troops would not have been sufficient, according to the practice of war, to invest the place, and cope with the covering army. Nevertheless, had the enterprize succeeded, Montcalm must either have hazarded an engagement against great odds, or retired farther into the country: then the route would have been open by land and water to Montreal, which could have made little resistance. The two principal towns being taken, and the navigation of the St. Laurence blocked up, all the dependant forts must have surrendered at discretion, except Niagara, which there was a bare possibility of supplying, at an incredible trouble and expence, from the distant Mississippi; but, even then, it might have been besieged in form, and easily reduced. Whatever defects there might have been in the plan, the execution, though it miscarried in some essential points, was attended with surprising success.

The same good fortune that prospered the British arms so remarkably in the conquest of Guadalupe, seemed to interpose still more astonishingly in their favour at Quebec, the siege of which we shall record in its proper place. At present we must attend the operations of general Amherst, whose separate army was first in motion, though such impediments were thrown in his way as greatly retarded the progress of his operations; impediments said to have arisen from the pride, insolence, and obstinacy of certain individuals, who possessed great influence in that part of the world, and employed it all to thwart the service of their country.

The summer was already far advanced before general Amherst could pass lake George with his forces, although they met with no opposition, and reach the neighbourhood of Ticonderoga, where, in the preceding year, the British troops had sustained such a terrible disaster. At first the enemy seemed determined to defend this fortress; but perceiving the English commander resolute, cautious, and well prepared for undertaking the siege; having moreover orders to retreat from place to place, towards the centre of operations at Quebec, rather than run the least risk of being made prisoners of war; they in the night of July the twenty-seventh, abandoned the post, after having in some measure dismantled the fortifications, and retired to Crown-point, a fort situated on the verge of lake Champlain. General Amherst, having taken possession of this important post, which effectually covered the frontiers of New York, and secured to himself a safe retreat in case of necessity, ordered the works to be repaired, and allotted a strong garrison for its defence. This acquisition, however, was not made without the loss of a brave accomplished young officer, colonel Roger Townshend, who, in reconnoitring the fort, was killed with a cannon-shot, and fell near the same spot which in the former year had been enriched with the blood of the gallant Lord Howe, whom he strongly resembled in the circumstances of birth, age, qualifications, and character.

While the general superintended the repairs of Ticonderoga, and the men were employed in preparing batteaus and other vessels, his scouting parties hovered in the neighbourhood of Crown-point, in order to watch the motion of the enemy. From one of these detachments, he received intelligence on the first day of August, that the enemy had retired from Crown-point. He

Ann. 1759. immediately detached a body of rangers before him to take possession of the place: then he embarked with the rest of the army, and on the fourth day of the month, landed at the fort, where the troops were immediately encamped. His next care was to lay the foundations of a new fort, to be maintained for the farther security of the British dominions in that part of the country, and particularly for preventing the inroads of scalping parties, by whom the plantations had been dreadfully infested.

General Amherst embarks on the lake Champlain.

Here information was received that the enemy had retired to the isle Aux Noix, at the other end of the lake Champlain, five leagues on the hither side of St. John's; that their force encamped in that place, under the command of Mr. de Burlemaque, consisted of three battalions and five piquets of regular troops, with Canadians and marines, amounting in the whole to three thousand five hundred effective men, provided with numerous artillery; and that the lake was occupied by four large vessels mounted with cannon, and manned with piquets of different regiments, under the command and direction of Mr. le Bras, a captain in the French navy, assisted by Mr. de Rigal, and other sea officers.

In consequence of this intimation, general Amherst, who had for some time employed captain Loring to superintend the building of vessels at Ticonderoga, being resolved to have the superiority on the lake, directed the captain to build with all possible expedition a sloop of sixteen guns, and a radeau eighty-four feet in length, capable of carrying six large cannon. These, together with a brigantine, being finished, victualled, and manned by the eleventh day of October, the general embarked with the whole troops in batteaus, in order to attack the enemy; but next day, the weather growing tempestuous, was obliged to take shelter in a bay on the western shore, where the men were landed for refreshment. In the meantime, captain Loring with his small squadron, sailing down the lake, gave chase to a French schooner, and drove three of their ships into a bay, where two of them were sunk, and the third run a-ground by their own crews, who escaped: one, however, was repaired and brought away by captain Loring, so that now the French had but one schooner remaining.

General Amherst, after having been some days wind-bound, reembarked his forces, and proceeded down the lake; but the storm, which had abated, beginning to blow with redoubled fury, so as to swell the waves mountain high, the season for action being elapsed, and winter setting in with the most rigorous severity, he saw the impossibility of accomplishing his design, and was obliged to desist.

Returning to the same bay where he had been sheltered, he landed the troops, and began his march for Crown-point, where he arrived on the twenty-first day of October. Having secured a superiority on the lake, he now employed all his attention in rearing the new fortress at Crown-point, together with three small out-forts for its better defence; in opening roads of communication with Ticonderoga, and the governments of the Massachusetts and New Hampshire; and in making dispositions for the winter-quarters of his troops, so as to protect the country from the inroads of the enemy.

During this whole summer he received not the least intelligence of Mr. Wolfe's operations, except a few hints in some letters relating to the exchange of

of prisoners, that came from the French general Montcalm, who gave him to understand, that Mr. Wolfe had landed in the neighbourhood of Quebec, and seemed determined to undertake the siege of that city; that he had honoured him (the French general) with several notes, sometimes couched in a soothing strain, sometimes filled with threats*; that the French army intended to give him battle, and a few days would determine the fate of Quebec. Ann. 1759.

Though Mr. Amherst was ignorant of the proceedings of the Quebec squadron, his communication continued open with the forces which undertook the siege of Niagara; and he received an account of their success before he had quitted the lines of Ticonderoga.

General Prideaux, with his body of troops, reinforced by the Indian auxiliaries under Sir William Johnson, advanced to the cataract of Niagara, without being exposed to the least inconvenience on his march; and investing the French fortress about the middle of July, carried on his approaches with great vigour, till the twentieth day of that month, when, visiting the trenches, he was unfortunately slain by the bursting of a cohorn. Mr. Amherst was no sooner informed of his disaster, than he detached from Ticonderoga brigadier-general Gage, to assume the command of that army. In the mean time it devolved to Sir William Johnson, who happily prosecuted the plan of his predecessor with all the success that could have been desired.

The enemy, alarmed with the apprehension of losing a place of such importance, resolved to exert their endeavours for its relief. They assembled a body of regular troops, amounting to twelve hundred men, drawn from Detroit, Venango, and Presque Isle; and these, with a number of Indian auxiliaries, were detached, under the command of monsieur d'Aubry, on an attempt to reinforce the garrison of Niagara. Reduction of Niagara.

Sir William Johnson, having received intelligence of their design, made a disposition to intercept them in their march. In the evening he ordered the light infantry and piquets to post themselves to the left, on the road leading from Niagara falls to the fortress: these were reinforced in the morning with the grenadiers, and part of the forty-sixth regiment, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Maffey; and another regiment, under lieutenant-colonel Farquhar, was posted at the tail of the works, in order to support the guard of the trenches. About eight in the morning, the enemy being in sight, the Indians in the English army advanced to speak with their countrymen, who served under the French banners; but this conference was declined by the enemy. Then the French Indians having uttered the horrible scream called the war-whoop, which by this time had lost its effect among the British forces, the enemy began the action with impetuosity: but they met with such a hot reception in front, while the Indian auxiliaries fell upon their flanks, that in little more than half an hour their whole army was routed, their general with all his officers taken, and the pursuit continued through the woods for several miles with considerable slaughter. This battle, which happened on the twenty-fourth day of July, having been fought in sight of the French garrison at Niagara, Sir William Johnson sent major Harvey with a trumpet to the commanding officer, to present him with a list of seventeen officers taken in the engagement, and to exhort him to surrender before more blood was

* *Quelquefois pleins de douceurs, quelquefois remplies de menaces.*

Ann. 1759. shed, while he had it in his power to restrain the Indians. The commandant, having certified himself of the truth, by sending an officer to visit the prisoners, agreed to treat, and in a few hours the capitulation was ratified. The garrison, consisting of six hundred and seven effective men, marched out with the honours of war, in order to be embarked in vessels on the lake, and conveyed in the most expeditious manner to New York. They laid down their arms when they embarked; but were permitted to keep their baggage, and, by a proper escorte, protected from the savage insolence and rapacity of the Indians. All the women were conducted, at their own request, to Montreal; and the sick and wounded, who could not bear the fatigue of travelling, were treated with humanity.

This was the second compleat victory obtained on the continent of North America, in the course of the same war, by Sir William Johnson, who, without the help of a military education, succeeded so signally in the field by dint of innate courage and natural sagacity. What remarkably characterises these battles, is the circumstance of his having taken in both the commander of the enemy. Indeed, the war in general may be distinguished by the singular success of this gentleman and the celebrated Mr. Clive, two self-taught generals; who, by a series of shining actions, have demonstrated, that uninstructed genius can, by its own internal light and efficacy, rival, if not eclipse, the acquired art of discipline and experience. Sir William Johnson was not more serviceable to his country by his valour and conduct in the field, than by the influence and authority which his justice, benevolence, and integrity had acquired among the Indian tribes of the Six Nations, whom he not only assembled at Niagara, to the number of eleven hundred, but also restrained within the bounds of good order and moderation.

Introduction
to the expedition
against
Quebec.

The reduction of Niagara, and the possession of Crown-point, were exploits much more easily atchieved than the conquest of Quebec, the great object to which all these operations were subordinate. Of that we now come to give the detail, fraught with singular adventures and surprising events; in the course of which a noble spirit of enterprize was displayed, and the scenes of war were exhibited in all the variety of desolation.

It was about the middle of February that a considerable squadron sailed from England for Cape Breton, under the command of admiral Saunders and Holmes, two gentlemen of worth and probity, who had on several occasions signalized their courage and conduct in the service of their country. By the twenty-first day of April they were in sight of Louisbourg; but the harbour was blocked up with ice in such a manner, that they were obliged to bear away for Halifax in Nova Scotia. From hence rear-admiral Durell was detached with a small squadron, to sail up the river St. Laurence as far as the isle de Coudres, in order to intercept any supplies from France intended for Quebec: he accordingly took two store-ships; but he was anticipated by seventeen sail, loaded with provision, stores, and some recruits, under convoy of three frigates, which had already reached the capital of Canada.

Mean while, admiral Saunders arrived at Louisbourg; and the troops being embarked, to the number of eight thousand, proceeded up the river without further delay. The operations at land were intrusted to the conduct of major general James Wolfe, whose talents had shone with such superior lustre at the

the siege of Louisbourg; and his subordinates in command were the brigadiers Monckton, Townshend, and Murray; all four in the flower of their age, who had studied the military art with equal eagerness and proficiency, and, though young in years, were old in experience. The first was a soldier by descent, the son of major-general Wolfe, a veteran officer of acknowledged capacity: the other three resembled each other, not only in years, qualifications, and station, but also in family rank, all three being the sons of noblemen. The situation of brigadier Townshend was singular: he had served abroad in the last war with reputation, and resigned his commission during the peace, in disdain of some hard usage he had sustained from his superiors. That his military talents, however, might not be lost to his country, he exercised them with equal spirit and perseverance in projecting and promoting the plan of a national militia. When the command and direction of the army devolved to a new leader, so predominant in his breast was the spirit of patriotism and the love of glory, that though heir apparent to a British peerage, possessed of a very affluent fortune, remarkably dear to his acquaintance, and solicited to a life of quiet by every allurements of domestic felicity, he waved these considerations: he burst from all intanglements; proffered his service to his sovereign; exposed himself to the perils of a disagreeable voyage, the rigours of a severe climate, and the hazard of a campaign peculiarly fraught with toil, danger, and difficulty.

The armament intended for Quebec sailed up the river St. Laurence, without having met with any interruption, or having perceived any of those difficulties and perils with which it had been reported that the navigation of it was attended. Their good fortune in this particular, indeed, was owing to some excellent charts of the river, which had been found in vessels taken from the enemy. About the latter end of June the land-forces were disembarked in two divisions upon the isle of Orleans, situated a little below Quebec, a large fertile island, well cultivated, producing plenty of grain, abounding with people, villages, and plantations. General Wolfe no sooner landed on the island of Orleans, than he distributed a manifesto among the French colonists, giving them to understand, That the king his master, justly exasperated against the French monarch, had equipped a considerable armament, in order to humble his pride, and was determined to reduce the most considerable French settlements in America. He declared, it was not against the industrious peasants, their wives, and children, nor against the ministers of religion, that he intended to make war: on the contrary, he lamented the misfortunes to which they must be exposed by the quarrel: he offered them his protection, and promised to maintain them in their temporal possessions, as well as in the free exercise of their religion, provided they would remain quiet, and take no part in the difference between the two crowns. He observed, that the English were masters of the river St. Laurence, so as to intercept all succours from Europe; and had, besides, a powerful army on the continent, under the command of general Amherst. He affirmed, that the resolution they ought to take was neither difficult nor doubtful, as the utmost exertion of their valour would be useless, and serve only to deprive them of the advantages which they might reap from their neutrality. He reminded them, that the cruelties exercised by the French upon the subjects of Great Britain in America, would excuse the most

General Wolfe lands on the island of Orleans.

Ann. 1759. most severe reprisals; but Britons were too generous to follow such barbarous examples. He again offered to the Canadians the sweets of peace, amidst the horrors of war; and left it to themselves to determine their own fate by their own conduct. He expressed his hope, that the world would do him justice, should they oblige him, by rejecting these favourable terms, to adopt violent measures. He expatiated upon the strength and power, as well as upon the generosity of Great Britain, in thus stretching out the hand of humanity; a hand ready to assist them on all occasions, even when France was, by her weakness, compelled to abandon them in the most critical conjuncture. This declaration produced no immediate effect; nor, indeed, did the Canadians depend upon the sincerity and promised faith of a nation, whom their priests had industriously represented as the most savage and cruel enemy on earth. Possessed of these notions, which prevailed even among the better sort, they chose to abandon their habitations, and expose themselves and families to certain ruin, in provoking the English by the most cruel hostilities, rather than be quiet, and confide in the general's promise of protection. Instead of pursuing this prudent plan of conduct, they joined the * scalping parties of Indians who skulked among the woods, and falling upon the English stragglers by surprise, butchered them in the most inhuman barbarity.

Mr. Wolfe, whose nature revolted against this wanton and perfidious cruelty, sent a letter to the French general, representing, that such enormities were contrary to the rules of war observed among civilized nations, dishonourable to the service of France, and disgraceful to human nature: he therefore desired the French colonists and Indians might be restrained within due bounds, otherwise he would burn their villages, desolate their plantations, and retaliate upon the persons of his prisoners, whatever cruelties should, in the sequel, be committed on the soldiers or subjects of his master. In all probability the French general's authority was not sufficient to bridle the ferocity of the savages, who continued to scalp and murder with the most brutal appetite for blood and revenge; so that Mr. Wolfe, in order to intimidate the enemy into a cessation of these outrages, found it necessary to connive at some irregularities in the way of retaliation.

Takes possession of Point Levi.

Mr. de Montcalm, who commanded the French troops, though superior in number to the invaders, very wisely resolved to depend upon the natural strength of the country, which appeared almost insurmountable, and had carefully taken all his precautions of defence. The city of Quebec was tolerably fortified, secured with a numerous garrison, and plentifully supplied with provision and ammunition. Montcalm had reinforced the troops of the colony with five regular battalions, formed of the best of the inhabitants,

* The operation of scalping, which, to the shame of both nations, is encouraged both by French and English, the savages perform in this manner.—The hapless victim being disabled, or disarmed, the Indian, with a sharp knife, provided and worn for the purpose, makes a circular incision to the bone, round the upper part of the head, and tears off the scalp with his fingers. Previous to this execution, he generally dispatches the prisoner by repeated

blows on the head with the hammer-side of an instrument, called a toma-hawk: but sometimes they save themselves the trouble, and sometimes the blows prove ineffectual, so that the miserable patient is found alive, groaning in the utmost agony of torture. The Indian strings the scalps he has procured, to be produced as a testimony of his prowess, and receives a premium for each from the nation under whose banners he has enlisted.

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completely disciplined all the Canadians of the neighbourhood capable of Ann. 1759. bearing arms, and several tribes of savages. With this army he had taken the field, in a very advantageous situation, encamped along the shore of Beaufort, from the river St. Charles to the falls of Montmorenci, every accessible part being deeply intrenched. To undertake the siege of Quebec against such odds and advantages, was not only a deviation from the established maxims of war, but a rash enterprize, seemingly urged in diametrical opposition to the dictates of common sense.

Mr. Wolfe was well acquainted with all the difficulties of the undertaking; but he knew at the same time he should always have it in his power to retreat, in case of emergency, while the British squadron maintained its station in the river: he was not without hope of being joined by general Amherst; and he was stimulated by an appetite for glory, which the prospect of accumulated dangers could not allay. Understanding that there was a body of the enemy posted, with cannon, at the Point of Levi, on the south shore, opposite to the city of Quebec, he detached against them brigadier Monckton, at the head of four battalions, who passed the river at night, and next morning, having skirmished with some of the enemy's irregulars, obliged them to retire from that post, which the English immediately occupied. At the same time colonel Carlton, with another detachment, took possession of the western point of the island of Orleans; and both these posts were fortified, in order to anticipate the enemy, who, had they kept possession of either, might have rendered it impossible for any ship to lie at anchor within two miles of Quebec. Besides, the Point of Levi was within cannon-shot of the city, against which a battery of mortars and artillery was immediately erected. Montcalm, foreseeing the effect of this manœuvre, detached a body of sixteen hundred men across the river, to attack and destroy the works before they were completed: but the detachment fell into disorder, fired upon each other, and retired in confusion. The battery being finished, without further interruption, the cannon and mortars began to play with such success, that in a little time the upper town was considerably damaged, and the lower town reduced to a heap of rubbish.

In the mean time the fleet was exposed to the most imminent danger. Immediately after the troops had been landed on the island of Orleans, the wind increased to a furious storm, which blew with such violence, that many transports ran foul of one another, and were disabled. A number of boats and small craft foundered, and divers large ships lost their anchors. The enemy, resolving to take advantage of the confusion which they imagined this disaster must have produced, prepared seven fire-ships, and at midnight sent them down from Quebec among the transports, which lay so thick as to cover the whole surface of the river. The scheme, though well contrived, and seasonably executed, was intirely defeated by the deliberation of the British admiral, and the dexterity of his mariners, who resolutely boarded the fire-ships, and towed them fast a-ground, where they lay burning to the water's edge, without having done the least prejudice to the English squadron. On the very same day of the succeeding month, they sent down a raft of fire-ships, or radeaus, which were likewise consumed, without producing any effect.

The fleet endangered by a storm.

Ann. 1759.

The general
encamps by
the falls of
the river
Montmo-
renci.

The works for the security of the hospital, and the stores on the island of Orleans, being finished, the British forces crossed the north channel in boats, and landing under the cover of two sloops, encamped on the side of the river Montmorenci, which divided them from the left of the enemy. Next morning a company of rangers, posted in a wood to cover some workmen, were attacked by the French Indians, and totally defeated: however, the nearest troops advancing, repulsed the Indians in their turn with a considerable loss. The reasons that induced general Wolfe to choose this situation by the falls of Montmorenci, in which he was divided from Quebec by this, and another river called St. Charles, he explained in a letter to the secretary of state. He observed, that the ground which he had chosen was high, and in some measure commanded the opposite side on which the enemy was posted: that there was a ford below the falls, passable in every tide for some hours at the latter part of the ebb, and beginning of the flood; and he hoped that means might be found of passing the river higher up, so as to fight the marquis de Montcalm upon less disadvantageous terms than those of directly attacking his intrenchments. Accordingly, in reconnoitring the river Montmorenci, a ford was discovered about three miles above; but the opposite banks, which was naturally steep, and covered with woods, the enemy had intrenched in such a manner, as to render it almost inaccessible. The escorte was twice attacked by the Indians, who were as often repulsed; but these rencounters cost the English about forty men killed and wounded, including some officers.

Some shrewd objections might be started to the general's choice of ground on this occasion. He could not act at all without passing the river Montmorenci at a very great disadvantage, and attacking an enemy superior to himself in number, secured by redoubts and intrenchments. Had he even, by dint of extraordinary valour, driven them from these strong posts, the success must have cost him a great number of officers and men; and the enemy might have retreated behind the river St. Charles, which he must also have passed under the same disadvantages, before he could begin his operations against the city of Quebec. Had his good fortune enabled him to surmount all these difficulties, and after all to defeat the enemy in a pitched battle, the garrison of Quebec might have been reinforced by the wreck of their army; and he could not, with any probability of success, have undertaken the siege of an extensive fortified place, which he had not troops sufficient to invest, and whose garrison would have been nearly equal in number to the sum total of the troops he commanded. At any rate, the chance of a fair engagement in the open field, was what he had little reason to expect in that situation, from the known experience, and the apparent conduct of the French general. These objections appeared so obvious and important, that general Wolfe would not determine to risque an attack, until he had surveyed the upper part of the river St. Laurence, in hope of finding some place more favourable for a descent.

He sails up
the river with
a detach-
ment.

On the eighteenth day of July, the admiral, at his request, sent two ships of war, two armed sloops, and some transports, with troops on board, up the river; and they passed the city of Quebec, without having sustained any damage. The general being on board of this little armament, carefully observed the banks on the side of the enemy, which were extremely difficult from
the

the nature of the ground, and these difficulties were redoubled by the foresight and precaution of the French commander. Though a descent seemed impracticable between the city and Cape Rouge, where it was intended, general Wolfe, in order to divide the enemy's force, and procure intelligence, ordered a detachment, under the command of colonel Carlton, to land higher up at the Point au Tremble, to which place he was informed, a good number of the inhabitants of Quebec had retired with their most valuable effects. This service was performed with little loss, and some prisoners were brought away, but no magazine was discovered.

The general thus disappointed in his expectation, returned to Montmorenci, where brigadier Townshend had, by maintaining a superior fire across that river, prevented the enemy from erecting a battery, which would have commanded the English camp; and now he resolved to attack them, though posted to great advantage, and every where prepared to give him a warm reception. His design was, first to reduce a detached redoubt close to the water's edge; seemingly situated without gun-shot of the intrenchment on the hill. Should this fortification be supported by the enemy, he foresaw that he would be able to bring on a general engagement: on the contrary, should they remain tame spectators of its reduction, he could afterwards examine their situation at leisure, and determine the place at which they could be most easily attacked. Preparations were accordingly made for storming the redoubt. On the last day of July, in the forenoon, part of brigadier Monckton's brigade was embarked in the boats of the fleet, to be transported from the Point of Levi. The two brigades, commanded by the brigadiers Townshend and Murray, were drawn out in order to pass the ford, when it should be necessary. To facilitate their passage, the admiral had stationed the Centurion ship of war in the channel, to check the fire of the lower battery, by which the ford was commanded: a numerous train of artillery was placed upon the eminence, to batter and enfilade the left of the enemy's intrenchment; and two flat-bottomed armed vessels, prepared for the purpose, were run a-ground near the redoubt, to favour the descent of the forces. The manifest confusion produced among the French by these previous measures, and by the fire of the Centurion, which was well directed and sustained, determined Mr. Wolfe to storm this intrenchment without further delay. Orders were issued, that the three brigadiers should put their troops in motion at a certain signal, which was accordingly made at a proper time of the tide. Many of the boats from Point Levi ran a-ground upon a ledge, that runs off a considerable distance from the shore; and this accident occasioned a disorder, by which so much time was lost, that the general was obliged to stop the march of brigadier Townshend's corps, which he perceived to be in motion. In the mean time, the boats were floated, and ranged in proper order, though exposed to a severe fire of shot and shells; and the general in person sounding the shore, pointed out the place where the troops might disembark with the least difficulty. Thirteen companies of grenadiers, and two hundred men of the second American battalion, were the first who landed. They had received orders to form in four distinct bodies, and begin the attack, supported by the corps of brigadier Monckton, as soon as the other troops should have passed the ford, and be near enough to contribute their assistance. These instructions, however, were intirely neglected. Before Mr. Monckton

He attacks the French intrenchment at Montmorenci, and is repulsed with considerable loss.

Ann. 1759. had landed, and while brigadier Townshend was on his march at a considerable distance, the grenadiers, without waiting to be drawn up in any regular form, impetuously rushed towards the enemy's intrenchments in the utmost disorder. Their courage served only to increase their misfortune. The first fire they received did such execution among them, that they were obliged to shelter themselves under the redoubt which the French had abandoned at their approach. In this uncomfortable situation they remained some time, unable to form under so hot a fire, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of many gallant officers, who lavishly exposed, and even lost their lives in the honourable discharge of their duty*. The general, seeing all their endeavours abortive, ordered

* The following anecdote is so remarkable, and tends so much to the honour of the British soldiery, that we insert it without fear of the reader's disapprobation. Captain Ochterlony and ensign Peyton belonged to the regiment of brigadier-general Monckton. They were nearly of an age, which did not exceed thirty: the first was a North Briton, the other a native of Ireland. Both were agreeable in person, and unblemished in character, and connected together by the ties of mutual friendship and esteem. On the day that preceded the battle, captain Ochterlony had been obliged to fight a duel with a German officer; in which, though he wounded and disarmed his antagonist, yet he himself received a dangerous hurt under the right arm; in consequence of which his friends insisted on his remaining in camp during the action of next day: but his spirit was too great to comply with this remonstrance. He declared it should never be said that a scratch, received in a private rencounter, had prevented him from doing his duty, when his country required his service; and he took the field with a fusil in his hand, though he was hardly able to carry his arms. In leading up his men to the enemy's entrenchment, he was shot through the lungs with a musket-ball; an accident which obliged him to part with his fusil: but he still continued advancing, until, by loss of blood, he became too weak to proceed further. About the same time Mr. Peyton was lamed by a shot, which shattered the small bone of his left leg. The soldiers, in their retreat, earnestly begged, with tears in their eyes, that captain Ochterlony would allow them to carry him and the ensign off the field. But he was so bigoted to a severe point of honour, that he would not quit the ground, though he desired they would take care of his ensign. Mr. Peyton, with a generous disdain, rejected their good offices, declaring that he would not leave his captain in such a situation; and in a little time they remained the sole survivors on that part of the field.

Captain Ochterlony sat down by his friend, and, as they expected nothing but immediate death, they took leave of each other: yet they were not altogether abandoned by the hope of being protected as prisoners: for the captain seeing a French soldier with two Indians approach, started up, and accosting them in the French language, which he spoke perfectly well, expressed his expectation that they would treat him and his companion as officers, prisoners, and gentlemen. The two Indians seemed to be intirely under the conduct of the Frenchman, who coming up to Mr. Peyton, as he sat on the ground, snatched his laced hat from his head, and robbed the captain of his watch and money. This outrage was a signal to the Indians for murder and pillage. One of them, clubbing his firelock, struck at him behind, with a view to knock him down; but the blow missing his head, took place upon his shoulder. At the same instant the other Indian poured his shot into the breast of this unfortunate young gentleman, who cried out, "O Peyton! the villain has shot me." Not yet satiated with cruelty, the barbarian sprung upon him, and stabbed him in the belly with his scalping knife. The captain, having parted with his fusil, had no weapon for his defence, as none of the officers wore swords in the action. The three ruffians, finding him still alive, endeavoured to strangle him with his own sash; and he was now upon his knees, struggling against them with surprising exertion. Mr. Peyton, at this juncture, having a double barrelled musket in his hand, and seeing the distress of his friend, fired at one of the Indians, who dropped dead upon the spot. The other thinking the ensign would now be an easy prey, advanced towards him; and Mr. Peyton, having taken good aim at the distance of four yards, discharged his piece the second time; but it seemed to take no effect. The savage fired in his turn, and wounded the ensign in the shoulder; then rushing upon him, thrust his bayonet through his body. He repeated the blow, which Mr. Peyton

ordered them to retreat and form behind Monckton's brigade, which was, by Ann. 1759. this time, landed and drawn up on the beach in order. They accordingly retired in confusion, leaving a considerable number lying on the field, to the barbarity of the Indian savages, who massacred the living, and scalped the dead, even in sight of their indignant companions. This unhappy accident occasioned a new delay, and the day was already far advanced. The wind began to blow with uncommon violence, and the tide to make; so that, in case of a second repulse, the retreat of brigadier Townshend might have been rendered hazardous and uncertain: Mr. Wolfe therefore thought proper to desist, and returned without further molestation to the other side of the river Montmorenci. The admiral ordered the two vessels which were a-ground, to be set on fire, that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy. The advantages that favoured an attack in this part consisted of the following particulars. All the artillery could be used with good effect; all the troops could act at once; and, in case of a miscarriage, the retreat was secure and open, at least,

ton attempting to parry, received another wound in his left hand, nevertheless he seized the Indian's musket with the same hand, pulling him forwards, and with his right drawing a dagger which hung by his side, plunged it in the barbarian's side. A violent struggle ensued: but at length Mr. Peyton was uppermost, and, with repeated strokes of his dagger, killed his antagonist outright. Here he was seized with an unaccountable emotion of curiosity, to know whether or not his shot had taken place on the body of the Indian; he accordingly turned him up, and, stripping off his blanket, perceived that the ball had penetrated quite through the cavity of the breast. Having thus obtained a dear-bought victory, he started up on one leg, and saw captain Ochterlony standing at the distance of sixty yards, close by the enemy's breastwork, with the French soldier attending him. Mr. Peyton then called aloud, "Capt. Ochterlony, I am glad to see you have at last got under protection. Beware of that villain, who is more barbarous than the savages. God bless you, my dear captain. I see a party of Indians coming this way, and expect to be murdered immediately." A number of those barbarians had for some time been employed on the left in scalping and pillaging the dying and the dead that were left upon the field of battle; and above thirty of them were in full march to destroy Mr. Peyton. This gentleman knew he had no mercy to expect; for, should his life be spared for the present, they would have afterwards insisted upon sacrificing him to the manes of their brethren whom he had slain; and, in that case, he would have been put to death by the most excruciating tortures. Full of this idea, he snatched up his musket, and, notwithstanding his broken leg, ran above forty yards without halting: feeling himself now totally disabled, and incapable of proceed-

ing one step farther, he loaded his piece, and presented it to the two foremost Indians, who stood aloof, waiting to be joined by their fellows: while the French, from their breastworks, kept up a continual fire of cannon and small arms upon this poor, solitary, maimed gentleman. In this uncomfortable situation he stood, when he discerned at a distance an Highland officer, with a party of his men, skirting the plain towards the field of battle. He forthwith waved his hand in signal of distress, and being perceived by the officer, he detached three of his men to his assistance. These brave fellows hastened to him through the midst of a terrible fire, and one of them bore him off on his shoulders. The Highland officer was captain Macdonald, of colonel Frazier's battalion; who understanding that a young gentleman, his kinsman, had dropped on the field of battle, had put himself at the head of this party, with which he penetrated to the middle of the field, drove a considerable number of the French and Indians before him, and finding his relation still unscalped, carried him off in triumph. Poor captain Ochterlony was conveyed to Quebec, where in a few days he died of his wounds. After the reduction of that place, the French surgeons who attended him declared, that, in all probability, he would have recovered of the two shots he had received in his breast, had not he been mortally wounded in the belly by the Indian's scalping knife.

As this very remarkable scene was acted in sight of both armies, General T——nd, in the sequel, expostulated with the French officers upon the inhumanity of keeping up such a severe fire against two wounded gentlemen, who were disabled and destitute of all hope of escaping. They answered, that the fire was not made by the regulars, but by the Canadians and Savages, whom it was not in the power of discipline to restrain.

Ann. 1759. for a certain time of the tide. These, however, seemed to be over-ballanced by other considerations. The enemy were posted on a commanding eminence; the beach was covered with deep mud, slippery, and broken into holes and gullies; the hill was steep, and in some places impracticable; the enemy were numerous, and poured in a very severe fire from their intrenchments. Had the attack succeeded, the loss of the English must have been very heavy, and that of the French inconsiderable; because the neighbouring woods afforded them immediate shelter: finally, the river St. Charles still remained to be passed, before the town could be invested.

Brigadier
Murray is de-
tached up the
river.

Immediately after this mortifying check, in which above five hundred men, and many brave officers were lost, the general detached brigadier Murray, with twelve hundred men, in transports, above the town, to co-operate with rear-admiral Holmes, whom the admiral had sent up with some force against the French shipping, which he hoped to destroy. The brigadier was likewise instructed to seize every opportunity of fighting the enemy's detachments, and even of provoking them to battle. In pursuance of these directions, he twice attempted to land on the north shore; but these attempts were unsuccessful. The third effort was more fortunate. He made a sudden descent at Chambaud, and burned a considerable magazine, filled with arms, cloathing, provision and ammunition. The enemy's ships being secured in such a manner, as not to be approached, and nothing else occurring that required the brigadier's longer stay, he returned to the camp, with intelligence obtained from his prisoners, that the fort of Niagara was taken, Crown-point abandoned, and general Amherst employed in making preparations to attack the corps commanded at the Isle aux Noix by Mr. Burlemaque.

Remarks on
the situation
of general
Wolfe.

The disaster at the falls of Montmorenci, made a deep impression on the mind of general Wolfe, whose spirit was too great to brook the most distant prospect of censure or disgrace. He knew the character of the English people, rash, impatient, and capricious; elevated to exultation by the least gleam of success, dejected even to despondency by the most inconsiderable frown of adverse fortune; sanguine even to childish hyperbole, in applauding those servants of the public who have prospered in their undertakings; clamorous to a degree of persecution against those who have miscarried in their endeavours; without any investigation of merit; without any consideration of circumstance. A keen sense of these vexatious peculiarities, conspiring with the shame of disappointment, an eager desire of retrieving the laurel, that he might by some be supposed to have lost at the falls of Montmorenci; and the despair of finding such an occasion; excited an internal agitation, which visibly affected his external frame, and disordered his whole constitution, which was naturally delicate and tender. Among those who shared his confidence, he was often seen to sigh; he was often heard to complain; and even in the transports of his chagrine, declare, that he would never return without success, to be exposed, as other unfortunate commanders had been, to the censure and reproach of an ignorant and ungrateful populace. This tumult of the mind, added to the fatigues of body he had undergone, produced a fever and dysentery; by which, for some time, he was totally disabled.

Before

Before he recovered any degree of strength, he desired the general officers Ann. 1759. to consult together for the public utility. It was their opinion, that the points of Levi and Orleans being left in a proper state of defence, the rest of the council of troops should be conveyed up the river; with a view to draw the enemy from war. their present situation, and bring them, if possible, to an engagement. This measure, however, was not adopted, until the general and admiral had reconnoitred the town of Quebec, with a view to a general assault, and concluded from their own observation, reinforced by the opinion of the chief engineer, who was perfectly well acquainted with the interiors of the place, that such an attack could not be hazarded with any prospect of success. The ships of war, indeed, might have silenced the batteries of the lower town; but they could not affect the upper-works, from which they must have sustained considerable damage.

When we consider the situation of this place, and the fortifications with which it was secured; the natural strength of the country; the great number of vessels and floating batteries they had provided for the defence of the river; the skill, valour, superior force, and uncommon vigilance of the enemy; their numerous bodies of savages continually hovering about the posts of the English, to surprise parties and harass detachments; we must own that there was such a combination of difficulties, as might have discouraged and perplexed the most resolute and intelligent commander.

In consequence of the resolution taken to quit the camp at Montmorenci, the troops and artillery were reembarked and landed at Point Levi: they afterwards passed up the river in transports, while admiral Holmes made a movement with his ships, to amuse the enemy posted on the north-shore: and the men being much crowded on board, the general ordered one half of them to be landed for refreshment on the other side of the river. As no possibility appeared of annoying the enemy above the town, the scheme of operations was totally changed. A plan was formed for conveying the troops farther down in boats, and landing them in the night within a league of cape Diamond, in hope of ascending the heights of Abraham, which rise abruptly, with a steep ascent from the banks of the river, that they might take possession of the ground on the back of the city, where it was but indifferently fortified. The dangers and difficulties attending the execution of this design were so peculiarly discouraging, that one would imagine it could not have been embraced but by a spirit of enterprize that bordered on desperation. The stream was rapid; the shore shelving; the bank of the river lined with sentinals; the landing-place so narrow as to be easily missed in the dark; and the ground so difficult as hardly to be surmounted in the day-time, had no opposition been expected. If the enemy had received the least intimation from spy or deserter, or even suspected the scheme: had the embarkation been disordered, in consequence of the darkness of the night, the rapidity of the river, or the shelving nature of the north-shore, near which they were obliged to row: had one sentinal been alarmed, or the landing-place much mistaken; the heights of Abraham must have been instantly secured, by such a force as would have rendered the undertaking abortive: confusion would have necessarily ensued in the dark; and this would have naturally produced a panic, which might have proved fatal to the greater part of the detachment. These objections could

Ann. 1759. could not escape the penetration of the gallant Wolfe, who, nevertheless, adopted the plan without hesitation; and even executed it in person; though at that time labouring under a severe dysentery and fever, which had exhausted his constitution, and reduced him almost to an extremity of weakness.

The troops
land at the
heights of
Abraham.

The previous steps being taken, and the time fixed for this hazardous attempt, admiral Holmes moved with his squadron farther up the river, about three leagues above the place appointed for the disembarkation; that he might deceive the enemy, and amuse Mr. de Bougainville, whom Montcalm had detached with fifteen hundred men to watch the motions of that squadron; but the English admiral was directed to sail down the river in the night, so as to protect the landing of the forces; and these orders he punctually fulfilled.

On the twelfth day of September, an hour after midnight, the first embarkation, consisting of four complete regiments, the light infantry, commanded by colonel Howe, a detachment of Highlanders, and the American grenadiers, was made in flat-bottomed boats, under the immediate command of the brigadiers Monckton and Murray; though general Wolfe accompanied them in person, and was among the first who landed; and they began to fall down with the tide, to the intended place of disembarkation; rowing close to the north shore, in order to find it the more easily. Without any disorder the boats glided gently along; but, by the rapidity of the tide, and the darkness of the night, the boats overshot the mark, and the troops landed a little below the place at which the disembarkation was intended*. As the troops landed,

* How far the success of this attempt depended upon accident, may be conceived from the following particulars. — In the twilight two French deserters were carried on board a ship of war, commanded by captain Smith, and lying at anchor near the North shore. They told him, that the garrison of Quebec expected that night to receive a convoy of provisions, sent down the river in boats, from the detachment above, commanded by Mr. de Bougainville. These deserters standing upon deck, and perceiving the English boats, with the troops, gliding down the river in the dark, began to shout, and make a noise; declaring they were part of the expected convoy. Captain Smith, who was ignorant of general Wolfe's design, believing their affirmation, had actually given orders to point the guns at the British troops; when the general perceiving a commotion on board, rowed along-side in person, and prevented the discharge, which would have alarmed the town, and entirely frustrated the attempt.

The French had posted sentries along-shore, to challenge boats and vessels, and give the alarm occasionally. The first boat that contained the English troops, being questioned accordingly, a captain of Fraser's regiment, who had served in Holland, and who was per-

fectly well acquainted with the French language and customs, answered, without hesitation to *Qui vit*, which is their challenging word, *la France*; nor was he at a loss to answer the second question, which was much more particular and difficult. When the sentinal demanded *à quel regiment?* to what regiment? the captain replied *de la Reigne*, which he knew, by accident, to be one of those that composed the body commanded by Bougainville. The soldier took it for granted, this was the expected convoy; and saying *passé*, allowed all the boats to proceed without further question. In the same manner, the other sentries were deceived; though one, more wary than the rest, came running down to the water's edge; and called, *pourquoy est que vous ne parlez plus haut?* "Why don't you speak with an audible voice?" To this interrogation, which implied doubt, the captain answered with admirable presence of mind, in a soft tone of voice, *Tai toi, nous serons entendues!* "Hush! we shall be overheard and discovered." Thus cautioned, the sentry retired without farther altercation. The midshipman who piloted the first boat, passing by the landing-place in the dark, the same captain, who knew it from his having been posted formerly with his company on the other side of the river, insisted

landed, the boats were sent back for the second embarkation, which was superintended by brigadier Townshend. In the mean time colonel Howe, with the light infantry and the Highlanders, ascended the woody precipices with admirable courage and activity; and dislodged a serjeant's guard, which defended a small intrenched narrow path, by which alone the rest of the forces could reach the summit. Then they mounted, without further molestation from the enemy, and the general drew them up in order, as they arrived. Monsieur de Montcalm no sooner understood that the English had gained the heights of Abraham, which in a manner commanded the town on its weakest part, than he resolved to hazard a battle, and began his march without delay; after having collected his whole force from the side of Beauport.

General Wolfe, perceiving the enemy crossing the river St. Charles, began to form his own line, which consisted of six battalions, and the Louisbourg grenadiers; the right commanded by brigadier Monckton, and the left by brigadier Murray: to the rear of the left colonel Howe was posted with his light infantry, just returned from a four-gun battery, which they had taken without opposition. Mr. de Montcalm, advancing in such a manner as to shew his intention was to flank the left of the English, brigadier Townshend was sent thither with the regiment of Amherst, which he formed *en potence*, presenting a double front to the enemy: he was afterwards reinforced by two battalions; and the reserve consisted of one regiment drawn up in eight subdivisions, with large intervals. The right of the enemy was composed of half the colony troops, two battalions, and a body of Canadians and savages: their centre consisted of a column, formed by two other regular battalions; and on the left, one battalion, with the remainder of the colony troops, was posted: the bushes and corn-fields in their front, were lined with fifteen hundred of their best marksmen, who kept up an irregular galling fire, which proved fatal to many brave officers, thus singled out for destruction. This fire, indeed, was in some measure checked by the advanced posts of the British line; who piquered with the enemy for some hours before the battle began. Both armies were destitute of artillery, except two small pieces on the side of the French, and a single gun, which the English seamen had made shift to draw up from the landing-place. This was very well served, and galled their column severely.

At length, about nine in the morning, the enemy advanced to the charge, with great order and vivacity, though their fire was irregular and ineffectual. On the contrary, the British forces reserved their shot, until the French had approached within forty yards of their line: then they poured in a terrible discharge, and continued the fire with such deliberation and spirit, as could not fail to produce a very considerable effect. General Wolfe was stationed on the right, at the head of Bragg's regiment, and the Louisbourg grenadiers,

insisted upon the pilot's being mistaken, and commanded the rowers to put ashore in the proper place, or at least very near it.

When general Wolfe landed, and saw the difficulty of ascending the precipice, he said to the same officer, in a familiar strain, "I don't believe there is any possibility of getting up; but you must do your endeavour."

The narrow path that slanted up the hill from the landing-place, the enemy had broken up and rendered impassable by cross ditches; besides the intrenchment at the top: in every other part the hill was so steep and dangerous, that the soldiers were obliged to pull themselves up by the roots and boughs of trees, growing on both sides of the path.

where

Ann. 1759.

Battle of
Quebec.

Ann. 1759. where the attack was most warm. As he stood conspicuous in the front of the line, he had been aimed at by the enemy's marksmen, and received a shot in the wrist, which, however, did not oblige him to quit the field. Having wrapped a handkerchief round his hand, he continued giving orders without the least emotion; and advanced at the head of the grenadiers, with their bayonets fixed, when another ball unfortunately pierced the breast of this young hero*, who fell in the arms of victory, just as the enemy gave way. At this very instant, every separate regiment of the British army seemed to exert itself for the honour of its own peculiar character. While the right pressed on with their bayonets, brigadier Murray briskly advanced with the troops under his command, and soon broke the centre of the enemy: then the Highlanders drawing their broad swords, fell in among them with irresistible impetuosity, and drove them with great slaughter into the town, and the works they had raised at the bridge of the river St. Charles. On the left and rear of the English, the action was not so violent. Some of the light infantry had thrown themselves into houses, where, being attacked, they defended themselves with great courage and resolution. Colonel Howe having taken post with two companies behind a small copse, sallied out frequently on the flanks of the enemy, during this attack, and often drove them into heaps; while brigadier Townshend advanced platoons against their front: so that the right wing of the French were totally prevented from executing their first intention. The brigadier himself remained with Amherst's regiment, to support this disposition, and to over-awe a body of savages, posted opposite to the light infantry, waiting for an opportunity to fall upon the rear of the British army. General Wolfe being slain, and, at the same time, Mr. Monckton dangerously wounded at the head of Lascelles's regiment, where he distinguished himself with remarkable gallantry, the command devolved to brigadier Townshend, who hastened to the centre, and finding the troops disordered in the pursuit, formed them again with all possible expedition. This necessary task was scarce performed, when Mr. de Bougainville, with a body of two thousand fresh men, appeared in the rear of the English. He had begun his march from cape Rouge, as soon as he received intelligence that the British troops had gained the heights of Abraham; but did not come up in time to have any share in the battle.

Mr. Townshend immediately ordered two battalions, with two pieces of artillery, to advance against this officer, who retired, at their approach, among woods and swamps; where general Townshend very wisely declined hazarding a precarious attack. He had already obtained a complete victory; taken a great number of French officers; and was possessed of a very advantageous situation, of which it would have been imprudent to forego. The French general, Mr. de Montcalm, was mortally wounded in the battle, and conveyed into Quebec, from whence, before he died, he wrote a letter to

* When the fatal ball took place, general Wolfe, finding himself unable to stand, leaned upon the shoulder of a lieutenant, who sat down for that purpose. This officer seeing the French give way, exclaimed, "They run! they run!" "Who run?" cried the gallant

Wolfe, with great eagerness. When the lieutenant replied, "The French." "What! (said he) do the cowards run already? then I die happy." So saying, the glorious youth expired.

general Townshend, recommending the prisoners to that generous humanity Ann. 1759. by which the British nation is distinguished. His second in command was left wounded on the field, and next day expired on board an English ship, to which he had been conveyed. About one thousand of the enemy were made prisoners, including a great number of officers; and about five hundred were slain on the field of battle. The wreck of their army, after they had reinforced the garrison of Quebec, retired to Point au Tremble, from whence they proceeded to Jaques Quartiers, where they remained intrenched, until they were compelled by the severity of the weather to make the best of their way to Trois Rivières and Montreal.

This important victory was obtained at the expence of fifty men killed, including nine officers; and of about five hundred men wounded; but the death of general Wolfe was a national loss, universally lamented. He inherited from nature, an animating fervour of sentiment, an intuitive perception, an extensive capacity, and a passion for glory, which stimulated him to acquire every species of military knowledge that study could comprehend, that actual service could illustrate and confirm. This noble warmth of disposition seldom fails to call forth and unfold the liberal virtues of the soul. Brave above all estimation of danger, he was also generous, gentle, complacent, and humane; the pattern of the officer, the darling of the soldier: there was a sublimity in his genius, which soared above the pitch of ordinary minds; and had his faculties been exercised to their full extent by opportunity and action; had his judgment been fully matured by age and experience, he would, without doubt, have rivalled in reputation the most celebrated captains of antiquity. Eulogium on
general
Wolfe.

Immediately after the battle of Quebec, admiral Saunders, who, together with his subordinates, Durell and Holmes, had all along co-operated heartily with the land-forces for the advantage of the service, sent up all the boats of the fleet, with artillery and ammunition; and, on the seventeenth day of the month, sailed up, with all the ships of war, in a disposition to attack the lower town; while the upper part should be assaulted by general Townshend. This gentleman had employed the time from the day of action, in securing the camp with redoubts; in forming a military road for the cannon; in drawing up the artillery; preparing batteries; and cutting off the enemy's communication with the country. On the seventeenth, before any battery could be finished, a flag of truce was sent from the town, with proposals of capitulation; which, being maturely considered, by the general and admiral, were accepted and signed at eight next morning*.

They

* *Articles of Capitulation demanded by M. de Ramsay, Commander for his Most Christian Majesty in the Higher and Lower Town of Quebec, Knight of the Military Order of St. Lewis, from his Excellency the General commanding his Britannic Majesty's Forces.*

Article I. M. de Ramsay demands the honours of war for his garrison, and that it shall be conducted back to the army in safety by the shortest road, with their arms, baggage, six

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pieces of brass cannon, two mortars or howitzars, and twelve rounds. — The garrison of the town, composed of land forces, marines, and sailors, shall march out with their arms and baggage, drums beating, lighted matches, with two pieces of cannon, and twelve rounds, and shall be embarked as conveniently as possible, in order to be landed at the first port in France.

3 T

Article

Ann. 1759. They granted the more favourable terms, as the enemy continued to assemble in the rear of the British army; as the season was become wet, stormy, and cold; threatening the troops with sickness, and the fleet with accident; and as a considerable advantage would result from taking possession of the town while the walls were in a state of defence. What rendered the capitulation still more fortunate for the British general, was the information he afterwards received from deserters, that the enemy had rallied, and were reinforced behind cape Rouge, under the command of Mr. de Levy, arrived from Montreal for that purpose, with two regular battalions; and that Mr. de Bougainville, at the head of eight hundred men, with a convoy of provisions, was actually on his march to throw himself into the town on the eighteenth, that very morning on which it was surrendered. The place was not then completely invested, as the enemy had broke their bridge of boats, and posted detachments in very strong works, on the other side of the river St. Charles.

The capitulation was no sooner ratified, than the British forces took possession of Quebec on the land side, and guards were posted in different parts

Article II. That the inhabitants shall be maintained in the possession of their houses, goods, effects, and privileges.—Granted, provided they lay down their arms.

Article III. That the said inhabitants shall not be molested on account of their having borne arms for the defence of the town, as they were forced to it, and as is customary for the inhabitants of the colonies of both crowns to serve as militia.—Granted.

Article IV. That the effects belonging to the absent officers or inhabitants shall not be touched.—Granted.

Article V. That the said inhabitants shall not be removed, nor obliged to quit their houses, until their condition shall be settled by a definitive treaty between their Most Christian and Britannic majesties.—Granted.

Article VI. That the exercise of the catholic and Roman religion shall be preserved, and that safe-guards shall be granted to the houses of the clergy, and to the monasteries, particularly to the bishop of Quebec, who, animated with zeal for religion, and charity for the people of his diocese, desires to reside constantly in it, to exercise freely and with that decency which his character and the sacred mysteries of the catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion require, his episcopal authority in the town of Quebec, wherever he shall think it proper, until the possession of Canada shall have been decided by a treaty between their Most Christian and Britannic majesties.—The free exercise of the Roman religion. Safe-guards granted to all religious persons, as well as to the bishop, who shall be at liberty to come and exercise freely and with decency the functions of his office wherever he shall think proper, until the possession of Canada shall have been decided be-

tween their Britannic and Most Christian majesties.

Article VII. That the artillery and warlike stores shall be delivered up bona fide, and an inventory taken thereof.—Granted.

Article VIII. That the sick, wounded, commissaries, chaplains, physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, and other persons employed in the hospitals, shall be treated agreeable to the cartel settled between their Most Christian and Britannic majesties on the 6th of February, 1759.—Granted.

Article IX. That, before delivering up the gate, and the entrance of the town, to the English forces, their general will be pleased to send some soldiers to be placed as safe-guards at the churches, convents, and chief habitations.—Granted.

Article X. That the commander of the city of Quebec shall be permitted to send advice to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, governor-general, of the reduction of the town; as also that this general shall be allowed to write to the French ministry, to inform them thereof.—Granted.

Article XI. That the present capitulation shall be executed according to its form and tenour, without being liable to non-execution under pretence of reprisals, or the non-execution of any preceding capitulation.—Granted.

The present treaty has been made and settled between us, and duplicates signed at the camp before Quebec, the 18th of September, 1759.

CHARLES SAUNDERS,
GEORGE TOWNSHEND,
DE RAMSAY.

of the town, to preserve order and discipline: at the same time, captain Paliser, with a body of seamen, entered the lower town, and took the same precautions. Next day, about a thousand prisoners were embarked on board transports, which proceeded to France with the first opportunity. Mean while, the inhabitants of the country came in great numbers, to deliver up their arms, and take the oath of fidelity to the English government. Ann. 1759.

The death of Montcalm, which was indeed an irreparable loss to France, in all probability, overwhelmed the enemy with consternation, and confounded all their councils: otherwise we cannot account for the tame surrender of Quebec to a handful of troops, even after the victory they had obtained: for although the place was not regularly fortified on the land side, and most of the houses were in ruins, their walls and parapets had not yet sustained the least damage: the besiegers were hardly sufficient to complete the investiture: a fresh army was assembled in the neighbourhood, with which their communication continued open: the season was so far advanced, that the British forces in a little time must have been forced to desist, by the severity of the weather, and even retire with their fleet before the approach of winter, which never fails to freeze up the river of St. Laurence.

Immediately after the action at the falls of Montmorenci, general Wolfe had dispatched an officer to England with a detail of that disaster, written with such elegance and accuracy, as would not have disgraced the pen of a Cæsar. Rejoicings in England. Though the public acquiesced in his conduct, they were exceedingly mortified at his miscarriage; and this mortification was the greater, as he seemed to despair of being able to strike any other stroke of importance, for the accomplishment of their hope, which had aspired at the absolute conquest of Canada. The first transports of their chagrin were not yet subsided, when colonel Hale arrived in the ship Alcide, with an account of the victory and surrender of Quebec; which was immediately communicated to the people in an extraordinary gazette. The joy which this excited among the populace, rose in proportion to the despondence which the former had produced: all was rapture and riot; all was triumph and exultation, mingled with the praise of the all-accomplished Wolfe, which they exalted even to a ridiculous degree of hyperbole. The king expressed his satisfaction, by conferring the honour of knighthood upon captain Douglas, whose ship brought the first tidings of this success; and gratified him and colonel Hale with considerable presents. A day of solemn thanksgiving was appointed by proclamation through all the dominions of Great Britain. The city of London, the universities, and many other corporations of the kingdom, presented congratulatory addresses to his majesty. The parliament was no sooner assembled, than the secretary of state, in the house of commons, expatiated upon the successes of the campaign, the transcendent merit of the deceased general, the conduct and courage of the admirals and officers who assisted in the conquest of Quebec. In consequence of this harangue, and the motion by which it was succeeded, the house unanimously resolved to present an address, desiring his majesty would order a monument to be erected in Westminster-abbey, to the memory of major-general Wolfe: at the same time they passed another resolution, that the thanks of the house should be given to the surviving generals and admirals, employed in the glorious and successful expedition to Quebec. Testimonies of this kind, while they

Ann. 1759. they reflect honour upon the character of the nation, never fail to animate individuals to a spirited exertion of their talents in the service of the public.

Benevolence
of the public. The people of England were so elevated by the astonishing success of this campaign, which was also prosperous on the continent of Europe, that far from expressing the least sense of the enormous burthens which they bore; they, with a spirit peculiar to the British nation, voluntarily raised large contributions, to purchase warm jackets, stockings, shoes, coats and blankets, for the soldiers, who were exposed to the rigours of an inclement sky, in Germany and America.

But they displayed a more noble proof of unrestrained benevolence, extended even to foes. The French ministry, straitened in their finances, which were found scarce sufficient to maintain the war, had sacrificed their duty to their king, and every sentiment of compassion for his unhappy subjects, to a thirst of vengeance, and sanguinary views of ambition. They had withdrawn the usual allowance from their subjects, who were detained prisoners in England; and those wretched creatures, amounting in number to near twenty thousand, were left to the mercy of those enemies whom their sovereign had taken such pains to exasperate. The allowance with which they were indulged by the British government effectually secured them from the horrors of famine; but still they remained destitute of other conveniences, and particularly exposed to the miseries of cold and nakedness. The generous English beheld these forlorn captives with sentiments of sympathy and compassion: they considered them as their fellow-creatures and brethren in humanity, and forgot their country while they beheld their distress. A considerable subscription was raised in their behalf; and in a few weeks they were completely clothed by the charity of their British benefactors. This beneficent exertion was certainly one of the noblest triumphs of the human mind, which even the most inveterate enemies of Great Britain cannot but regard with reverence and admiration.

The city of Quebec being reduced, together with great part of the circumjacent country, brigadier Townshend, who had accepted his commission with the express proviso, that he should return to England at the end of the campaign, left a garrison of five thousand effective men, victualled from the fleet, under the command of brigadier Murray; and embarking with admiral Saunders, arrived in Great Britain about the beginning of winter. As for brigadier Monckton, he was conveyed to New York, where he happily recovered of his wound.

END of the FIRST VOLUME.





Smollett, Tobias George, 1721-1771

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